

## Castro speaks to youth at Jan. 8 rally

BY RON POULSEN

HAVANA, Cuba — "We are facing a great historic challenge. Who will win? Who will prevail? The selfish, chaotic, inhumane capitalist regime, or will rational socialism prevail as the most rational, compassionate, and humane system." With these words, Cuban President Fidel Castro emphasized the principal theme of his speech to many thousands of school children, other Cubans, and international guests present at Ciudad Libre in the Cuban capital on January 8.

Beneath a banner proclaiming, "Here we are all shoulder to shoulder, parents and children", Castro spoke to a rally marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The event completed a re-enactment by school children of the triumphal procession up the length of the island 30 years ago by Castro and the victorious July 26 Movement forces. That march occurred after the revolutionary struggle had culminated in a popular insurrection and general strike to topple the hated dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959.

More than 1,000 students from other countries, representing 18,000 such students studying on Cuba's Isle of Youth, were present at the rally alongside the

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## Court ruling deals blow to affirmative action



Blacks in New Rochelle, New York, picketed construction site in 1987 to demand end to job discrimination. Supreme Court ruling targeted affirmative action program in construction industry.

BY FRED FELDMAN

By a 6-3 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt a blow January 23 to affirmative action programs, which counter discrimination against Blacks, women, and others. "Today's decision," declared Thurgood Marshall in a dissenting opinion, "marks a deliberate and giant step backward in this

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Court's affirmative action jurisprudence."

The court threw out a Richmond, Virginia, statute that channeled 30 percent of public works funds to construction companies owned by people who are Black, Hispanic, Asian, or Indian.

The measure was adopted in 1983 after a finding that only two-thirds of 1 percent of the city's construction contracts had been awarded to minority-owned businesses in the previous five years. The population of Richmond is about 50 percent Black.

The ruling asserted that the program, which is similar to others set up by 36 state and 200 local governments, violated the rights of white contractors to equal protection under the law.

Sandra Day O'Connor, speaking for the majority, demanded that the courts subject affirmative action programs to "strict scrutiny" in order "to 'smoke out' illegitimate uses of race."

Only when the existence of acts of "identified discrimination" had been established, she said, could there be a "compelling state interest" in affirmative action.

"In the extreme case," O'Connor conceded, "some form of narrowly tailored racial preference might be necessary to break down patterns of deliberate exclusion."

The majority decision was joined by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, Byron White, Anthony Kennedy, and John Stevens. Antonin Scalia wrote a concurring decision arguing that the majority had not gone far enough. State and local governments could take action to remedy only present acts of discrimination, he insisted, not the effects of past ones.

In addition to Marshall, Harry Blackmun and William Brennan dissented.

According to O'Connor, the fact that "the sorry history of both private and public discrimination in this country has contributed to a lack of opportunities for Black entrepreneurs" was not sufficient justification for instituting affirmative action. Nor should "past societal discrimination in education and economic opportunities" be taken into account, she said.

Affirmative action programs, she indicated, should not be based on the goal of bringing representation of Blacks and others in areas of the economy abreast of their percentages in the population. Only the percentage of those currently regarded as "qualified" who are Black, Latino, or from other minorities should be taken into consideration, she said.

While overturning the Richmond program, however, the majority reaffirmed a 1980 Supreme Court decision that upheld the federal government's program favoring minority construction contractors. O'Connor asserted that the 14th amendment to the U.S. Constitution gave the federal government wider latitude than local or state governments in taking affirmative action measures.

In his dissent, Marshall pointed out that the ruling would discourage many states and localities from setting up affirmative action plans to counter racial discrimination.

Marshall denounced O'Connor's claim that Richmond officials had provided inadequate proof of past discrimination. "I find deep irony in second-guessing

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## Miami cop indicted for killing Blacks

BY PAT WRIGHT  
AND TONY THOMAS

MIAMI — On January 23 Miami cop William Lozano was charged with two counts of manslaughter with a firearm in the deaths of Clement Lloyd and Allan Blanchard. Lozano killed the two young Black men as they were riding a motorcycle during the evening one week earlier. Each count is punishable by up to 15 years in prison. Lozano was released on \$10,000 bond; he has been suspended without pay from the police department.

The January 16 killings of Lloyd, 23, and Blanchard, 24, sparked an angry outburst in the Black communities of Overtown and Liberty City and widespread pro-

tests against the long history of racist police violence in this city.

After protests over Lloyd and Blanchard's killings began, Overtown was surrounded by roadblocks and attacked by hundreds of cops. On January 17 the police occupation was extended to Liberty City.

While Miami cops claimed calm had returned to both areas by January 18, police attacks and blockades continued for several more days.

More than 350 people were arrested during the week, and 11 were wounded. Troy Robinson, a 16-year-old Liberty City youth, became the third fatality when he was killed on the 17th, in an alleged dispute over looted goods.

The following night, more than 650 city and county cops organized in caravans of six cars, loaded with five cops each, swept through the Black community. By 10:30 p.m., 23 people had been arrested.

Alexander Kelly, a retired Liberty City resident, said he was stopped on January 20 by cops who demanded proof he lived in Liberty City. When he refused, saying "this is not South Africa," a cop shoved Kelly and stepped on his feet trying to provoke him into a fight.

The same night in Overtown, seven people, including a pregnant woman, were attacked and beaten by cops. Homeless people had guns stuck against their heads and were arrested.

Most of those arrested had bail set at \$250. About 150 people were unable to post bail, and were forced to stay in jail for several days. By January 18 the Dade County Jail held 2,100 inmates — 762 more than its court-ordered limit.

### 'Self-defense'

Lozano claims he shot Lloyd, who was being chased by another cop for allegedly speeding, in self-defense. When he was shot, the motorcycle crashed into an oncoming Buick, killing Lloyd instantly. Lloyd's passenger, Allan Blanchard, died the next day.

Lozano's lawyer told the press on January 18 that Lozano shot to "defend himself against being run over" by Lloyd's motorcycle.

Witnesses to the shooting tell a different story. Lozano and his partner, Dawn Campbell, were talking to a man about a missing car registration sticker when Lloyd's motorcycle came by, chased by another cop in a patrol car.

"There was no warning, no nothing," Fred Douglas Johnson, who drove the car

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## Socialists enter Miami mayoral race



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
Thabo Ntweng

MIAMI — The Socialist Workers Party here has announced that Thabo Ntweng will be the SWP's candidate for mayor in the November elections. Ntweng, a 41-year-old unionist and Black rights fighter, is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6694 at Keller Industries, an aluminum products manufacturer.

"My campaign is beginning at a time when there is mounting anger in Miami at the decades of racist cop violence and mistreatment against Blacks and Latinos," Ntweng said. "The indictment of Miami cop William Lozano for the killings of Clement Lloyd and Allan Blanchard is the first step in winning some justice. We have to struggle for something unprecedented — a conviction, not just a slap on the wrist or outright acquittal. All working people in Miami — Black, Latino, and white — need to be part of this fight."



# Canada farmers discuss worsening crisis

BY LYNDIA LITTLE

REGINA, Saskatchewan — More than 300 people attended the 19th annual convention of the National Farmers Union (NFU) held here January 9-13.

The NFU, founded 20 years ago, is a national organization representing a broad cross-section of family farmers in Canada.

The convention was opened with a board of directors' report given by vice-president Art Macklin, which singled out the "struggle over free trade, the farm financial crisis, and the survival of the farm movement" as the main activities of the union over the past year.

The NFU campaigned against the Free

Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, which went into effect January 1. The farm organization's position is that the Mulroney-Reagan trade deal is a sellout of Canada and Canadian social, environmental, cultural, and agricultural programs. It participated in the Pro Canada Network, a coalition of trade union, women's, political, business, and other organizations, all of which oppose the trade deal.

Under the provisions of the trade agreement most tariff restrictions will be phased out over the next decade. Delegates discussed the NFU's view of the implications of the deal for the lives of farmers and

agreed to continue to be part of the Pro Canada Network's campaign against the implementation of the trade deal.

One of the highlights of the convention was a panel discussion on how the farm financial crisis affects residents in rural areas. Panelist Dr. Lynda Haverstock, a mental health worker, described the effects of mounting debts on the daily lives of working farmers. "Farmers face an accident rate five times greater than any other occupation. . . . The highest risk group on the farm for accidents is the youth," she told the convention.

Haverstock also pointed out that farmers have a suicide rate three times greater than

the rest of the population.

Audrey Brent, a lawyer who defends farmers in their legal fights against farm foreclosures, outlined some of the court battles that took place in the last year. She also described the action of a group of farmers who successfully shouted down the auctioneer at a farm foreclosure in rural Saskatchewan.

On April 14 last year, the NFU held a nationwide Day of Protest to focus public attention on the farm crisis and the devastation of the rural community. Under the banner "Our land, our homes, our lives," demonstrations, meetings, and press conferences involving hundreds of farmers and their supporters were organized in cities from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to Dawson Creek, British Columbia.

Delegates adopted policy resolutions calling on the government to implement debt reductions, public land bank systems, and guaranteed cost-of-production return programs on all major primary farm products.

They also condemned the federal government's delay in making drought assistance payments and demanded that it establish a timetable and method for these payments to farmers hit by last year's drought.

Delegates slammed the use of growth hormones in the production of beef and urged the government to ban their use.

## Support for Curtis at farm meeting

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — Many of the 200 participants at the National Farmers Union convention in Saskatchewan decided to throw their support behind the fight for justice for Mark Curtis. An appeal was made there by several Curtis supporters who staffed a table on the case of this union and political activist serving 25 years in an Iowa prison for crimes he did not commit.

Hazel Zimmerman, secretary of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee based here, took time off from her job to make the trip to Canada to talk with farmers there about Curtis' fight against a frame-up by the Des Moines police, county prosecutor, and city government. "A lot of people were surprised that this kind of thing could happen in the United States," Zimmerman said, "although many were familiar with police brutality in Canada. I read in the local papers while I was there that a 17-year-old Black man had been shot in the back of the head and killed by the police."

Zimmerman said she described the beating of Curtis by the Des Moines police and the unfair trial that put him behind bars on fabricated charges of attempted rape and burglary. She explained the importance of winning broad, international support for Curtis to gain his freedom.

"Most people agreed with me immediately. Many also were interested in reading the statements made on Curtis' behalf by Iowa farm activists Carroll Nearmyer and Merle Hansen. I was surprised by

the notoriety of these farmers. They are known and respected by farmers who are facing similar problems in Canada."

After a day of distributing literature and talking with people, Curtis supporters held an informal discussion during the convention's lunch break. Sixty-five people attended parts of that discussion. And by the end of the convention, 27 people had signed up as endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Among them were National Farmers Union President Wayne Easter; NFU Youth President Corky Olikka; and several staff members of Rural Dignity, an organization that also set up a table at the convention.

"We went everywhere at the convention wearing our buttons supporting Mark Curtis and were welcomed," Zimmerman said. Several farm youth also wore buttons and helped distribute literature.

"We talked with everyone about who Mark Curtis is — a person who stood up for the rights of workers, for the right of farmers not to lose their land."

Zimmerman explained that this was the first time she had staffed this type of table and that she came back from Canada in-

spired by the support and convinced that it will take just this kind of effort to win justice for Curtis. "It took me 30 seconds to decide to go to Canada," she said. "I was determined I would make that trip no matter what. We have to make the same kind of effort wherever we live. Make the trip. Convince people to lend their support to this case. Give them a chance to hear the whole story. With that, no reasonable person could believe that Mark is not innocent."

## Judge to rule on citations against Pathfinder mural

NEW YORK — City Administrative Law Judge Louis Sitkin heard final testimony here at a January 23 hearing on charges by the city's Environmental Control Board against the Pathfinder Mural Project. Sitkin has refused to drop the charges of illegal posting of handbills, which carry a maximum penalty of \$3,500. The handbills advertised an open house inviting community residents to meet one of

the mural artists.

The judge said he would issue his decision within two weeks.

"We appeal again to our supporters to immediately send protest messages to the mayor demanding that the charges be dropped," said the mural's project director Sam Manuel. Since the case began in December 1987 mural project representatives have pointed out that the mural has been singled out for harassment due to its political content.

The Pathfinder mural is going up on the six-story Pathfinder Building in Manhattan's Greenwich Village. It publicizes Pathfinder's promotion and distribution of the writings and speeches of outstanding revolutionary and working-class leaders. It features portraits of such figures as Nelson Mandela, Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Eugene Debs, Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, and V.I. Lenin and other leaders of the Communist International.

Letters and telegrams demanding that the citations be dropped should be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Send copies to Pathfinder Mural Project, c/o Pathfinder Books, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

## 'Militant' sales to Canadian farmers

REGINA, Saskatchewan — The *Militant* met with an enthusiastic response among participants at the National Farmers Union (NFU) convention. After seeing the front page of the paper and being told an introductory subscription was only \$5, one delegate said, "You don't have to show me anymore. It looks great and the price is right." He was one of 12 convention-goers who bought introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis proposed by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States was purchased by seven of the subscribers, including a French-language edi-

tion, bought by a farm family member from one of Saskatchewan's francophone communities.

Several of the subscribers are active supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution and are particularly interested in the paper's on-going coverage of that revolution.

Other subscribers who were participants in the NFU and Pro Canada Network's campaign against the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement were interested in the *Militant*'s opposition to that campaign. While they didn't agree with the *Militant*'s position, they were interested in pursuing the discussion. —L.L.

### 'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The *Militant*'s special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Soaring debt of corporations spurs change in federal rules

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. Federal Reserve Board announced January 18 that it would allow commercial banks to begin selling corporate bond issues through separate subsidiaries. The new measure would allow the sale of corporate bonds to generate up to 5 percent — possibly to be increased to 10 percent — of the gross revenue of banks' bond-selling subsidiaries.

The rest of banks' bond-selling income must come from federal government and municipal bond issues, which are regarded as more secure. Bonds are interest-bearing securities that must be repaid by a set date.

The measure — which was pushed by some of the country's largest banking institutions, such as J.P. Morgan & Co. and Chase Manhattan Corp. — will expand the lending resources available to debt-burdened corporations. Moreover, it will allow banks to participate in corporate takeovers financed by high-yield, high-risk "junk bonds."

The board hopes that the move will step up activity on the corporate bond market, which has been in the doldrums lately, and increase bank profits.

Permitting commercial banks to sell corporate bonds, which have been exclusively handled by securities firms and investment banks, removes a barrier separating these two businesses for more than 50 years.

The marketers of corporate bonds have been having difficulties since the October 1987 stock market crash. The new measure

will allow commercial banks to supplement the institutions that are financing the surge of corporate debt.

Between 1980 and 1988, the debt of U.S. corporations grew from just under \$1 trillion to some \$1.8 trillion. (These figures were published prior to such events late last year as the debt-financed \$25 billion takeover of RJR Nabisco and the \$13 billion merger of Kraft and Philip Morris.)

Some \$300 billion of the \$800 billion increase in indebtedness resulted from buy-outs. However, other forms of corporate indebtedness also soared by \$500 million in the 1980s.

Debt has increasingly replaced sale of stocks as a means of financing corporations. Corporate stock, shares of ownership that entitle the possessor to periodic dividends, is being replaced by debt at the rate of \$100 billion per year.

In six years, the ratio of corporate debt to gross national product has risen from 34 percent to 42 percent. The last time the ratio was this high came in 1974 and 1982, at high points in major recessions.

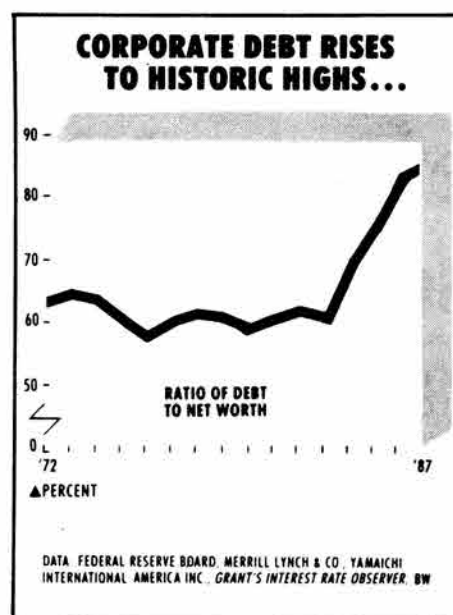
The payment of interest alone on the debt was estimated to have accounted for 24 percent of corporate cash flow last year. In 1984, a total of 51 large companies defaulted on \$11 billion in debt. In 1987, some 87 companies defaulted on \$21.4 billion.

Rapidly rising indebtedness greatly increases the vulnerability of corporations during the recession that will follow the

current upturn in the capitalist business cycle.

It is easier for corporate owners to put off dividend payments to their stockholders than payments on interest and principal to bankers. In addition, corporations tend to need more loans to ride out a recession. During a severe downturn, heavily indebted corporations are more likely to be forced into bankruptcy.

A study of 1,500 major U.S. corporations by the Brookings Institution predicted that 10 percent would go bankrupt in a severe recession. Such a wave of bankruptcies could put unbearable pressure on the major financial institutions, radically deepening an economic crisis.



Relative to assets, corporations' debts soared in 1980s, making firms more vulnerable to bankruptcy in recession.

## Morris Starsky, socialist and civil liberties fighter, dies

Morris Starsky, a socialist for many years and widely known for his involvement in fights for academic freedom and against police spying, died of heart disease January 20 in Cincinnati, Ohio. He was 55 years old.

A meeting to celebrate Starsky's contributions to the struggle for social progress will be held in Cincinnati on Sunday, January 29.

The gathering will begin at 2:00 p.m. at the headquarters of Hospital Workers Local 1199, at 1579 Summit Road. Speakers will include Elizabeth Stone, a member

of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Starsky was an active opponent of the U.S. war in Vietnam and helped organize the first antiwar protest in Arizona in 1965. At the time he was an assistant professor of philosophy at Arizona State University in Tempe.

In 1968 he became an elector in Arizona for the SWP presidential ticket. He joined the party in 1970.

The Arizona State Board of Regents dismissed him from his job that year on political grounds.

Defenders of civil liberties around the country campaigned for his reinstatement, and in 1972 a court ruled that the firing had been unconstitutional and ordered him reinstated. On appeal, the board of regents obtained a ruling that barred Starsky's reinstatement on technical grounds.

Later, the FBI was obliged to make public documents showing that Starsky had been the target of an FBI operation aimed at achieving his dismissal.

He became a coplaintiff in the suit brought by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI and government cop agencies, and testified at the 1981 trial. The suit ended in a landmark victory in 1986.

Starsky was an active participant in SWP branches in San Diego, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, and Cincinnati. Despite increasingly severe health problems in the last decade of his life, he remained an active builder of the party to the end.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Morris Starsky in 1985

## 1,500 in Los Angeles rally against apartheid

BY KARLA PEÑA AND GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

LOS ANGELES — On the January 16 Martin Luther King national holiday, a crowd of 1,500 people participated in a rally protesting apartheid in South Africa. The protesters surrounded the front door of the building housing the South African consulate here. The action, which was dominated by many hundreds of high school students and other young people, was organized by the Los Angeles Student Coalition in association with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The protest, more than twice as large as a similar action organized a year ago, also attracted hundreds of people other than high school students. The marchers were frequently greeted by truck drivers and other motorists responding to signs that read, "Honk if you hate apartheid."

On the weekend before the action, 27 students held a sit-in at the consulate. Kevin Sullivan, who participated in that action explained that its purpose was to make the city aware of apartheid and to close down the consulate. The action attracted attention as photos of the students sitting in appeared in both major daily papers and stories were broadcast on radio and TV.

## Socialists hosting regional conferences

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are hosting regional political conferences in January and February.

Members and friends of the SWP and YSA and supporters of the Militant will hear reports on and discuss

major developments in international and U.S. politics today. They will discuss perspectives in the international campaign to defend Mark Curtis, a framed-up Iowa packing-house worker serving a 25-year jail sentence.

Host city	participating	Host city	participating
<b>January 28-29</b>			
Atlanta	Birmingham Greensboro Houston Miami	Chicago	Austin, Minn. Des Moines Kansas City Milwaukee Omaha St. Louis Twin Cities
<b>February 4-5</b>			
Los Angeles	Phoenix Price, Utah Salt Lake City	New York City	Boston Brooklyn Newark Philadelphia

For more information call: Atlanta (404) 577-4065; Chicago (312)363-7322; Los Angeles (213) 380-9460; New York (212) 219-3679.

### Militant Labor Forums

## The Political Fight to Free Mark Curtis

Atlanta: Hear **Craig Gannon**, SWP Political Committee  
Sat., Jan 28, 7 p.m. City Centre Hotel, 70 Houston St.  
Near downtown and Highway 75. For more information call (404) 577-4065

Chicago: Hear **John Gaige** National farm director for the Socialist Workers Party and SWP organizer in Des Moines, Iowa.

Sat., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. Congress Hotel, Windsor Room  
520 S. Michigan Ave.

For more information call (312) 363-7322

New York: Hear **John Gaige**

Sat., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. Manhattan  
(near 6th Ave.) For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Los Angeles: Hear **James Warren** SWP national organization secretary.

Sat., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. Holiday Inn-L.A. Convention Center  
Windsor Room, 1020 S. Figueroa  
(downtown, corner of Olympic) For more information call (213) 380-9460.

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Sat., Feb. 4. Reception 6 p.m., forum 7 p.m.  
C.A.M.P., 1722 18th Ave., Seattle.

**Class on Che Guevara's "Planning and Consciousness in the Transition to Socialism"** from the book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. (pp.203-30)

Sun., Feb. 5. 11 a.m. Lakewood-Seward Park Community Center, 4916 S. Angeline St. (at 50th Ave. S.), Seattle.

Donation: \$3 each event. Sponsors: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.



# Racist cop violence exposed in widely seen TV videotape

BY OLLIE BIVINS

LOS ANGELES — "He pushed me right through the window, and he was still pushing me as the window broke. He didn't pull back. The guy rammed me right through," said Don Jackson.

Jackson, who is Black, is a sergeant in the Hawthorne, California, police department. He's currently on a stress leave.

On January 14 a crew from NBC television's "Today Show" videotaped white Long Beach cop Mark Dickey as he pushed Jackson's face through a motorcycle shop plate-glass window before throwing him onto the trunk of a police car. The videotape was seen by millions of television viewers a few days later.

Jackson organized the videotaping, using himself as bait, to highlight recent numerous complaints of police brutality in Long Beach, a city 25 miles south of downtown Los Angeles.

Jackson and Jeff Hill, a state corrections officer who is also Black, drove down the Pacific Coast Highway, a major thoroughfare in Long Beach. Within minutes

they were stopped by local cops.

In the official police account, the officers said they pulled the car over for weaving. The videotape, however, showed that the car never crossed the center traffic line, and was going slightly slower than the posted speed limit.

"I was wearing mechanic's coveralls and had intentionally smeared grease on my hands and face to look like I had just crawled out from under a car," Jackson told the *Los Angeles Times*. "I looked dirty and I wasn't driving a nice car, so I guess [the cops] figured they could do whatever they wanted."

After being stopped, Jackson got out of the car. Repeatedly cursing at him, Dickey ordered Jackson to submit to a search for weapons. The tape shows Jackson putting his hands behind his head, Dickey pushing his head and right arm through the shop window, and throwing Jackson onto the police car.

Jackson was arrested and charged with using "offensive words," challenging an officer to fight, and obstructing arrest. He



spent the night in jail. A court appearance is set for January 25. Dickey and his partner will continue on active duty, according to police officials.

"I wanted to expose all the dirty details that exist for minorities when contacted by the police," said Jackson, responding to charges that he "entrapped" Dickey. "One of those dirty details is that you can be mistaken as posing a threat simply for doing what may be 'unusual' behavior. For example, reaching for your wallet. If

you're Black, they assume you're reaching for a gun. By the same token, Blacks who get out of the car are treated as if they pose a threat simply because they're Black."

On January 17 the FBI announced it will investigate the incident. Jackson has also stated that he will sue the arresting officers.

On January 23 an article by Jackson titled, "Police Embody Racism to My People," appeared on the op-ed page of the *New York Times*.

"It is the police that tracked us as we fled the plantation," Jackson wrote. "It is the police that took Rosa Parks off the bus in Montgomery, Ala. It was police chief 'Bull' Connor who set dogs and fire hoses on black men, women, and children protesting for their civil rights in Birmingham, Ala."

"In this country," he wrote, "a black man will spend more time in jail for killing a white than he will for killing one of his own. We know that blacks are more likely to see the death penalty than whites for committing the same crimes. We will also spend more time in jail for the same criminal acts. We will receive longer probation and fewer paroles than whites," the article said.

"America certainly has a problem. Black Americans have picked cotton, scrubbed the floors, cooked the meals, and laid the bricks in hopes that hard work would one day mean liberation and acceptance," wrote Jackson. "We felt that somehow what is our birthright could be purchased by proving ourselves worthy. Yet, America demands more proof that we are worthy...."

"Operating free of constitutional limitations, the police have long been the greatest nemesis of blacks, irrespective of whether we are complying with the law or not. We have learned that there are cars we are not supposed to drive, streets we are not supposed to walk. We may still be stopped and asked, 'Where are you going, boy?' Whether we're in a Mercedes or a Volkswagen."

## Immigrants stranded in south Texas

BY AL BUDKA

BROWNSVILLE, Texas — Hundreds of Central American immigrants are stranded in this Rio Grande Valley town in south Texas. Most are from Nicaragua; others are from El Salvador, Honduras, or Guatemala. Many explain that they have come to the United States because of the economic devastation wracking Central America, including Nicaragua. Others are fleeing repression at the hands of U.S.-backed rightist regimes, such as that of El Salvador.

Some of the immigrants are stranded here after being robbed by the "coyotes" hired to bring them across the border, by corrupt Mexican immigration authorities, or by other thieves. Others are stranded after being arrested by the U.S. Border Patrol and forced to wait for a deportation "show cause" hearing. The INS estimates that 2,000 to 2,500 people are now waiting for such hearings.

The Red Cross is providing shelter to 200 to 300 immigrants and refugees each night in an old factory building. Another 200 are housed at Casa Oscar Romero, a refugee shelter operated by the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville. Others are crowded into motel rooms, and many are without shelter.

There has been a dramatic increase in the number of Nicaraguans entering Brownsville in the past three years. In April 1986 the Miami INS director announced he would not deport Nicaraguans from his district.

In July 1987 then-attorney general Edwin Meese encouraged INS officials to expedite applications for work permits for Nicaraguans. His assumption at the time was that most would be opponents of the Sandinista government. These policy changes, the defeat of the U.S.-backed contra army, and the deepening economic crisis in Nicaragua are fueling the increased emigration to the United States.

Those among the Nicaraguans who claim to be fleeing Sandinista "persecution" are more likely than other Central Americans to receive favorable treatment from the INS. In 1987, 84 percent of all Nicaraguan claims for political asylum were approved, compared to only 3.6 percent of claims from El Salvador.

In 1988, 36 Nicaraguans were deported and 173 ordered to leave the country. In the same year, 2,711 Salvadorans were deported, and another 1,828 ordered to leave.

On Dec. 16, 1988, the INS announced new procedures to go into effect the next day. Each person arriving in Brownsville and seeking asylum, according to the new policy, had to present their claim to INS examiners in Harlingen, near Brownsville. This reversed the procedure of granting

travel authorizations to those seeking asylum, which had allowed them to proceed out of the valley to other cities.

The INS claims the new policy was designed to relieve backlogs in Miami and Los Angeles, and to isolate newly arriving immigrants in the Rio Grande Valley.

Only those whose claims were approved would be allowed to travel from the area. Those denied asylum would be ordered deported, released on their own recognition, and restricted to the valley.

The new INS policy moved the "backlog" to the Rio Grande Valley and precipitated a social crisis.

Casa Oscar Romero, which is restricted by a court order to housing 200 residents, could not accommodate the growing number of immigrants and refugees. Several churches provided temporary shelter for some, and Brownsville residents took in others. But the number of homeless immigrants grew.

By Christmas, a shantytown had grown up in the brush across the street from Casa Oscar Romero. And several hundred people moved into the abandoned Amber Motel in Brownsville.

Federal, state, county, and city officials argued over who should provide the necessary aid. Several elected officials blamed

the Central Americans and Casa Oscar Romero for the crisis.

Working people, on the other hand, began to respond.

An ad hoc committee was formed to work with those staying in the Amber Motel. A food pantry was organized, and crews of working people from the area and immigrants began to collect garbage at the motel.

Norma Pimental, a Catholic nun and one of the codirectors at Casa Oscar Romero, said that five or six times a day volunteers drove up to distribute food and clothing to those camped across the street from the shelter.

These INS procedures remained in effect for 18 days until a U.S. district judge issued a temporary restraining order against them. The order was in response to a class-action lawsuit filed by Linda Yañez, an attorney in Brownsville; Proyecto Libertad, a legal defense organization for Central American refugees; and the San Francisco Lawyers' Committee for Urban Affairs.

As a result of the restraining order, hundreds have been able to leave the valley, and the camps are empty.

The lawsuit is to be heard January 31. Until then, the restraining order remains in effect.

## Central American refugees tell their story

BY AL BUDKA

BROWNSVILLE, Texas — *Militant* correspondents who came here to report on the situation facing Central American immigrants in south Texas spoke with a number of the new arrivals and with some of those involved in relief efforts.

Marcos, a young Nicaraguan who was outside the gate at Casa Oscar Romero, which is housing several hundred immigrants, was on his way downtown to catch a bus to Miami. He was more than willing to talk, however.

Marcos had served in the Nicaraguan army, he explained. But rather than serve in the reserves, he had chosen to come to the United States. He left Managua November 11.

Marcos recounted his trip across Mexico. Along with three other Nicaraguans, they hired a "coyote" to guide them to the border. They were stopped by Mexican immigration officials three times. Each time they were released after paying a bribe.

Unlike some other Nicaraguans we met, Marcos said little about the Sandinista government. Instead, he briefly described the living conditions. "Things are very bad there now," he said. "There are no jobs.

Prices are very high. It is difficult to feed and clothe a family, even with both parents working."

"There will be more *nicas* coming here because of the problems," Marcos added. "I would have stayed if the economy wasn't so bad."

He left to catch his bus. He was carrying a sweater and had in hand a ticket to Miami and the name of a friend there.

The shelter at Casa Oscar Romero, located just outside Brownsville, was filled with 200 men, women, and children from El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

Shelter Co-director Norma Pimentel said that over the past three years the number of Nicaraguans coming to the shelter has increased steadily.

Those staying at Casa Romero are responsible for its upkeep. The 38-year-old Nicaraguan in charge of the men's dormitory explained that he had been a diesel mechanic in the Sandinista army, and his wife had been a nurse. They both oppose the Sandinistas, he said.

A young couple from Guatemala told their story. The man had a job driving a tractor in a field 30 minutes away from his

village. One day a group of men came to the village offering work. Twenty-five men left with them. That night none of the men returned.

The next day three returned and led others to a shallow grave. The other 22 had been tortured and killed. In a few days, all the other villagers left.

After the Guatemalan couple was robbed traveling through Mexico, a Mexican worker gave them bus fare to keep going, and another gave them a ride and money to buy food.

On Christmas Day, the man was arrested by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, then released and told to return January 4. For nine days, he and his wife slept under bridges and were fed by people in the Rio Grande Valley.

When he returned to the INS office, he was given a form to fill out for a work permit. It was in English, and no one was there to translate. He and his wife will be deported on March 1 if they cannot raise \$3,000 bond.

Before leaving the INS office, he asked officials where to go for help. He was told that he got there alone and had to leave alone.



# Miami police record of killings, brutality

BY PETE SEIDMAN

MIAMI — The Miami cops have a long history of abuse and violence, directed especially against Blacks.

Police departments here enforced strict segregation laws, in place in some local areas until the mid-1960s. While these laws are no longer on the books, Miami cops often act as if they still were. In June 1988 PULSE, an organization of Black ministers, complained of Miami police brutality to a committee of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. In public hearings at the time, there was an outpouring of complaints about daily harassment of Black working people.

Over the years, many protests by the Black community here, including the most recent, have been touched off by "routine incidents" turned fatal. These include:

- December 1979. Arthur McDuffie, a Black insurance salesman who was stopped while riding a motorcycle, was beaten to death by five Metro-Dade cops. The cops fabricated evidence to justify the

brutal beating. In May 1980, a jury in Tampa acquitted them. Liberty City, the Miami Black community, erupted in protest. Eighteen people were killed, 400 were injured, and 1,100 arrested, as police mobilized to quell the rebellion.

- December 1982. Miami policeman Luis Alvarez shot and killed 20-year-old Nevell Johnson, Jr., at point-blank range in an Overtown video arcade. There were no charges against Johnson, who was unarmed and playing a game at the time he was killed. Overtown exploded. Two people were killed, 25 hurt, and 38 arrested.

- March 1984. Liberty City exploded again when a jury in Miami acquitted Alvarez of manslaughter. Twenty people were injured and 243 arrested in the ensuing rebellion.

- January 1986. Larry Majors, a Black worker at the city's Solid Waste Department, was beaten before a crowd of Overtown witnesses by two white Miami cops using blackjacks. Majors was handcuffed and in a patrol car at the time. The cops

threatened to take Majors to the railroad tracks and "finish him off."

The two cops were both listed in the Miami police department's "Early Warning System," which is supposed to alert authorities to "overly aggressive" officers so they can be required to take "stress counseling." The cops eventually got 10 hours lost pay and a reprimand for the incident.

- December 1986. Steven Tillman, a Black youth, was shot and paralyzed from the neck down by a Miami cop while sitting in his car at a traffic signal. Tillman's mother filed complaints with Dade County's Independent Review Panel, one of four such review panels set up in response to protests against police brutality here. This panel has yet to probe the charges by Tillman. Investigators at the Miami Police Department's Internal Review Board, another such panel, have "substantiated" only 15 cases of excessive force or abusive treatment out of 394 complaints filed with them since 1985. Only one cop has been fired as a result.

- May 1987. Miami cops beat Alfred Lee, a Black off-duty Metro policeman, while he was handcuffed and under arrest. Lee wound up in the intensive care unit at Jackson Memorial Hospital. Despite five police witnesses, an internal investigation cleared the cops who were charged.

- July and November 1988. Miami cops staged armed drug raids on two homes in the Black community. In both episodes, cops drew weapons and terrorized innocent people and their children.

- December 1988. Leonardo Mercado, a Puerto Rican, died of a fractured skull and internal bleeding after being beaten in his home by six Miami police detectives. The cops had no warrants to either enter Mercado's home or arrest him, but they dragged him into his house. After tying his wrists behind his back, they beat him and his two stepsons, and then tried to cover up the evidence. Four of the cops involved were also on the MPD's "Early Warning System." One of them had been charged in circuit court by his wife of "savagely beating" her. Another, who had identified himself as "Aryan" on police investigative forms, had been accused of making racist remarks while in uniform. No action has been taken as a result of these complaints.

## Officer charged in shooting that killed two

Continued from front page

Lloyd crashed into, told the *Miami Herald*. "He just took that gun out and shot." Johnson said Lozano fired at the motorcycle after it had passed him.

A longshoreman who was on the scene told the *New York Times* that Lozano had enough time to stop, put his pad and pen in the trunk of his car, and pull his service revolver out of his holster after he saw the motorcycle. The longshoreman said Lozano "crouched, then kind of tiptoed out into the street."

"Just when the motorcycle came by he fired. Boom!" the longshoreman continued. "He meant to kill him."

Miami police have refused to answer questions about the shooting or release the name of the man Lozano and Campbell were talking to, the radio transmission made during the chase, and other details surrounding the killing.

The Justice Department announced January 23 that the department's Civil Rights Division had begun an investigation into Lloyd's killing, one of several inquiries now in motion.

Three days earlier, Miami's City Commission set up a special committee of five cops and five Overtown community representatives to investigate police-community relations.

Johnnie McMillan, president of the Metro-Dade National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a January 21 community meeting that many Overtown residents don't believe the five community members appointed to the commission represent the people of Overtown. Some, she said, own businesses or lead churches in Overtown, but don't live there.

### Haitians call protest

Veye-Yo, a Haitian community organization, called the first organized protest against the cop attacks. On the night of the 17th, 100 people jammed the sidewalk outside the Haitian Refugee Center chanting, "Justice. Justice. Justice for Black people!" The center is located in Little Haiti, where many immigrant workers from Haiti live.

About 200 came out for the regular Veye-Yo meeting January 20. Veye-Yo speakers and U.S.-born Blacks linked the police murders with defense of Haitian refugees held under intolerable conditions at the Krome detention center just south of Miami.

Betty Ferguson, United Teachers of Dade activist and president of the Black rights group Unrepresented People's Positive Action Committee (UPPAC) said, "Whenever one Black person is hurt, all Black people are hurt."

Veye-Yo canceled a march on Krome planned for January 21 to participate in

funerals for Allan Blanchard and Troy Robinson.

Hundreds, including many Veye-Yo supporters, attended Blanchard's funeral at St. Mary's Cathedral. Veye-Yo leader Father Gerard Jean-Juste told the press afterwards, "We must go to the root of the killings, to the administration in Washington that is denying the Blacks jobs, housing, what they need. This is why this boy was killed."

More than 100 people attended a rally in Liberty City on the afternoon of January 22 to protest the cop attacks.

At the end of the meeting, Black activist Billy Hardemon announced he was forming People United for Justice in Miami. He said it would be "a coalition of all Black people for justice."

### Oppression of Blacks, immigrants

A big concern of Miami's capitalist rulers was the impact of the revolt on the city's "image" and on the January 22 Super Bowl football game. Tom Ferguson, president of Beacon Council, a big-business planning outfit, said, "If it wasn't for ... the Super Bowl ... [the protests] wouldn't be more than a blip on the news."

Miami Mayor Xavier Suarez, police officials, and some Black community leaders have denounced Miami Blacks for resisting the police.

Behind the revolt in Overtown and Liberty City lie the poverty and oppression Blacks and other working people in this city face, part of which is daily cop violence and racist abuse.

These conditions bear down hardest on Blacks and immigrant workers.

The three young men killed in the events were immigrants from the Caribbean. Lloyd was from St. Thomas and Blanchard was from St. Croix, both in the Virgin Islands, a U.S. colony. Robinson was born in the Turks and Caicos islands.

A barrage of stories in the media about the "flood" of Nicaraguan immigrants coming to Miami in recent weeks has fueled attempts by the city's rulers to turn the Black community's anger at the oppressive conditions they face against the Nicaraguans.

This masks the fact that immigrant workers from Central America, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world who come to Miami, far from receiving favored treatment, face discrimination, low wages, high unemployment, lack of social services, and violations of democratic rights. Haitian workers — when they aren't turned back and forced to return to Haiti — face some of the worst treatment.

Since 1980 Black unemployment here has risen from 7.2 percent to 10.4 percent. Estimated unemployment figures for Overtown range from 44 to 55 percent. Thirty-five percent of all Miami Blacks and more than 40 percent of Black children live below the official poverty line. Only half of Miami's Black high school students graduate.

Overtown — originally called "Colored Town" and "the Central Negro District" — was set up as a segregated ghetto for Black railworkers by the Florida East Coast Rail-

road. Blacks who left Overtown and other Black "districts" had to carry written proof they had business in "white areas" of Miami, a practice that continued on Miami Beach until 1965.

In the 1940s and '50s Overtown was a community of 40,000 with nationally famous theaters, nightclubs, and hotels. Little more than 10,000 people live there today. Overtown has some of the worst housing in the country, hundreds of homeless people, few community services.

Two expressways built in the 1970s ripped through the heart of Overtown. "Redevelopment" projects like the new Miami Sports Arena continue to expand the downtown business and entertainment area and drive Overtown back. Many Overtown residents believe the area is being neglected so it can be swallowed by downtown business developers and wiped out.

Johnnie McMillan spoke for many in Overtown when she said, "When you have a feeling of hopelessness, you can expect something to happen. Blacks feel they're dropping out of the life of this city."

## Nicaraguans in Miami discuss racism

BY JEFF MILLER

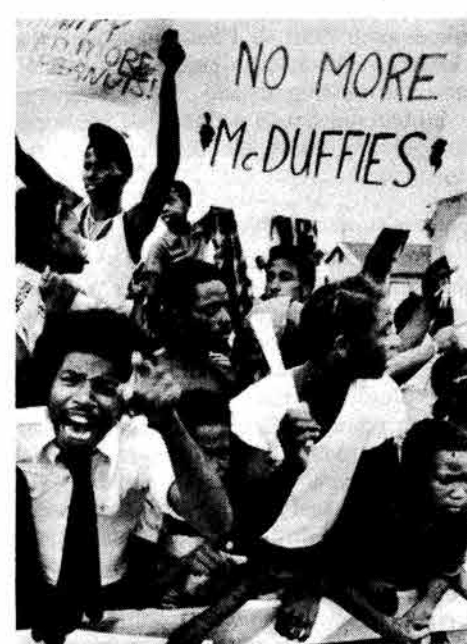
MIAMI — Nicaraguan working people, who have been arriving here in growing numbers in recent months, express concern at being blamed for the protests in the Black community. The capitalist politicians and media have been promoting the view that Blacks' resentment toward Nicaraguans was a major factor in the revolt.

There are about 100,000 Nicaraguans now living in this area, and Dade County officials say 150 to 200 more are arriving each week. Forty-four percent of Miami's population are Latinos, the majority Cuban or with Cuban parents. About 17 percent of the city's Latino population is from Central America, primarily from Nicaragua. About 26 percent of the population as a whole is Black, and 11 percent is white.

"We are not the cause of the rebellion in Overtown," said María, 35. She sat with her three-year-old daughter Eunice outside The Anglers Hotel on Miami's South Beach. The hotel is one of two dilapidated buildings where six Nicaraguan families have recently moved into one-room apartments. Private donations have covered their rent for one month. They are among the 250 Nicaraguans cleared from Bobbie Maduro Miami Stadium to make way for the Baltimore Orioles' spring training. The city had been housing them in the stadium since mid-December.

"If they give me a job, I don't take it with the idea of taking a job away from anyone, only with the idea of feeding my family," said María, who sold meals from her home in Managua for a living. Her husband is a soldier in the Nicaraguan army, and remains in Nicaragua.

"I'm not against Blacks," she said. "We are all human beings. We should all be



Black youth protested killing of Arthur McDuffie when then-president James Carter visited Miami in 1980.

equal." María has not been given a work permit yet.

Flor de María, 18, and her husband, Guillermo, 28, are also waiting for work permits.

They expressed surprise that Blacks in Overtown did not have access to jobs and housing through government-funded programs. They said that since arriving in the United States they had been told to be fearful of Blacks, and that Blacks commit most crimes.

They lit a candle in their small room as they talked. They have no electricity.

"It's a separate problem. We don't have anything against Blacks. We are not racists," said Guillermo, who operated a welding shop in Nicaragua. He sold part of his equipment and gave the rest to his brother when he left. Flor de María was a student in Managua and hopes to continue her studies here.

Urania, 32, who worked as a nurse in Managua, just moved in upstairs with her husband, her mother, and two children, ages eight and two. Urania is the only one in her family who has obtained a work permit, but she hasn't found a job yet.

"I don't think the incidents in the Black community here were caused by our arrival," Urania said. "The Black community has a long history of oppression."

"Because of the high unemployment rate among Blacks, the time came for them to protest, and do it the only way they could be heard," she added.

She explained that she had seen firsthand that schools here are segregated. While living in the stadium, her daughter was sent to Dunbar Elementary School, where all the students are Black.

"It shouldn't be like that," Urania said. "We should be one community. Everyone should have the ability to make the most of their life."

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# Israeli gov't orders step-up in shootings

BY HARRY RING

The Israeli government has authorized soldiers to shoot Palestinian stone-throwers in the back, even as they run away. Most of those who hurl the stones, army officials said, are children.

At the same time, Israeli soldiers are beginning to voice their disgust and danger over the dirty job they have been assigned to carry out.

The January 17 shoot-in-the-back order was among new directives designed to stamp out the West Bank and Gaza Strip *intifada* — the uprising. Earlier moves included breaking the bones of protesters.

Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said the order to shoot any Palestinian seen throwing a stone, burning a tire, or erecting a roadblock was necessary to "bring down the level of euphoria" among Palestinians.

Rabin said the protesters were being spurred by the political gains registered by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The recent PLO declaration of a Palestinian state has won broad international recognition. And in December Washington abruptly reversed course and opened discussions with the PLO.

Ten thousand Israeli soldiers are assigned to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. From mid-December to mid-January, they killed more than 40 Palestinians, mainly teenagers. This is the highest monthly total since the uprising began.

Embittered Israeli soldiers are speaking out publicly about the role they are assigned to.

## Troops confront Shamir

The day the order for expanded repression was issued, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir had a jolting confrontation with Israeli troops garrisoned in the West Bank town of Nablus. Many are reservists called up for duty since the uprising.

With reporters there, soldiers described how they were compelled to violently abuse innocent Palestinians. Several said they were ashamed of what they were doing and had difficulty facing family and friends when they returned home.

A reservist who identified himself as a laborer from the town of Tiberias told Shamir: "In order to enforce order in the marketplace, we must be brutally violent to innocent people. I have to slap him or beat him [with] murderous blows to get him to fear me. It wears me down as a person. It breaks me. These are not the values I grew up on."

A member of the elitist paratrooper force said: "Mr. Prime Minister, in order to achieve order in the casbah, I have to act brutally toward people free of crimes too. I feel humiliated by this behavior. The situation has become a catastrophe. It's breaking us and strengthening the Arabs."

The new orders for increased repression and the continuing Palestinian resistance are also creating disaffection among the Israeli population.

## Stormy debate

Disclosure of the new orders sparked a stormy debate in Israel's parliament. Defense Minister Rabin was driven from the podium as critics of the move assailed him.

Editorials in the media echoed this.

The paper *Haaretz* declared, "The problem became one much larger than law and order a long time ago."

The new regulations liberalize the use of plastic and rubber-coated steel bullets. These are touted as nonlethal, but at least 47 people have already been killed by them.

The army is now authorized to jail anyone 12 or over caught throwing stones. The army's West Bank legal adviser assured they would be given a trial like anyone else.

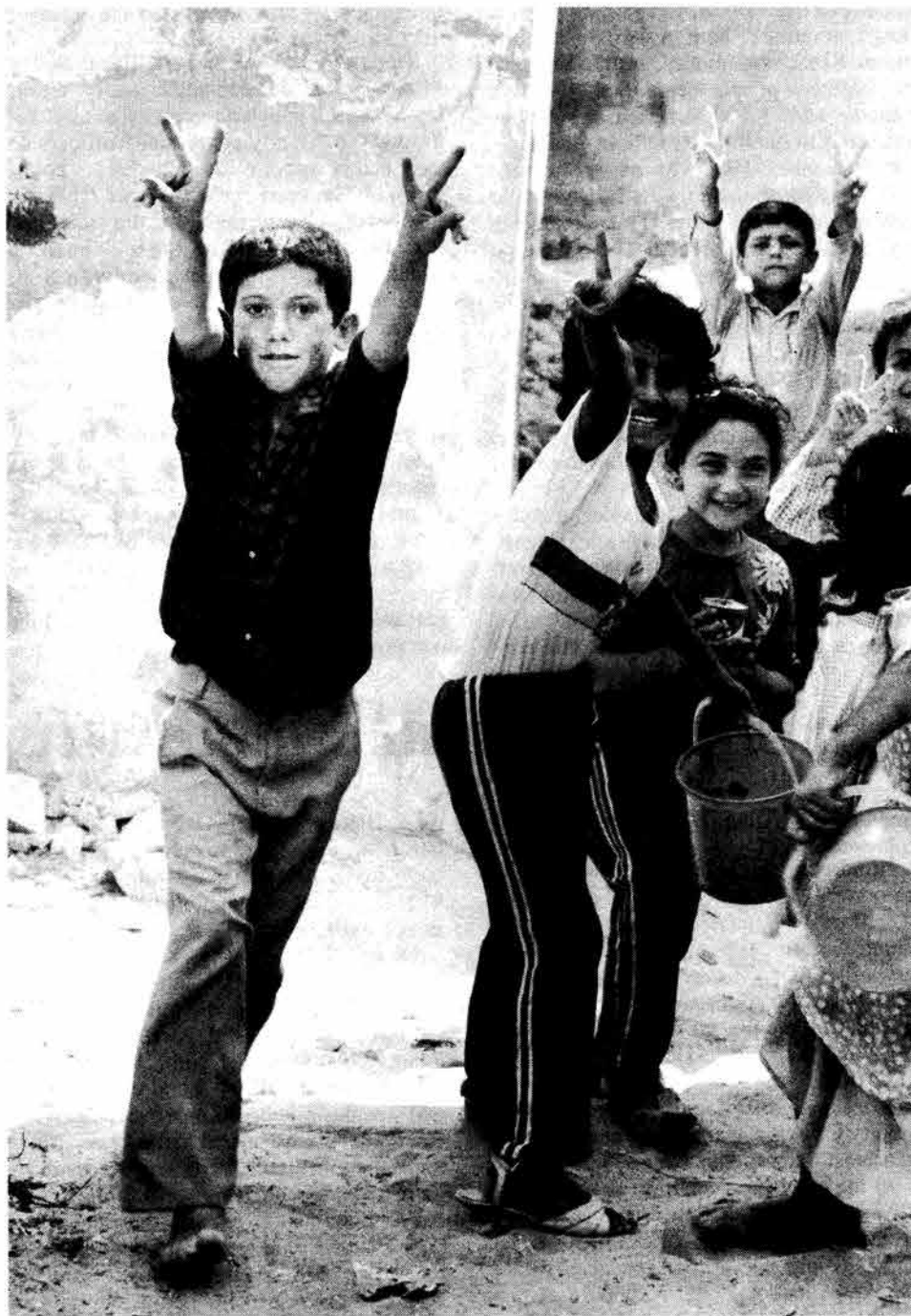
Prison sentences for stone-throwers, until now usually several months, will be as high as five years.

## Family punishment

Rabin's directive also expands the existing policy of punishing parents of children caught throwing stones.

This can mean stiff fines and seizure of property, including such items as cars or television sets.

Also expanded is the policy of blowing up, bulldozing, or sealing off the homes of families that fail to prevent their children from throwing stones.



Children in Gaza Strip raise victory sign as they participate in protest. Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin's new repressive measures, which he says will "bring down the level of euphoria" among Palestinians, mean more children will be shot.

The day the new orders were announced, three homes in a West Bank refugee camp were demolished and five others sealed off. In response, protest strikes shut down four cities.

Destroying homes has been an ongoing policy. It is done without trial or recourse to appeal.

The basis for the action is either that a member of the household has been branded a participant in the uprising or simply that the house was built without a license. For Palestinians such licenses are virtually impossible to obtain.

Soldiers with bulldozers or dynamite suddenly appear on the scene. Usually, a family is given 15 minutes to try to remove belongings before their home is destroyed.

During the first nine months of the *intifada*, 198 homes were demolished, leaving more than 1,500 people homeless. That's according to a study by the Jerusalem-based Palestine Human Rights Information Center and the Chicago-based

Human Rights Research and Education Foundation.

## New school shutdown

In another move, military authorities shut down all 1,200 schools in the West Bank January 20. This was barely a month after a previous shutdown.

Colleges and universities in the West Bank have been shut down since December 1988, denying more than 18,000 students the right to continue their education.

An angry faculty member at Bir Zeit University declared, "Education has been used as a form of collective punishment just like the demolition of houses and the uprooting of trees."

Al-Haq, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, declared: "The prolonged closure of all educational institutes appears to be without precedent, is blatantly illegal, and constitutes an illegitimate exercise of power by the Israeli military."

Meanwhile at Tel Aviv University, Jewish and Arab students demonstrated January 11 against "the racist decision" to transfer Israeli Palestinian students from mixed dormitories to segregated ones. Officials said the action stemmed from a commitment to the parents of U.S. Jewish students that their children would not have to live with Arab classmates. The U.S. students involved indicated they would appeal this.

In another violation of legal and human rights, 13 more Palestinians were expelled from their homeland January 1. Dumped across the Lebanese border, they had been declared guilty — without trial — of being leaders of the uprising. Since the uprising, a total of 49 people have been deported, and 12 more have received expulsion orders.

## Medical care denied

In another move, Israeli officials put a further curb on the already restricted right of Palestinians to medical care.

West Bank medical facilities have been heavily cut back for asserted budgetary reasons. Now, with the explanation that tax revenues from the West Bank have dropped 50 percent, officials have slashed by two-thirds the number of Palestinians who can be sent to Israeli hospitals for care not available in the West Bank. Even those with paid-up government insurance are being denied this care.

And when Palestinians are admitted, they face discrimination.

An Israeli newsweekly cited the case of two teenaged leukemia patients receiving chemotherapy treatments at a Jerusalem hospital.

The one youth, an Israeli, is treated as an in-patient, with his vomiting, headaches, and other symptoms monitored. The other youth, a Palestinian, has to travel four times a week from the West Bank town of Ramallah, often vomiting on the way. Sometimes he can't even get there for treatment because soldiers have sealed off the road.

## ADC invitation

Meanwhile, Washington is pondering the acceptance by PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat of an invitation to speak in the United States.

Abdeen Jabara, president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, met with the PLO leader in Tunisia in early January and said he had accepted an invitation to come to Washington to address the annual convention of the ADC April 13.

Prior to its turnaround on dealing with the PLO, the U.S. State Department created an international storm by denying Arafat a visa to come to New York to address the United Nations.

The State Department has not said what it will do this time. It has already received a strong demand from the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations to deny Arafat a visa. The group said granting the visa would impair "the war against terrorism."

Meanwhile, the Palestinian paper *Al-Fajr* reported January 16 that 423 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the *intifada*.

# 1,500 protest Klan action in Atlanta

BY HELEN LOWENTHAL

ATLANTA — Some 1,500 demonstrators protested a Ku Klux Klan action held in this city on January 21. Only eight members and supporters of the Klan showed up to protest Martin Luther King's birthday holiday. Carrying a banner that read, "No King over me," they were protected by 2,000 cops and National Guardsmen.

The day ended with the police attacking antiracist demonstrators, some of whom had thrown rocks and bottles at the Klan march. Others attacked were participating peacefully in the counterdemonstration.

Thirteen anti-Klan demonstrators were injured and 40 arrested. Organizers of the countermobilization may file suit against the police department for the attacks.

The anti-Klan demonstrators were largely Black and white youths who carried

signs protesting racism, attacks on abortion rights, and discrimination against homosexuals. Contingents came from many campuses, including Morehouse College, which Martin Luther King attended, and Atlanta and Emory universities.

The leader of the Klan march was Richard Barrett, a Mississippi lawyer. He began the day at 8:00 a.m. on the courthouse steps in nearby Forsyth County, reading a statement to one supporter, journalists, and the police. Two years ago, 35,000 antiracist demonstrators marched in Forsyth County, which is a segregated white enclave. That action was in response to a violent attack by the Klan and its sympathizers on a group of 250 supporters of the King holiday.

Barrett had predicted that from 500 to 1,000 of his supporters would march

through Atlanta. City officials cordoned off an area two blocks on all sides of the Georgia State Capitol, where the Klan was to meet, and a block on each side of the march route. Counterdemonstrators were not permitted within this area.

The barricades were protected by members of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, an inner perimeter of National Guard troops, and an outer ring of Atlanta police. Georgia State patrol and Department of Corrections officers were at the front and rear of the march. Many people who came into Atlanta by subway could not get from one side of the city to the other because of the police mobilization.

Last July the Klan tried to stage a march here during the Democratic Party's national convention, but their permit was revoked by the city following clashes between anti-Klan protesters and the police.



# Pacific Northwest woodworkers strike major lumber company

## Unionists say no to concession demands

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

ROSEBURG, Ore. — Woodworkers in the Pacific Northwest are continuing to resist the latest round of concession demands by the regions' big lumber companies. On January 11 more than 4,500 millworkers shut down all 15 Roseburg Forest Products operations in southern Oregon and Northern California.

The strike by members of the Western Council of Industrial Workers (WCW) and the International Woodworkers of America came after Roseburg made its final contract offer. It proposed wage cuts averaging \$1 per hour, with the largest cuts falling on the lowest-paid workers.

Workers at Roseburg now average \$11 per hour, with a much lower starting wage schedule for new hires. The company won the two-tier wage setup in 1985, along with benefit reductions and wage cuts at a few of its mills.

But Roseburg didn't get the major wage cuts in 1985 that other large forest-products companies got the following year after strikes in the industry were defeated. Now Roseburg says it needs "parity."

Although union negotiators offered a four-year wage freeze and substantial further cuts in benefits, Roseburg rejected the offer.

Last summer 9,000 woodworkers struck most major Northwest lumber companies for three months, fighting to regain what was lost in 1986. The unionists forced the

companies to agree to small wage and benefit increases.

Roseburg Forest Products is the last large lumber company in the Northwest without a signed contract in 1988 bargaining.

The company dominates the economy of Oregon's Douglas County, where it employs 3,000 workers. Oregon, with 67,000 workers in the wood-products industry, is the largest lumber-producing state in the country.

"We were told in 1985 that if we gave up benefits and would freeze our wages until '88, just to help the company out of a hard spot, they would give it all back," Kathy Gould wrote in a letter to the Roseburg *News-Review*. "Sure, just take it away again, plus more."

"We don't have to give up anything — wages or benefits," Gould concluded. "Be strong, pump up for a good fight, we've got the numbers. . . Let's show them just how strong we are."

Lonnie Burson is a boiler operator at Roseburg's Dixonville mill and president of Lumber and Sawmill Workers WCW Local 2949, which organizes 2,700 Roseburg workers in Douglas County. He pointed out, "For 20 years labor's been lulled to sleep. Labor's in trouble. Just walk down the street — store clerks, waitresses, truck drivers. We're the real face of Douglas County, of America."

Burson explained that Roseburg's im-



Militant/John Charbonnet  
Strikers picket Roseburg Forest Products mill in Roseburg, Oregon. Company says it now wants "parity" with other firms that got concessions in 1986.

plementation in 1985 of a variable work-week, in which workers' days off often don't fall on Saturday and Sunday, had generated strong feeling among the union members. "A third of these people don't have weekends with their families," he said.

The company is also demanding the elimination of time-and-a-half premium pay for Sunday work.

"Roseburg has never denied being prof-

itable," Burson said. He pointed to a study by the county planning department showing that while employment in the forest products industry has dropped by almost 20 percent in the last 10 years, overall output at sawmills and plywood and veneer plants has substantially increased, the result of speedup and automation.

Support for the strike in the community is "excellent," Burson said. At the busy Roseburg Labor Temple, lists were prominent showing the formation of various strike committees, including a women's auxiliary. Teachers in the county, members of the Oregon Education Association, have a food drive under way.

Gene Lawhorn, a young worker at Roseburg's huge complex in Dillard, pointed out, "If we lose this strike, the union's organizing efforts will go down the tubes."

Meanwhile, in Springfield, 300 members of WCW Local 3035 are in the seventh month of their strike against Morgan-Nicolai, a leading manufacturer of doors. Local 3035 has mounted a campaign of rallies, outreach activities, financial appeals, and roving pickets that has won support for their strike among working people throughout Oregon, as well as in Wisconsin and California, where Morgan also has plants.

## New FBI files surface on antiwar groups

BY HARRY RING

Recent disclosures in the *Boston Globe* show that FBI Director William Sessions presented a false picture to Congress about the police agency's surveillance of groups and individuals opposed to U.S. policy in Central America.

Some 2,400 documents were provided to the *Globe* by Frank Varelli, who was a paid plant for the FBI and a key figure in its disruption operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Last September, Sessions had told both a Senate and House committee that an FBI probe of CISPES was halted for 14 months. But the *Globe* said that files obtained by Varelli under the Freedom of Information Act show that surveillance of groups and individuals continued unabated during this period.

There was a continuing compilation of a "Terrorist Photo Album" of individuals opposed to U.S. policy in El Salvador.

One of the documents Varelli turned over to the *Globe* states that the FBI "has compiled over 1,000 photos of individuals known to have participated in leftist activity in El Salvador and the United States. Dallas will periodically supply pertinent photos and background to the Bureau . . . for inclusion in the Terrorist Photo Album."

Contrary to FBI denials, the album included several members of Congress — U.S. senators Claiborne Pell and Christopher Dodd and then-representative Michael Barnes.

Contrary to FBI denials, the Varelli files show that the agency spied on the church sanctuary movement, which aids Central American refugees. The FBI had claimed that only the Immigration and Naturalization Service had probed sanctuary groups.

The files also show that the FBI violated its "reform" guidelines by planting Varelli in the Dallas chapter of CISPES three months prior to opening a formal investigation of the group.

In his congressional testimony Sessions had insisted that the FBI had been led down the wrong path by Varelli, who, he claimed, had fed them "unreliable" information.

Now it's disclosed that the FBI altered lie detector test findings on Varelli after he went public about the FBI drive against CISPES.

The *Globe* says the files confirm Varelli's disclosure that the FBI collaborated with the Salvadoran National Guard in its surveillance of U.S. and Salvadoran dissidents and shared this pooled information with other U.S. agencies. The Salvadoran National Guard has been involved in death-squad murders of thousands of Salvadorans.

A Salvadoran emigré, Varelli was recruited to infiltrate CISPES in 1981 in order to help discredit the group and, as he later put it, to "break" it.

Since the FBI's guidelines bar it from infiltrating organizations simply because they hold dissident views, CISPES was targeted for infiltration, surveillance, and disruption on the trumped-up grounds that it might be involved in "terrorist" activity.

Using the operation against CISPES as a springboard, FBI spying spread to include well over 100 groups and countless individuals on the basis of asserted "links" with CISPES.

These included unions, Black rights groups, antiwar and religious organizations, and hundreds of individuals.

Among the individuals who came under FBI surveillance as a CISPES activist in Birmingham, Alabama, was Mark Curtis, the socialist packinghouse worker now jailed in Iowa on a frame-up rape charge.

The FBI operation against those who oppose U.S. government policy on Central America was first exposed in 1984 as the result of a falling out over money between Varelli and his handlers. (He charges he was ripped off and is currently suing for back pay.)

Asserting he was also disillusioned with FBI efforts to victimize CISPES, Varelli went public with the story, talking to the media and testifying before a congressional committee. Through his suit, Varelli has now obtained some of his files, which were reported on in the *Globe* in early January and late December.

A year ago, CISPES had also obtained

some of the FBI files on it and made them public.

In a court deposition, Varelli had said of his infiltration of CISPES:

"Not once did I find, see, hear, or observe any illegal conduct of any nature. The CISPES organization was peaceful, nonviolent, and devoted to changing the policies of the United States toward Central America by persuasion and education."

CISPES has a damage suit pending against the government. Meanwhile, it is initiating nationwide demonstrations March 18–20 for a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

## Trial begins for 'Ohio Seven' members accused of sedition

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

SPRINGFIELD, Mass. — Three people accused of "conspiring to overthrow or put down or destroy by force the government of the United States" went on trial in a federal courthouse here January 10.

The courthouse was surrounded by dozens of police and federal marshals, some stationed on the rooftops with sniper rifles.

Raymond Luc Levasseur, Patricia Gros Levasseur, and Richard Williams are accused of a string of bombings and bank robberies from 1976 to 1984. They are alleged to have carried out these actions as part of the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit and the United Freedom Front.

The three now on trial are charged with sedition, racketeering conspiracy, and racketeering enterprise. Each faces up to 60 years in jail and \$60,000 in fines.

The sedition charge stems from an 1861 law first used against supporters of the Confederacy in the Civil War, and later applied against opponents of the draft in World War I and Puerto Rican nationalists.

Defense attorney Peter Avenia said the prosecution poses "a serious threat to fundamental liberties." The sedition statute, he said, could be used against participants in protest demonstrations.

"If people engage in political dissent and think this can't happen to them, they

should read the statute," Avenia stated.

The three are among seven individuals — known as the Ohio Seven — who have already been prosecuted on various criminal charges. Except for Patricia Gros Levasseur, all are now serving prison terms. One, Thomas Manning, is serving sentences of life and 53 years.

Counsel for the three defendants say they are being denied an unprejudiced jury of their peers, in part because of pretrial prosecution statements and media coverage. One juror is a former bank teller; others have expressed strong hostility to the defendants' views. Moreover, the panel was selected from voter registration lists — tending, the defendants point out, to under-represent Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and others.

The defense charges that the mobilization of police and marshals is an attempt to prejudice the accused as dangerous terrorists. Marshals occupy many seats in the courtroom, and Judge William Young has also ordered that marshals be stationed on either side of the jury box and next to the bench.

In pretrial proceedings, according to a statement distributed by supporters of the defendants, Young stated he had no objection to FBI investigations of prospective defense witnesses.



# Rallies boost Curtis defense campaign

BY SAM MANUEL

"No forked tongue with that man who is in prison for the simple fact that he stands for human dignity," said Piri Thomas as he welcomed 150 people to a January 21 rally in San Francisco to free Mark Curtis. Curtis is a trade unionist and political activist who was framed up and beaten by the Des Moines, Iowa, cops. He is now serving a 25-year prison sentence.

Thomas, a poet and advocate of independence for Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony in the Caribbean, read two poems. He announced that he would host a poetry reading in San Francisco on behalf of political prisoners on March 4.

John Gaige, national farm director for the Socialist Workers Party and SWP organizer in Des Moines, Iowa was the featured speaker at the rally.

Messages were read from Garrett Brown, who as an International Association of Machinists (IAM) member was fired from Lockheed in Atlanta for his political views; Bill Leumer, president of IAM Local 565 at Westinghouse in Sunnyvale, California; Tony Ryan of the Nicaragua Information Center and the *North Star Review* magazine; and Anne Marie Poirier of the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement.

Another 170 people rallied the same night in Pittsburgh to condemn the frame-up and demand freedom for Curtis.

Both rallies were sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, and took place in conjunction with regional political conferences of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance held in Pittsburgh and the Bay Area.

Curtis is a member of the SWP and former national chairperson of the YSA.

Four more rallies in defense of Curtis will take place on January 28 and February 4 in Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York. (See ad on page 3.)

## Starting point of frame-up

"In order to understand the frame up of Curtis, it is necessary to start with the first intended victims of this government attack, the Swift 17," explained James Warren, SWP national organization secretary. He was the featured speaker at the Pittsburgh rally.

On March 1, 1988, agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Office of the Inspector General for Health and Human Services raided the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines where Curtis worked. They arrested 17 immigrant workers in the plant and charged them with using false documents in order to obtain work.

Curtis helped to lead the effort of members of the union at Swift that forced the government to drop its charges against the 16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran. "Three days after the INS raid Curtis was arrested, beaten, and framed up by the Des Moines cops," Warren explained.

"We must reach out to those involved in politics in this country and throughout this world who represent, through their membership in organizations and their status as individuals, the fight for social progress in this world," Warren said.

Several supporters of Curtis from other countries also attended the rallies. They



January 21 rally in San Francisco. At front are poet Piri Thomas (seated) and Socialist Workers Party leader John Gaige.

were from Australia, Canada, Iceland, Iran, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, South Africa, and Sweden.

Defenders of Curtis in Sweden have published a pamphlet on his case. Defense committee sponsors in Sweden include Jan

Franck of Amnesty International; Stellan Hermanson, president of the Communist Youth; Billy Modise, African National Congress representative to Sweden; and Ahmed Ulusoy, Kurdistan National Front representative to Sweden. Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife, will tour Sweden and participate

in a defense rally for Curtis in Stockholm on February 18.

Following Warren's presentation in Pittsburgh, a Curtis supporter from Canada reported efforts there to win support for Curtis' freedom. A video of Curtis' trial was shown to United Steelworkers of America Local 1005 in Hamilton, the largest Steelworkers local in Canada. Several of the union's leaders signed up as sponsors of the Curtis defense committee.

Curtis supporters in Canada also took his case to the Gainers meat-packing workers in Alberta. These workers conducted a bitter strike in 1986. Hundreds of them were arrested and framed up for defending their union.

Another Curtis supporter from Canada had just returned from the convention of the National Farmers Union of Canada. She reported that 27 farmers from the convention signed cards supporting the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, including Wayne Easter, the president of the union.

A Curtis supporter from Britain reported that thousands of people in that country have signed petitions supporting freedom for Curtis. Among them are some 40 Labour Party members of Parliament and leaders of the largest trade unions in Britain such as the Transport and General Workers Union, National Union of Railwaymen, National Union of Mineworkers and the National Union of Journalists.

Mary Jo Vogel from San Francisco contributed to this story.

## 'Many cases like Curtis in S. Africa'

Reprinted below are excerpts from a speech by Susan Mnumzana to an international defense rally for frame-up victim Mark Curtis, which was held in Des Moines, Iowa, on Sept. 4, 1988.

Ten days after the rally, a jury found Curtis guilty of rape and burglary, despite the lack of evidence to substantiate the charges. He is currently serving a 25-year sentence in the Iowa state penitentiary in Anamosa.

Mnumzana is secretary for women's affairs at the African National Congress of South Africa observer mission to the United Nations. She worked in the ANC mission in France prior to coming to the United States.

In her talk, Mnumzana addressed two questions related to the defense of Mark Curtis: how false accusations of rape are used to victimize political activists, and how Curtis' beating and frame-up at the hands of the cops is standard operating procedure in capitalist countries, including South Africa.

\* \* \*

The charges that Mark faces now are not new. Mark is not the first person to be involved in something like this. And he's also not the last person to be involved in that. A repressive regime will always find ways of silencing the majority. It will always try to intimidate people, using all kinds of things — whether it kills people, whether it lies about people. But all these are aimed at intimidating the working class.

It is an irony to me that in the United States, which is a capitalist country like South Africa, where victims of rape are humiliated and it takes ages to actually convince the authorities that they have been raped, it appears at least in this city that the police are so benevolent, so righteous, that I just have to say the word and somebody like Mark is arrested, undergoes all kinds of tortures, and they call it democracy.

## No justice for rape victims

I don't think this is the kind of democracy that you want, because there are many rape victims out there who have never had justice and don't even have the prospect of justice ever being meted out against their attackers.

And I am speaking from the point of view of the woman. And I know that governments like these, or police departments like these, have got a way of using women to get to the people that they want to humiliate. And they hope not only to humiliate Mark, but to humiliate his wife, to humiliate his family, to humiliate his friends. Fortunately, it happens to a person who has been around to know what is happening.

And to Kate [Kaku, Curtis' wife] I'd like to say that the difference between her and people like Winnie Mandela, like Albertina Sisulu is only that Mark is in the United States and he is not on Robben Island or in Pollsmoor Prison.

When I was studying law at a university in the northern Transvaal, we came across many cases that looked like Mark Curtis' case. The Immorality Act was still in place in South Africa, and it was a crime to have sex across the color line.

It happened very often that the madams in the white suburbs, when their husbands are away, they'll get very mischievous and sexually harass the garden boy, the cook in the house. And when they are caught by their husbands in bed with these servants, then they scream rape. Many people have been executed for crimes they have not committed.

## Human rights violated in United States

I hope that this country that is screaming so loudly about violations of human rights in other countries, will take this case of Mark Curtis and other cases to prove that human rights are actually violated in the United States. It is hypocrisy to look around the world and condemn what is happening in other countries but turn a blind eye to what is happening in the United States.



Militant/Eric Simpson  
Susan Mnumzana of African National Congress UN mission speaks at September 4 rally in Des Moines.

Many of you here have been to demonstrations and meetings demanding the release of Moses Mayekiso, a trade unionist in South Africa who has been in custody now for close to two years, having done nothing except represent the grievances of the workers. He also has support all over the world. And this rally here today, I think, is also a tribute to Moses Mayekiso.

A case in point which is similar to Mark's is the case of the Sharpeville Six. These are five men and one woman who are falsely accused of killing a puppet [of the South African regime].

Police brutality will always be with us, for as long as we live in a class-divided society.

I remember a scene that I saw in Johannesburg when I was a little girl. Women used to brew beer and sell it to make ends meet. And we used to be posted to be on the lookout for police. And at that time to us it was a nice game, because when you saw the van coming you made a particular sound and the women would run to hide their things and all the paraphernalia, and life continued.

But it happened sometimes that we wouldn't notice the van coming or the police were just in plain clothes and we had no notion of who they were. And they started molesting these women, beating them up. Sometimes even raping them.

## How you can help

- **Win sponsors for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.** So far, 1,000 people from around the world have signed cards adding their names as sponsors. They include union officers, farm activists, government officials and leaders of political parties, antiracist and women's rights spokespersons, prominent civil libertarians, student leaders, and other frame-up victims.

Sponsor cards are available from the defense committee, along with a variety of literature on the case. Buttons that read: "Justice for Mark Curtis! An injury to one is an injury to all!" are also available.

- **Raise money.** The defense committee needs to raise \$50,000 in order to cover legal and publicity expenses. Con-

tributions 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.)

- **Write to Mark Curtis.** He is incarcerated in the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, Iowa. He can receive letters, cards, and photos only, not packages of any sort or money. Address letters to: Mark S. Curtis, No. 805338A, Box B, Anamosa, Iowa 52205. The defense committee would like to receive copies of the correspondence.

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



# 30th anniversary of Cuban revolution celebrated in Managua

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Cuba's socialist revolution is an "example without borders," said Norberto Hernández, Havana's ambassador here, at a celebration of the 30th anniversary of the revolution's victory.

Cuba's revolution was "the first attempt in Latin America to put an end to the exploitation of man by man, the first transition to socialism in Latin America, and the first fully victorious challenge to Yankee imperialism in its own backyard."

The Cuban revolution, the ambassador added, is "genuine and creative, born as a result of the far from accidental meeting of the views of José Martí with the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin." José Martí was a revolutionary patriot who is honored as the father of Cuban independence.

The rally here January 4 was attended by several hundred Cuban internationalist volunteers, among thousands of their countrymen working here in support of Nicaragua's revolution. Also present were many leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), representatives of pro-Sandinista union and farm organizations, and government officials.

Joining Cuba's ambassador on the platform were Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, and FSLN National Directorate members Henry Ruiz and Víctor Tirado. President Daniel Ortega was in Havana, heading a delegation of Nicaraguan leaders participating in the anniversary events held there.

## 'Creating the new man'

Hernández detailed Cuba's accomplishments in the areas of health, education, jobs, literacy, social security, women's rights, and establishing "the possibility of realizing oneself as an individual and as a social being."

The goal of creating new men and women, as explained by Che Guevara, is the "fundamental goal of every truly revolution-

ary transformation," Hernández added. Che's ideas have greater weight in Cuba today as a result of the "process of rectification of errors and negative tendencies," he said.

In Cuba, the ambassador explained, "material development goes hand in hand with the strengthening of revolutionary spirit, in other words, building socialism without capitalist levers."

The imperialists on a world scale, Hernández said, "are trying to present socialism as a system with no future." But it is precisely the process of building socialism that has allowed Cuba to make the gains it has.

"Why should we now take a different road?" he asked. "Why should we stop being ourselves in theory and in practice. Why should we renounce our ideological identity?"

## Combatting arms race

Hernández hailed agreements on reduction of nuclear missiles between the United States and the Soviet Union. He added that the money saved by any reduction in military spending as a result of such agreements should be allocated to "making possible the development of the countries of the Third World, and above all to solve the urgent problems of the foreign debt."

But, he also added, "peace between the great powers is not and never will be peace for small nations." The United States could reach an agreement with the Soviet Union "on the limitation and even the elimination of nuclear weapons, but this would not mean that it is going to allow the victory of revolutionary processes in the underdeveloped world."

The Cuban leader saluted the "courage of the Nicaraguan people and the wisdom of its vanguard," which made possible the defeat of the U.S.-backed contra army. "The defeat of the militarist line of the Reagan administration in Central America, and in particular in Nicaragua, has opened political space that can lead to a negotiated solution in the region," he asserted.

Hernández called on the incoming Bush administration to "accept a negotiated solution, not only with regard to Nicaragua, but in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Panama as well, so that these countries can enjoy an honorable peace, ending once and for all the plunder they have been victims of."

## 'Source of inspiration'

Speaking on behalf of the FSLN National Directorate, Víctor Tirado stressed that the Cuban revolution "has been a source of inspiration and solidarity for us."

"We absorbed its experiences and its lessons," he added, "and we incorporated into our doctrine and actions what we judged useful and appropriate, without ever trying to copy it, because every genuine revolution has to be original, to invent and reinvent, not to imitate."

Cuba's socialist revolution "opened a new era for the countries of Latin America, an era of national liberation, the true history of social progress," Tirado said.

The influence of the Cuban revolution also "inspired the upsurge of guerrilla movements in many Latin American countries," he said. "In the 1960s the new revolutionary movement of this continent saw in armed action and in socialism the solutions to the big problems in each country."

Nonetheless, the Sandinista leader said, "with the exception of our own, none of the armed movements in Latin America succeeded in taking power. This has led many superficial observers of history to reach the conclusion that the guerrilla struggles during the 1960s were in vain."

But, he said, "no genuine struggle is futile. The worst thing is to do nothing." The guerrilla efforts radicalized social sectors, such as religious forces, "who we never would have imagined joining the revolutionary camp." In addition, the armed struggles, he stated, "little by little compelled some governments, fearful of the outbreak of new armed movements, to carry out reforms."

Nonetheless, "the world has changed a great deal" since then, Tirado said. "Today



Militant/Larry Seigle  
Cuban ambassador to Nicaragua, Norberto Hernández, at anniversary celebration in Managua. Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, and FSLN National Directorate members Henry Ruiz and Víctor Tirado shared the platform. The Cuban leader said it is building socialism that has allowed Cuba to advance.

the forms of struggle cannot be the same as 20 years ago.

"The world revolutionary movement faces a new situation, and confronts new problems. There is a sort of reconciliation on a world scale, an understanding between the superpowers, a relaxation of international and regional tensions that we must utilize to push forward social, economic, and political progress in the so-called Third World, of which we are a part."

"It is time to adjust strategies and tactics to the new realities," Tirado argued. "In Latin America the era of guerrilla struggles isn't over, but it is not the only form of struggle. This is because in most of the countries of the continent, a period of reforms has opened, a period of parliamentary, electoral, and trade union struggles, where armed action is not on the agenda."

## New tests for Marxism

What is on the agenda, he said, "are solutions to the problem of the foreign debt, inflation, prices of raw materials, and economic stagnation." It is in fighting for solutions to these problems that "the revolutionary movement has to show it is in the forefront of the people's struggles, that it is the real alternative, and that its ideology, its political perspective, and its program and tactics are consistent."

"Marxism-Leninism and all revolutionary doctrines are submitted to new tests, and we have to be able to prove in action that these doctrines are valid and alive, and

are productive." Tirado said that a "new revolutionary theory" is needed to serve as "a guide for revolutionary action in the world conditions of today and tomorrow."

Turning to the subject of the debate about the impact of current Soviet policies on the revolutionary movement in Latin America, he said that "the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the United States and the development of *perestroika* are not, as is sometimes thought, obstacles to the development of the revolutionary movement in the Third World."

"To the contrary, they open up new possibilities, only in a different way. This is because economics is determining everything, and as Lenin would say, now politics is concentrated economics."

"Circumstances have changed," Tirado continued, "and this demands a renewal. What is happening is that the revolution has become more complicated, although it never was a simple matter. But now it is more complex."

"We face situations that we did not foresee and for which we were not adequately prepared," Tirado said. "At the same time, the revolution in the Third World can never depend only and exclusively on agreements or disagreements among the superpowers, because we will never look to others to chart our course."

"We have to create our own strategy. We have to be able to define our own road, in order to be less dependent on shifts in the great centers of power."

## Anti-Sandinista marchers hold protest in Managua on Jan. 15

BY THERESA DELGADILLO

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A coalition of anti-Sandinista political parties, unions, and business groups demonstrated here January 15. The opposition action was the first since last July when demonstrators gathered in the town of Nandaime attacked police, and several dozen protesters were arrested.

Although the opposition coalition claimed that the action would "have the massive support of the population," the actual number of demonstrators who turned out was about 2,500. Nearly as many bystanders and vendors lined the streets along part of the march route.

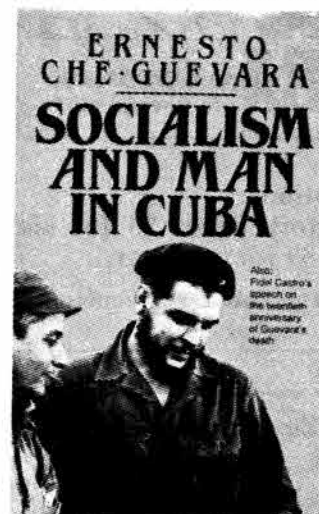
Organizers of the march included two umbrella opposition formations, the Democratic Coordinating Committee and the Permanent Council of Workers, as well as 14 political parties.

Sandinista Police stayed far away from concentration points. However, they did try to divert traffic away from the march route.

The action marked the 11th anniversary of the murder of Pedro Joaquín Chamorro. Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa*, was prominent in the opposition to the Somoza tyranny. He was assassinated by the National Guard in 1978.

Chants of "We don't want weapons, we want food!" "Democracy yes, Sandinismo no!" and "Down with military service!" could be heard from all contingents. The Social Christians, Liberals, and Conservatives leading the march carried placards reading "Down with communism" and "No more starvation wages." At the tail end of the march members of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and Communist Party carried flags imprinted with hammer and sickles and slogans such as "For democracy, peace, and national reconstruction."

## Che Guevara's Socialism and Man in Cuba



Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia has reissued Ernesto Che Guevara's well-known article on the first years of the Cuban revolution. This 48-page pamphlet in English or Spanish also includes Cuban President Fidel Castro's 1987 speech marking the 20th anniversary of Che's death. \$1.95

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Specify English or Spanish pamphlet. Please include 75¢ for postage and handling. Or from Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037, Australia • Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England • 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1S8, Canada.



# Sweden: leader of Samic people greets Sankara book

On Dec. 11, 1988, in Stockholm, Sweden, a meeting was held to celebrate the publication of *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87* by Pathfinder. Meetings to launch the book have also been held in New York and London. Sankara was the principal leader of the Burkina Faso revolution until he was murdered in a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1987.

Following is the message sent to the Stockholm meeting by Lars-Anders Baer from the Luokta Mavas Samic settlement in Umeå, Sweden.

The Samic people are an indigenous people living in northern Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Soviet Union. Their economic life centers on herding reindeer.

## Samic settlement

A Samic settlement is a group of families who organize their work cooperatively. It is an economic unit, confined to a specific geographic area and regulated by the laws governing the reindeer industry.

The Samic settlements are also political units, defending the right to pasture land for the reindeer. All Samic settlements in Sweden are organized in the Swedish Samic National Association.

The Nordic Samic Council is made up of the Swedish Samic National Association, and its counterparts in Finland and Norway. It keeps in contact with the Samic people in the Soviet Union.

Baer is the vice-president of the Nordic Samic Council, an executive board member of the World Council of Indigenous People, and an executive board member of the Swedish Samic National Association.

The translation from Swedish is by the *Militant*.

\* \* \*

During his lifetime, as well as after his death, Thomas Sankara became a representative for a new leadership, liberated from the straitjacket of European colonialism and based on the experience and culture of the African continent. A leadership characterized by humbleness, sensitivity, and re-

spect for human beings — as individuals and as a whole.

Seen from the perspective of the indigenous peoples — for whom the struggle for life, independence, and cultural development is the goal of daily and long-term political efforts — Thomas Sankara is an example in both words and deeds.

The Samic people in Sweden are now in a stage of decolonization. The Swedish state is so far denying the Samic people their right to self-determination. The situation in Norway and Finland is not much better. From a Nordic perspective, the struggle of the Samic people for their rights to land, water, and self-determination is almost identical with the struggle by the African peoples for independence and human rights.

The book *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, published by Pathfinder, is therefore not only a record of Thomas Sankara's message, but also a testament to the part of humanity that works for freedom, equality, and fraternity, and for the right to self-determination for all peoples.

## More storm relief urged for Nicaragua

BY HARRY RING

William Callahan, national coordinator of Quest for Peace, recently returned from a 10-day visit to the hurricane-stricken area of Nicaragua. In a telephone interview he discussed his trip.

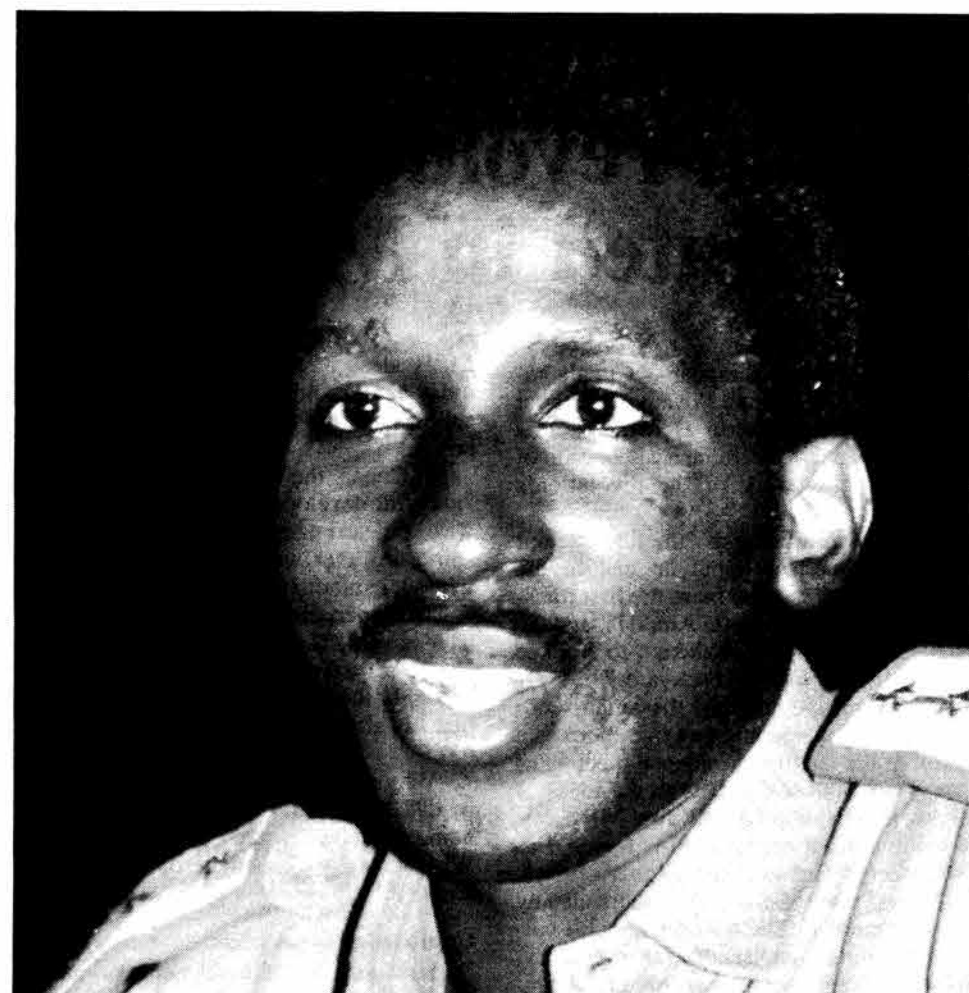
Quest for Peace, based in Washington, D.C., has played a major role in organizing humanitarian aid for Nicaragua. Since Hurricane Joan hit last October, it has doubled its efforts.

### Expanded relief drive

The Quest network is now mapping plans for an ongoing, expanded hurricane relief drive that will reach into other countries.

The need for relief, Callahan said, "will go on much longer than we originally anticipated."

Callahan went to Bluefields, on the east coast of Nicaragua, and Rama, several



Militant/Sam Manuel

Thomas Sankara at anti-apartheid conference in October 1987. President of Burkina Faso was, "from the perspective of the indigenous peoples, an example in both words and deeds."

hours to the west. These towns were hardest hit by the storm.

Approaching the Bluefields area by plane, he said, you could see the decimation of an estimated 4,000 square miles of rain forest.

In Bluefields the storm "blew the top off everything. In some cases, entire structures were blown away." But, Callahan added, "the town is rebuilding and coming back to life."

He was encouraged to find a cooperative spirit in Bluefields "that goes beyond anything I saw there before."

One reason for this, he said, is that the people — "even those who haven't been that enthusiastic about the revolution" — credit the government for the evacuation operation it conducted as the storm approached.

While more than 130 people died, the people feel that without the massive evacuation, the toll would have been in the thousands.

He described the situation in Rama, which sits 30 feet above a point where three rivers converge. The storm caused the waters to rise so high that the town was engulfed with mud and debris.

A volunteer brigade of 800 came in to clear it out. He said 2,400 eight-ton truckloads were removed before people could begin moving back into Rama. And 250 of the volunteers required hospital treatment for illnesses contracted while clearing out the muck.

But, he said, the bulk of the debris is gone and the town is starting to function again. A few shops are open and people are working on their homes.

### U.S. gov't refuses to give aid

Nevertheless, Callahan stressed, the need for emergency relief for the entire stricken region remains pressing. The problem is particularly acute, he said, because of the refusal of the U.S. government to give any emergency aid to Nicaragua.

U.S. citizens, he added, have responded generously.

Since the hurricane, Quest for Peace has filled 35 cargo containers with relief supplies and raised more than \$10 million to accomplish this. Callahan estimates that other organizations have raised at least another \$85 million worth of aid.

Recalling the millions Washington sent to the Somoza regime at the time of the 1972 earthquake, he noted that none of that aid got to the poor people of Nicaragua. This time, "all the aid is getting to the poor."

Current relief needs, he said, include powdered milk, summer-weight clothing, building supplies and hand tools for recon-

struction, kitchen utensils, and educational and sports equipment.

Quest for Peace plans for the year will emphasize linking up with people in other countries who are or can be involved in aiding Nicaragua.

"We don't like U.S. policy," Callahan said, "and we're working to build a policy we do like. And we're starting to think about this in more international terms. We want to share the reality that the U.S. people have been in deep disagreement with their government on Central America."

### \$100 million in relief

Callahan said that in 1989 Quest for Peace will aim at raising \$100 million in hurricane relief for Nicaragua.

He stressed that this is a realizable goal, pointing to the excellent response Quest has already had.

When the hurricane relief campaign was launched, press notices on it appeared in some 30 papers. From this alone, Callahan said, they received 1,100 unsolicited contributions averaging \$100 each, for a total of \$110,000.

For information on aid activity, or to send a contribution, contact Quest for Peace/Hurricane Relief Fund, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, Md. 20782. Telephone (301) 699-0042.

## U.S. Blacks' life span dropped in 1985, '86

For the first time in the 20th century, the life expectancy of Blacks in the United States declined for two consecutive years — 1985 and 1986 — while that of whites continued to rise.

In 1984 a report from the National Center for Health Statistics stated that life expectancy was 75.3 years for whites and 69.7 years for Blacks.

The number slipped to 69.5 years for Blacks in 1985 and 69.4 in 1986. The figure for whites rose in this period to 75.4 years.

Death by tuberculosis rose by 8.5 percent among Blacks in 1985 and 1986, while dropping by 3 percent among whites. Death from AIDS-related diseases, pneumonia, and several types of cancer increased disproportionately among Blacks. Infant mortality remained twice as high.

Heart disease, the country's number one killer, took 5 percent fewer lives among whites during this two-year period and only 1 percent fewer among Blacks.

Homicide victims among Blacks increased by 15 percent. Homicide among whites increased by 5 percent.

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# Philippines leader says repression rises

BY DEB SHNOOKAL

NEW YORK — Recently, Zenaida Uy, secretary-general of the Philippine organization, Bayan, toured parts of the United States and Canada on behalf of the Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in the Philippines. During her stop here she granted an interview to the *Militant*.

Uy described Bayan as a "federation of grass-roots organizations and cause-orient-

## INTERVIEW

ed groups." She said there are 2,000 such organizations in the Philippines, with a combined membership of 3 million.

Bayan — the New Patriotic Alliance — was born in the midst of the massive popular movement to oust President Ferdinand Marcos, whose rule was toppled in 1986. Since then, Bayan has continued to fight around the social issues that confront the workers and farmers of the Philippines. It engages in "pressure politics" — pickets, strikes, and other mass protests.

Uy, a teacher, had been a prominent leader of the oust-Marcos movement on the island of Cebu. She was initially elected chairman of Bayan for Cebu in 1985. After the 1987 assassination of Bayan's leader, Leandro Alejandro, she assumed the post of secretary-general.

Discussing Philippine developments since Marcos was overthrown and Corazon Aquino was elected president, Uy said, "there has been no fundamental change, so groups like Bayan have continued the fight for economic and social justice."

Uy characterized Aquino's land program as "a dismal failure." As a result, she said, organized groups of farmers "continue to take their own initiatives by occupying government lands."

"They are learning what it means to



Zenaida Uy, secretary-general of Bayan coalition in Philippines.

work the land as a group, in a collective effort, and have started to reap the fruit of their toil without having to give a share to a despotic landlord."

She said the land occupations are occurring in Visayas and Mindanao and are beginning to spread to other areas.

Participants, she added, have not been deterred from occupying plots of land even though this disqualifies them from participating in the government's "land reform" program.

Another major difficulty for the Filipino people, the Bayan leader charged, is that Aquino "has opened the doors completely to foreign investors."

"We simply haven't learned the lessons of the Marcos regime," Uy said, "when the country was brought to the edge of economic bankruptcy because of the export-oriented, debt-dependent, and labor-intensive economy."

Because of the deepening social crisis, she explained, "What is taking place is the unleashing of the full force of the military and their surrogate forces, the armed death squads."

Last November Gen. Fortunato Abat, the undersecretary of defense, declared at a news conference that he considered a number of organizations "outlawed." Since then, the Aquino government has neither confirmed nor repudiated his declaration.

The organizations whose right to legal existence was challenged by the general included the May 1 Movement (KMU), the militant union federation with more than a half-million members; Bayan; the Peasant Movement of the Philippines; Gabriela, a major feminist organization; and the League of Filipino Students.

Abat's statement came in the context of continuing murderous assaults on unionists and left-wing political leaders by right-wing vigilante outfits.

Uy pointed out that since Aquino was elected, Bayan has lost more than 50 leaders, "either killed or disappeared."

Last October, a KMU union leader, Oscar Bantayan, was killed by vigilantes, bringing protest strikes in several regions.

Two years earlier, KMU Chairman Rolando Olalia and his driver were similarly assassinated. A presidential investigation found government and military officials responsible, but charges are yet to be made.

In the past five months alone, eight unionists have been slain in Central Luzon and on Negros island, and another was "disappeared."

Uy said that Bayan is still able to function openly in Manila, but there is stepped-up surveillance.

Meanwhile, over the past year nine people described as leading members of the Communist Party of the Philippines have been arrested.

Last fall, the government canceled the passport of former Communist Party chairman Jose Maria Sison while he was out of the country. Sison spent eight years in jail under Marcos' rule. The Aquino regime claims "proof" that Sison has resumed the chairmanship of the party and has revived charges of conspiracy and treason against him initially made by Marcos.

Uy declared that while the armed forces are determined to crush the opposition, "the objective conditions that brought people into the struggle remain the same."

## British gov't forced to reopen Guildford 4 case

BY FRED FELDMAN

The British government has yielded to widespread demands that the case of the "Guildford Four," jailed since 1974 on charges of carrying out bombings of pubs that caused five deaths, be reopened. They are serving life sentences.

Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, who refused to reopen the case two years ago, cited "allegedly new evidence" January 16 in referring the case to the Court of Appeal.

The four — Carole Richardson, Paddy Armstrong, Paul Hill, and Gerard Conlon — were convicted on the basis of confessions obtained from them while in custody. The four repudiated their confessions as having been extracted through beatings and other mistreatment. They have maintained their innocence ever since.

Their confessions also formed the basis for the arrest and conviction of Anne Maguire, aunt of Gerard Conlon, and six other members and friends of the family on charges of possession of explosives. Giuseppe Conlon, one of the six, died in prison in 1980. Hurd has refused so far to reopen this case.

A sustained campaign against the convictions has been organized by the Relatives Campaign for the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven.

Those who have expressed support for the four include Archbishop Robert Runcie, religious leader of the Church of England; Cardinal Basil Hume of the Roman Catholic Church; 200 members of Parliament; Amnesty International; two former British home secretaries, Merlyn Rees and Roy Jenkins; and two prominent judges, Patrick Devlin and Leslie Scarman.

A spokesperson for the government of the Republic of Ireland said January 16 that Irish authorities had "consistently conveyed serious concern about the Guildford Four case to the British authorities."

Medical evidence indicates that Richardson, who was 17 at the time, signed her confession after being given a strong relax-

ant drug by authorities.

Two medical reports on Richardson, prepared with the approval of prison medical authorities, concluded that she had made a false confession.

In addition, witnesses have come forward who say they were with Hill and Richardson when the bombings took place. One, Maura Kelly, said she decided not to come forward initially after being threatened by police officers.

In 1975, four members of an alleged IRA unit confessed to police that they had carried out the bombings attributed to the Guildford Four, as well as others. Evidence indicates that forensic evidence supporting this claim was withheld by the government.

The Court of Appeal, nevertheless, upheld the convictions of the four in 1977.

Erroll Smalley, who is Paul Hill's uncle, spoke on the case to a recent New International Forum held in London. He said members of the families of the four still face harassment, including threats and search raids of their homes.

Paul Hill, Smalley said, has been moved from prison nearly 50 times and has spent more than 1,600 days in solitary confinement.

Following Hurd's announcement that the case would be reopened, Smalley commented, "On past record, nobody can be overconfident that justice will be done in this case."

No alleged IRA "terrorist" has ever been acquitted in a British court, nor have any of the convictions been overturned.

In January 1988, convictions of six people serving up to 30-year terms on charges stemming from 1974 bombings of pubs in Birmingham, England, were upheld after review by the Court of Appeals. Two Birmingham police officers admitted that confessions had been beaten out of the six at a police station.

Lee Parlett in London contributed to this article.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Prague cops storm rally, beat protesters

Hundreds of helmeted, stick-wielding riot cops backed by water cannons stormed a demonstration of 2,000 people in Prague, Czechoslovakia, January 19. The demonstration, which had been banned by government authorities, marked the fifth consecutive day of protests in the capital city.

The protest rally was being held to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach, a student who set himself on fire Jan. 16, 1969, to protest the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The cops charged the rally from all directions. They grabbed people, threw them to the ground, and repeatedly struck them with nightsticks. Many in the crowd cried, "Gestapo, Gestapo!" At least eight ambulances were seen picking up the seriously wounded at the site of the attack.

The demonstrators demanded greater political freedoms and the release of Vaclav Havel, the country's most prominent dissident and a banned playwright. Havel was arrested three days earlier along with 13 others.

The rallies corresponded with the meeting of the 35-nation European Security Conference in Vienna, where Czechoslovakia agreed to a new accord on human rights.

### U.S. spy flights over N. Korea condemned

A January 12 statement from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Observer Mission to the United Nations condemned the increase in U.S. spy flights over North Korea.

The statement noted that the increase comes on the "threshold of 'Team Spirit 89'," a joint exercise between the U.S. and South Korean armed services. Some 42,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea.

The U.S. military has used AWACS and U-2 spy planes, according to the statement. There have been six U-2 spy flights over North Korea since January 10.

The statement reiterated Pyongyang's call for cancellation of the military exercise and the setting up of tripartite peace talks, which would include Seoul and Washington.

On January 16 Pyongyang and Seoul agreed to meet in February to explore the possibility of holding prime ministerial-level talks.

### Sri Lankan activist deported from Britain

Viraj Mendis, a Sri Lankan, was deported from Britain January 20 after losing a battle for the right to political asylum. He had lived in Britain for 13 years.

Mendis is a member of the majority Sinhalese community in Sri Lanka. He says his life will be in danger there because of his support to the struggle of the Tamil minority for self-determination. According to Amnesty International, the Sri Lankan government has one of the worst human rights records in the world.

British police arrested Mendis January 18 at the Church of the Ascension in Manchester in a dawn raid that began when police smashed down church doors with sledgehammers. Mendis had been living in sanctuary at the church since 1986.

His arrest sparked demonstrations of protest in Manchester and expressions of outrage from opposition members of parliament.

The government returned Mendis to Sri Lanka, although he had received tentative offers of asylum from Gibraltar and West Germany.

British officials refused to delay deportation pending an appeal by Mendis to the European Court of Human Rights. The court has condemned the government's immigration procedures.



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Abortion Rights Under Attack.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**El Salvador Radio Aid Project.** A cultural-political event featuring the film *Las Masas*. Sat., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: San Francisco CISPES. For more information call (415) 626-8829.

**Black History Month Book Sale.** 20 percent off books by Malcolm X at Pathfinder Bookstore, 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). For more information call (415) 282-6255.

**An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!** An evening of poetry with Piri Thomas. A benefit for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., March 4, 7 p.m. Dolores Street Baptist Church, 15th and Dolores. Sponsor: Supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Abortion Rights Under Siege: Defending a Woman's Right to Choose.** Speakers: Barbara Bolten, vice-president public relations, Boston National Organization for Women; Maggie Pucci, chairperson Boston Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Celebration of the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.** Showing of five Cuban videos. Speaker: Shelton McCrainey, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 28. Open house sponsored by Pathfinder bookstore, including abbreviated showing of videos, 11 a.m. Forum program and full showing of videos, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

**Cuito Cuanavale: The Defeat of South African Troops in Angola.** Showing of the Cuban documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." In English. Sat., Feb. 4, 2 p.m. Mayflower United Church of Christ, 7301 Curtis St. Sponsors: African National Congress, Pan-African Student Union-WSU, Rev. Daniel Webster Aldridge, Jr., Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

### East Lansing

**Will Michigan Be the Radioactive Waste Dump for Seven States?** Protest rally. Tue., Feb. 7, 6:30 p.m. State Capitol. Speakers: Mary Sinclair, founder of Don't Waste Michigan and Great Lakes Energy Alliance; Michael Nye, state representative, Hillsdale; Lana Pollack, state senator, Ann Arbor. Sponsor: Don't Waste Michigan; Hillsdale Organization for Preservation of the Environment. For more information call (517) 487-6873.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International. Call toll-free 800-521-1044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

## MINNESOTA

### Minneapolis

**Celebrate 30 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Don Rojas, secretary of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of Central America and the Caribbean; Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Marxist journal *New Internationalist* and Socialist Workers Party leader; Tomi-Riva Nuumbala, South West Africa People's Organisation; Rev. Curtis Herron, minister of Minneapolis Zion Baptist Church. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. Reception to follow. Cowles Auditorium, Hubert H. Humphrey Center, University of Minnesota-West Bank. Donation: \$3-\$10. Sponsors: Africana Student Cultural Center, Progressive Student Organization, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, others. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## NEBRASKA

### Omaha

**The Working-Class Road to Peace.** A Young Socialist Alliance class. Speaker: Erich Christiansen, YSA. Thurs., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Stop Threats Against Libya.** Speaker: Nick Gruenberg, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**U.S. Attacks on Libya: Which Side for Working People?** Speaker: Bob Schwarz, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Origins of Women's Oppression: A Marxist View.** A weekly seminar beginning week of Feb. 5, 2219 E Market. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**The Last Year of Malcolm X, Internationalist and Revolutionary.** Speakers: Ned Measel, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 1104; Batseitsi Miygo, South African student. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Stop Racist Attacks!** Speakers: Charles Ford, first vice-chairperson, Northeast Coalition of Neighborhoods; Moe Hassan, member Portland State University Students Against Apartheid; K.C. Ellis, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Abortion is a Woman's Right.** Speakers: Ann Rothbart and Shari Gilbert, Young Socialist

Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Defend the Rights of Immigrant Workers.** Eyewitness report from the Rio Grande Valley. Speaker: Brad Downs, Young Socialist Alliance, member United Steelworkers of America Local 2228. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**Celebrate Cuba's 30 Years of Building Socialism.** Classes and forum, Sat., Feb. 11 and Sun., Feb. 12. "Cuba's Role in Angola," class. Sat., 3:30 p.m. Forum with Prof. Zuberi Mwamba, and Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party and member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227, Sat., 7:30 p.m. "Che Guevara's 'Socialism and Man,'" class Sun., 11 a.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## UTAH

### Price

**Celebrate 30 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Dave Prince, Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba 1968-69 and 1981. Sun., Jan. 29, 5 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### Salt Lake City

**Defend Abortion Rights.** A panel of speakers including representatives from National Organization for Women, Wasatch Women's Center, Socialist Workers Party, others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Keep Abortion Safe and Legal.** A panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Why the Minimum Wage Should be Raised.** Speaker: Deborah Lazar, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 14287. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**77th Anniversary of the African National Congress.** Hear update on the fight to free Nelson Mandela. Speakers: Aubrey Mokoena, chairperson Release Mandela Campaign in South Africa; Dr. Ben Chavis, United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice; entertainment by Shirley Scott trio. Sun., Jan. 29. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Howard University, Cramton Auditorium. Sponsor: African National Congress, South Africa Women's Day Committee, Howard University African Students Association. For more information call (202) 882-1817.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**Drug Testing: An Attack on Workers' Rights.** Speaker: Maggie McCraw, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 3-89. Sat., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant

## 77th Anniversary Celebration of African National Congress

Speakers: **Tebogo Mafale**, ANC representative to the United Nations; **Helmut Angula**, South West Africa People's Organisation's representative to the UN.

Fri., Jan. 27, 6:30 p.m.  
Martin Luther King Labor Center  
310 West 43rd Street

Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### Morgantown

**Celebration of 30 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Cosmo Pieterse, South African poet in exile, professor of English at Ohio University; Kenyon Stebbins, assistant professor of anthropology, West Virginia University; Chris Wolford, Venceremos Brigade participant, member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Pattie Sanchez, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

## BRITAIN

### London

**Cancel the Third World Debt.** Speaker: John Barton. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum. For more information call 01-401-2293.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**No to the New Laws Against Refugees! Thousands Threatened With Deportation.** Speakers: Nancy Pocock, coordinator, Quaker Committee for Refugees; Tom Clark, Inter-church Committee for Refugees; Hani Samber, chairperson Legal Defence Committee for Mahmoud Mohammad, Palestinian facing deportation; Tom Leys, Revolutionary Workers League, striking member United Steelworkers of America; representative of Black Action Defence Committee. Sat., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Palestine Uprising Enters Second Year: What the Palestinians Are Fighting For.** Speaker: Abdullah Abdullah, Palestine Liberation Organization representative in Canada. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

## SWEDEN

### Stockholm

**Cuban and Angolan Victory Over South Africa.** Cuban documentary video on the Angolan and Cuban victory over apartheid regime's troops in Angola. Sun., Jan. 29, 3 p.m. in Medborgarhuset, rooms 403 and 404. T-bana Medborgarplatsen. In English and Spanish. Sponsors: Cuba-Sweden Friendship Society. Stockholm Africa Group, Pathfinder.

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## AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor,



**Confederate bonds next?** — Washington and Moscow are discussing repayment of bonds from tsarist Russia, repudiated after the October 1917 revolution. Two



Harry Ring

years ago the Soviet government agreed to pay \$68 million to British investors who had held onto the bonds, mainly as mementos, or who acquired them, often

for pennies.

**Sure, why worry people** — British scientists report a link between Alzheimer's brain disease and aluminum in drinking water. Apparently brushing the finding aside, the Ministry of Agriculture indicated it would give the all-clear to baby's milk containing high levels of aluminum.

**A cool drink of water** — Citing it as more dangerous than hazardous waste dumps or air pollution, the Environmental Protection Agency says half the nation's drinking water is fouled by pesticides. It estimates 6,000 cases of cancer a year from just a third of the pesticides in use.

**The caring system** — Injured in a car accident, Thomas Bennett, 81, died after nine days in a New York City hospital. Even though his wallet contained his daughter's address and phone number, the family was never notified and searched frantically for him. They learned of his death after finding in his mailbox a bill from the hospital.

**Translating racism** — The widely used Larousse English-Spanish dictionary includes a translation of the word *sentido* ("sense") and examples of its usages, including: "Negroes have a good sense of rhythm."

**Mercy, for some** — Winford

Green, a Topeka, Kansas, school administrator was convicted of embezzling \$62,210 of federal money earmarked for vocational training for handicapped students. The judge gave him two years — with all but six months suspended — and recommended he spend the time at a halfway house.

**Housing tip** — A top floor apartment at New York's 1 East River Place (50 stories) rents for \$8,600 a month. But the same apartment on the 20th floor goes for only \$4,800.

**Nothing's perfect** — U.S. airlines are so safe that the odds are that you'd have to fly every day for 29,000 years before getting

killed. And the odds would be even better if not for lax air traffic control, substandard maintenance, undertrained cockpit crews, and aging equipment. That's according to a Massachusetts Institute of Technology study.

**P.S.** — We were wondering: according to that study, 700 people died in U.S. crashes over a seven-year period. Did each of them fly every day for 29,000 years?

**Thought for the week** — "Do I sense fear? Yes. At some point there is going to be a rebellion against greed." — Martin Weinstein, a Wall Street wheeler-dealer, on the rash of leveraged takeovers.

## Fidel Castro speaks to youth at January 8 rally

Continued from front page

Cuban Pioneers and secondary students. They were a sea of color with their flags and banners and enthusiastically chanted and applauded. The most prominent contingents were from Namibia, Angola, North Korea, and Nicaragua.

Unlike the generation that made the revolution, Castro said, "the new generation has to develop, defend, and perfect socialism." This, he explained, is all the more necessary because "world imperialism and capitalism are too arrogant, powerful, and haughty to give up the idea of eliminating socialism in the world" and particularly of "destroying the Cuban revolution."

Returning to a theme he had spelled out at earlier speeches on January 1 and 4 marking the 30th anniversary activities, Castro emphasized that "the imperialists think that defeating the revolution will be much easier with the new generation." There is present in the world today "a sort of capitalist euphoria stemming from the reforms and self-criticisms that are taking place in various countries. . . . That euphoria tries to present capitalist mechanisms as the only mechanisms to resolve problems, to achieve productivity, to develop."

By contrast, "the imperialists are annoyed about Cuba's firm attitude . . . and revolutionary intransigence."

"Perhaps our greatest challenge," the Cuban leader said, "is perfecting socialism without resorting to the mechanisms and style of capitalism, without being capitalistic. Towards that end we are now in a process of rectification."

"Do we or do we not have reason to believe men would rather live in a more humane, more generous, more solidaristic, and fairer society than in the society of the capitalist world, where the law of the jungle prevails?" he asked.

Castro noted that the "socialist formula," which he defined as where "each person is to contribute according to his means and to receive according to his work," has been "part of the historic process of our revolution."

But, he said, "We can't always apply the principle of giving each according to his means and the amount of work he does." Castro cited the examples of free education and health care for children regardless of how much work their parents have done. Nor does anyone, he added, ask someone who needs a heart transplant how much they work or contribute. "Dozens of heart transplants have been done here. I would like to ask if it cost any citizen a single centavo."

Castro emphasized, "The construction of socialism cannot follow the capitalist formula of giving the most weight to material incentives. It is not possible to speak of

the construction of socialism without giving the most attention to the moral factor." Using "vulgar capitalist methods" such as "glorifying the boosting of wages" will fail to build socialism, he said.

This is nothing new, Castro reminded his audience, since Che Guevara, the Argentine-born fellow leader of the Cuban revolution, "said this many years ago."

Driving home this point, Castro explained that in the course of the revolution, "Men have taken all kinds of risks. Hundreds of thousands of fellow citizens have risked their lives carrying out internationalist missions. How much money could have paid for this? No one would offer his life for money because, among other things, money is worthless when you are dead. No one would offer his life for 1 million pesos or even 10 million pesos, yet men are capable of dying en masse for their ideas."

Returning to this theme, Castro later commented that "some people" think that "the heroic stage [of the Cuban revolution] is over" but "this idea is false."

Referring to the historic victory of Angolan, Cuban, and Namibian forces over South African troops at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, the Cuban leader pointed to the heroism of the "tens of thousands of men and women that advanced to the south of Angola, converted into a powerful fist prepared to vanquish the apartheid army unless it withdrew."

Underlining the close interconnection between internationalist volunteers and voluntary work in Cuba, Castro said that he meant, "not only heroism on the battlefield or in a military sense . . . but also civil heroism."

"This," he said, "is a key idea for the younger generation."

Pointing to the discipline and self-organization of the construction contingents, he went on to say that "there can be no socialist or communist consciousness until work ceases to be ruled by legislative precepts, or by some imposition, some form of coercion, imposed by society, and becomes something that is truly done in a conscious way."

Castro concluded his speech by reminding his youthful audience of "the great responsibilities" they had on the world stage and especially in Latin America, "and not only in the internal affairs of Cuba."

Referring to the huge foreign debts, un-

### Affirmative action

Continued from front page

Richmond's judgment on this point," he said.

"As much as any municipality in the United States, Richmond knows what racial discrimination is; a century of decisions by this and other Federal courts has richly documented the city's disgraceful history of public and private racial discrimination."

The court, he said, was signaling "that it regards racial discrimination as largely a phenomenon of the past, and that government bodies need no longer preoccupy themselves with rectifying racial injustice. I, however, do not believe this nation is anywhere close to eradicating racial discrimination or its vestiges."



Militant/Ron Poulsen

Contingent of Nicaraguan students in Havana join in January rally addressed by Cuban president Fidel Castro.

equal trade, protectionism, and systematic plundering and looting by imperialism, he said, "This is a decisive moment in the history of Latin America and the Caribbean. We perceive a great ebullience, a great rebellion in those countries against imperialist domination, never before witnessed. These are truly new times."

Cooperation for Latin American independence, integration, and unity is "a political necessity, an economic necessity." This unity must come before any concern about the different social systems, he said. In the same way, he explained that Cuba "must continue to develop its relations with the socialist countries, independent of the

style or model of socialism that they pursue."

Moreover, "the present generation" must "continue developing ties with the revolutionary, progressive forces; the working class; the progressive and honest intellectuals; the democrats in the capitalist countries."

It was with this in mind that the Cuban leader in his concluding remarks, emphasized "the historic task" of the Cuban people, particularly of the young generation — "the duty of setting an example, of expressing solidarity, of advancing the revolution, of raising and enhancing the ideas of socialism, the prestige of socialism."

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Feb. 2, 1979

Clinging to the rags of "legality" left behind by the fugitive shah who appointed him, Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar declared January 21: "I am the legitimate ruler of Iran and will continue to defend my post."

On January 24 Bakhtiar made his move, sealing off Tehran's Mehrabad Airport behind a ring of tanks and troops in an attempt to prevent the return of exiled opposition leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

With Khomeini scheduled to return to Iran January 26, the stage is set for a showdown.

Even if Bakhtiar tries to back down now it is questionable whether he can control the shah's officer corps. The generals know that their forces are melting away day by day.

The shah's flight from the country, the evident weakness of the Bakhtiar regime, and the continued appeals of the Iranian people are winning over large sections of the ranks of the army to the side of the op-

position, while eroding the confidence of soldiers loyal to the shah

**THE MILITANT**

Published in the interests of the Working People

Feb. 3, 1964

Price 10¢

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro explained clearly the reasons for his trip to the Soviet Union in a major speech in Havana January 24, the day after his return.

Central to the discussions with the Soviet leaders, Castro explained, was the problem of fluctuation of sugar prices on the world market. At present they are as high as 11 cents a pound, but as he put it, "no one can tell what the price will be in 1968, 1969, or 1970."

However, he went on, "socialism implies, above all, the idea of a planned economy, and to plan we must have sure bases, to know what resources we can count on. How can we know what resources we have when there is one price today and another tomorrow?"

The negotiations established a firm price of six cents over a six-year period.

### Veteran socialist Milton Genecin dies

Milton Genecin, a veteran socialist, died January 24. He was 80 years old. Genecin, who lived in Los Angeles, was a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party until he left in 1983. The *Militant* will carry a report on Genecin's life in a subsequent issue.



## Defend affirmative action

The interests of all working people were set back when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a Richmond, Virginia, ordinance setting aside 30 percent of public construction contracts for minority contractors was unconstitutional.

The ruling and the majority opinion set a legal groundwork for minimizing the scope and goals of affirmative action; junking some affirmative action plans; discouraging the setting up of new ones; and encouraging lawsuits and other resistance to affirmative action.

The ruling was a blow to the democratic rights of Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed minorities to full equality of opportunity at every level of the construction industry. It reinforces discriminatory practices long faced by Blacks who try to start up their own businesses.

But the decision was much more than that. It sought to deal a blow aimed at the long struggle of the working class to overcome divisions that the employers have created through many forms of systematic discrimination.

The labor movement should respond to this attack by demanding not only the reversal of this decision, but the vast extension of affirmative action to root out discrimination on the basis of skin color in the work force, education, housing, and other areas.

The battle for affirmative action to overcome racist, sexist, and other divisions in our class is a key part of uniting our class to fight effectively for other advances.

To hear the Supreme Court majority tell it, racist discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, Indians, and others is a thing of the past in the United States. Now, they indicate, the courts must rally to the defense of whites who are the victims of racial discrimination under the affirmative action programs.

The day after the decision, the National Urban League's 1989 report on the "State of Black America" punctured that falsehood. Black per capita income, as a percentage of white income, has dropped in each of the past two years. Black poverty rates rose in 1987, while those of whites declined. Black unemployment for the first nine months of 1988 averaged 11.8 percent, while

unemployment for whites stood at 5.4 percent.

Moreover, according to an analysis of applications for home loans conducted by the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and published January 22, savings and loan banks reject Black applicants twice as often as white.

Institutionalized racist and sexist discrimination generates billions in superprofits for the employers by allowing them to push down the wages and working conditions of millions of workers — white and Black, male and female. At the same time, they obstruct and undermine the efforts of working people to unify our ranks in struggle.

Racist and sexist practices help create large "pariah" layers of the working class who must accept less than living wages and are denied a multitude of rights on and off the job. Since the wage structure in capitalist society is established from the bottom up, racist discrimination enables the employers to hold down the wages of all workers.

The organization and mobilization of Black and Latino workers is obstructed by the license given the police to carry out particularly savage repression, including many cold-blooded killings, in Black and Latino communities.

Racist and sexist discrimination against layers of workers powerfully strengthens other broad and fundamental divisions in the working class. These include the division between the employed workers and the unemployed and between the better-paid workers and those who don't earn enough to assure survival.

Black and Latino workers are disproportionately unemployed and low paid. Every form of racist and sexist discrimination reinforces these divisions in the working class that benefit only the ruling capitalists.

Overcoming these divisions and uniting workers can only be achieved through struggles that include the battle against discrimination. The union movement should be at the center of mobilizations demanding the establishment and enforcement of affirmative action quotas to assure preferential hiring and upgrading of workers who are Black, Latino and women.

## Fight for justice in Miami !

Miami officials' decision to bring manslaughter charges against William Lozano, the police officer responsible for the January 16 deaths of Clement Lloyd and Allan Blanchard, is a concession to the outrage that has swept the Black community since the killings.

The filing of the charges opens another stage of the struggle for justice.

The fight for the prosecution and conviction of Lozano and other killer cops is a vital aspect of the efforts of working people to defend our rights. Killings by police in the Black and Latino communities — and the eagerness of government officials to rubber-stamp transparent claims of "self-defense" — are among the most extreme attacks on these rights.

Eyewitnesses have refuted Lozano's claim that he fired in self-defense. But evidence — no matter how substantial — has never been enough to win convictions of Miami's killer cops.

Usually they are never brought to trial; and when they have been, as in 1980 and 1984, juries brushed aside the facts to acquit the police officers who killed Arthur McDuffie, a Black insurance salesman, and Nevell Johnson, Jr., a Black youth.

Massive pressure by working people — Black, white, and Latino — on city, state, and federal authorities is needed to prevent a repeat performance in this case. Lozano should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law and jailed for his criminal act.

## White House cover-up

Judge Gerhard Gesell's dismissal of the most serious charges against Oliver North marks a victory for presidential stonewalling and cover-up. North was charged with conspiring to steal \$14 million from U.S. arms sales to Iran and using it to wage an unauthorized war on Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration was able to torpedo the prosecution of North by barring access to classified documents that North's attorney had requested. North operated out of the White House to help run the contra war against Nicaragua and carry on covert dealings with the Iranian government.

Informed by Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh that denial of the documents would cripple prosecution on these charges, the administration ruled that they must be kept secret to protect "national security."

The January 13 dropping of the charges helped guarantee that Reagan and then President-elect George Bush would not have to testify at the trial. They had been subpoenaed by North's lawyers.

Walsh supported the decision. When Judge Gesell initially stalled on dismissing the charges, Walsh filed an affidavit certifying that "national security" required that the evidence remain under wraps.

Reagan's success in halting the prosecution of North on key charges shows that the steady accumulation of extralegal power in the White House has not been halted by congressional investigations or court actions.

The employing class in this country requires a presidency that can wage war and carry out other policies in secret, without consulting Congress. The rulers must carry out unpopular policies against working people at home and abroad, and they need to head off, restrict, and suppress protests by working people and others against these policies.

The contradiction will grow between the measures that the capitalist rulers must take to protect their rule and the civil liberties and republican form of government that the U.S. Constitution provides for.

## Abortion rights and population control don't mix

BY DOUG JENNESS

When the World Bank and International Monetary Fund held their annual meeting a few months ago in West Berlin, delegates heard World Bank chief Barber Conable urge semicolonial countries to limit their population growth to cope with poverty. He said aid to Third World countries is wasted if a country's population grows more rapidly than its economy.

This admonition to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to have fewer babies is part of an interna-

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

tional chorus. A wide range of organizations, including United Nations committees, press semicolonial countries to adopt family planning measures, including contraceptives, sterilization, and abortions, to reduce population growth.

The principal document discussed at a UN Population Fund-financed conference in Nicaragua last year, for example, urged the government to reduce the growth rate.

Some who favor legalizing abortion in Nicaragua linked this to calling for a population control policy. Others, who oppose abortion rights, argued that more people are needed, not fewer.

Promoting abortion as a means to limit population growth undermines the genuinely progressive nature of the fight to legalize the right of women to choose whether or not to have children and how many. The notion that poverty, hunger, and disease is the consequence of excessive population is a diversion from combating the true source of these social evils today — capitalist exploitation.

When the communist-led government in Soviet Russia legalized abortion in 1920, limiting population growth was not a motive. To the contrary, it aimed to halt the slaughter of women victimized by botched illegal abortions.

Under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, the revolutionary government had no population policy. It promoted neither increasing nor limiting the size of the population.

This communist leadership, however, was overturned by the rise of a privileged bureaucratic caste with Joseph Stalin at its head. The bureaucratic misleaders reintroduced some of the worst features of capitalism, including oppressive policies toward women.

In 1936, for example, abortion was made illegal again to try to spur a rise in the birth rate. It wasn't until the mid-1950s that legal abortion on demand was restored.

This linking of access to abortion with population control has also been adopted in other countries where capitalist rule has been overturned.

In Poland, for example, after the capitalists were expropriated following World War II, the new bureaucratic regime, in the name of "communism," continued the same illegal status of abortion. A major justification was that the heavy population loss during World War II necessitated a higher birth rate. Abortion wasn't legalized in Poland until the end of 1959.

In the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), restrictions on abortion were temporarily relaxed in the late 1940s in most parts of the country, partly to limit population growth. After 1950, however, restrictions on legal access to abortion were greater than in any other East European country. Abortion was not legalized until 1972.

In Hungary, almost all conditions prohibiting abortion were removed in 1956. Then, in 1973, a comprehensive population policy was adopted in which most abortions were prohibited.

The two most extreme cases of using access to abortion as a tool to control population are Romania and China — one to increase the birth rate and the other to limit it.

In Romania, abortion is virtually impossible for anyone under 45 years old or who has fewer than five children, and contraceptives are very limited. Moreover, women are subjected to gynecological examinations at work to keep tabs on their pregnancies.

The Chinese government, on the other hand, has tried to impose a one-child limit on families. Fines and even dismissal from jobs have been inflicted on those not abiding by this limitation.

Similarly, the Vietnamese government announced in November that parents would be punished if they had more than two children.

One thing clearly emerges from this picture. When abortion rights are linked to population control policies, they are very vulnerable to being taken away. This is the consequence of not treating access to abortion as a basic right of women.

A noteworthy exception among countries where capitalist property relations have been overturned is Cuba. There, the revolutionary government legalized abortion on demand in 1964 and has consistently maintained it as a measure benefiting women, and not as part of a population policy. The government has no policy to increase or decrease the population.



# LTV Steel 'profit sharing' plan rips off workers

BY DAVID MARSHALL

Workers at LTV Steel Co. and other basic steel companies have faced a prolonged assault on their wages and working conditions in the 1980s. Following the collapse of profits in the 1981-82 recession, major U.S. steel owners have closed mills, cut the work force by half, sharply reduced wages and benefits, and scrapped or changed work rules to boost labor productivity.

The result has been a profit bonanza for the bosses. Today, steel mills that remain open are running at peak capacity to fill orders from domestic and foreign buyers.

## UNION TALK

In the first nine months of 1988 alone, the top nine steelmakers doubled their total 1987 earnings, making it the most profitable year in a decade.

The steel boom, however, has had a different meaning for the 126,000 men and women who work in the mills. In 1983 the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) agreed to the steel companies' proposal to scrap nationwide bargaining and negotiate separately with each company. Wage concessions since 1983 add up to about \$4 per hour per worker — a total of \$5 billion when adjusted for inflation. Far fewer workers now put in longer hours to produce more steel under more dangerous conditions.

The owners of Cleveland-based LTV Steel, the second largest U.S. steelmaker, have been at the forefront of the industry's restructuring drive. In April 1986, when the company threatened to declare bankruptcy, the USWA signed a contract giving LTV a multimillion-dollar "loan" of \$3.15 per hour per worker through 1989. This came to \$7,000 annually for each of 18,000 workers. The company in turn agreed to repay the "loan" through a profit-sharing plan.

Under the plan, workers would receive cash payments tied to company profits. If annual profits fell short of the \$7,000 each worker had "invested," then LTV would make up the difference by issuing shares of "preferred"

stock, which can only be sold on the market for one-seventh of face value.

Three months later, LTV declared bankruptcy, which allowed it to begin pocketing additional hundreds of millions of dollars per year it owed to employee pension funds, banks, and suppliers.

Although LTV's profits soon rebounded, profit-sharing payments for 1986 were withheld by recognizing certain creditors' claims and taking them as losses. In 1987 the payments were made to workers and the USWA agreed to further concessions. The Cleveland city government also granted LTV millions in property tax deductions.

When LTV suddenly announced last November that it had lost money in the third quarter of 1988, and would repay workers in stock, not cash, union members reacted with anger. How could the healthy profits we had been reading about in the newspapers all year suddenly become crippling losses?

The answer lay in the "innovative" accounting practices the company used for the third quarter, just as it was becoming clear that the profit-sharing agreement would require LTV to pay out some \$100 million in cash — \$30 million more than 1987.

Determined to report a net loss, LTV posted "special charges" on the negative side of the balance sheet for the third quarter.

Among these was LTV's decision that 1988 would be a good time to list as a current loss the *entire future sum it might ever owe* in health and life insurance benefits to its current and future retirees — \$2.26 billion!

In this way, \$132.2 million in third quarter profits became a "loss" of \$1.24 billion.

Stung by the company's arrogance, USWA Local 1011 at the Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago, Indiana, which voted against the 1986 contract and its profit-sharing provisions, voted seven-to-one to strike if the company issued stock instead of cash.

Members of Local 1157, one of four USWA locals at LTV's Cleveland Works and also an opponent of the 1986 pact, voted to wear red armbands as a show of protest. We also held a demonstration in front of LTV

Steel's corporate headquarters in downtown Cleveland.

Shortly after LTV's announcement, USWA International and local officers met with company executives. The union officials promised to take whatever steps were necessary to make the company pay up.

LTV backed off in the negotiations that followed, and in early January agreed to make cash payments of around 90 percent of the \$100 million.

Everyone was glad to hear that the company agreed to pay, though many workers will believe it only when they receive their checks.

Many union members have concluded that the USWA made a big mistake by retreating throughout the 1980s to the point where a company making record profits now feels confident enough to openly refuse to meet a clear contractual obligation, and then turn around and "comply" — by pocketing a cool \$10 million that it owed the workers.

Steelworkers are also learning that we cannot advance our interests by allowing the company's owners to tie our wages and benefits to their profits, regardless of the form it takes, and despite the company propaganda — echoed by many union officials — that all of this is necessary to save "our" company.

In July 1989 union contracts covering 46,000 steelworkers will expire at Bethlehem Steel, Inland Steel, Armco, and National Steel Corporations. The contract with LTV ends no later than 1990 (earlier if the company emerges from bankruptcy), and the USX agreement expires in early 1991.

None of the owners of the steel corporations intends to give anything back in the upcoming contracts. With a growing consensus that the economy will enter another downturn in the next several years, the steel bosses will be pushing even harder against the union in the future. The lessons learned from our experiences over the past six years, including with LTV's profit-sharing scheme, will help us see more clearly that in the struggles that lie ahead, workers and bosses have different interests.

David Marshall is a member of USWA Local 1157, and works in the coke plant at LTV's Cleveland Works.

## LETTERS

### Contracting out

Recently you ran a letter by Russell Davis about contracting out. (*Militant* January 13)

I don't understand how large local unions in big factories can take the kind of positions on contracting out that they do. None of them has launched any organizing efforts at the small shops that produce various parts that are then used in assemblies by the large factories.

To me this sort of campaign against contracting out launched by union misleaders is no different than the various campaigns for protectionism, which serve only to blame other workers for their own problems.

Contracting out, runaway shops, and unfair imports are all going to be with us until the end of capitalism. The only thing that can be done about this sort of thing is to organize and strike against employers, large or small, to demand equal pay for equal work. We should not demand that employers stop these practices. This will only pit one group of less privileged workers against those who are more privileged.

Kim O'Brien  
Willimantic, Connecticut

### Reagan

Please give us your version of the Reagan legacy.  
H.T.  
Fresno, California

### Economy

I wouldn't mind some more in-depth analysis of the American political economy, i.e. the military-industrial complex, and Canada's role.

J.D.  
Peterborough, Ontario

### New class in USSR?

Leon Trotsky is on the verge of being rehabilitated in the Soviet Union. This must be a source of satisfaction for the *Militant*. Your criticisms of Stalinism have largely been vindicated.

But you still have some things

to do. The biggest is the need to follow Trotsky's tremendous talent in analyzing new developments. When the glorious hopes for a workers' democracy degenerated into Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky analyzed it. He pointed to the emergence of a new socioeconomic grouping, which he called the "bureaucratic caste."

Trotsky thought the bureaucracy was some sort of historical accident that would disappear with the next revolution. It is logical to believe that 60 years later he would surely agree that the bureaucratic caste had hardened into a full-blown class.

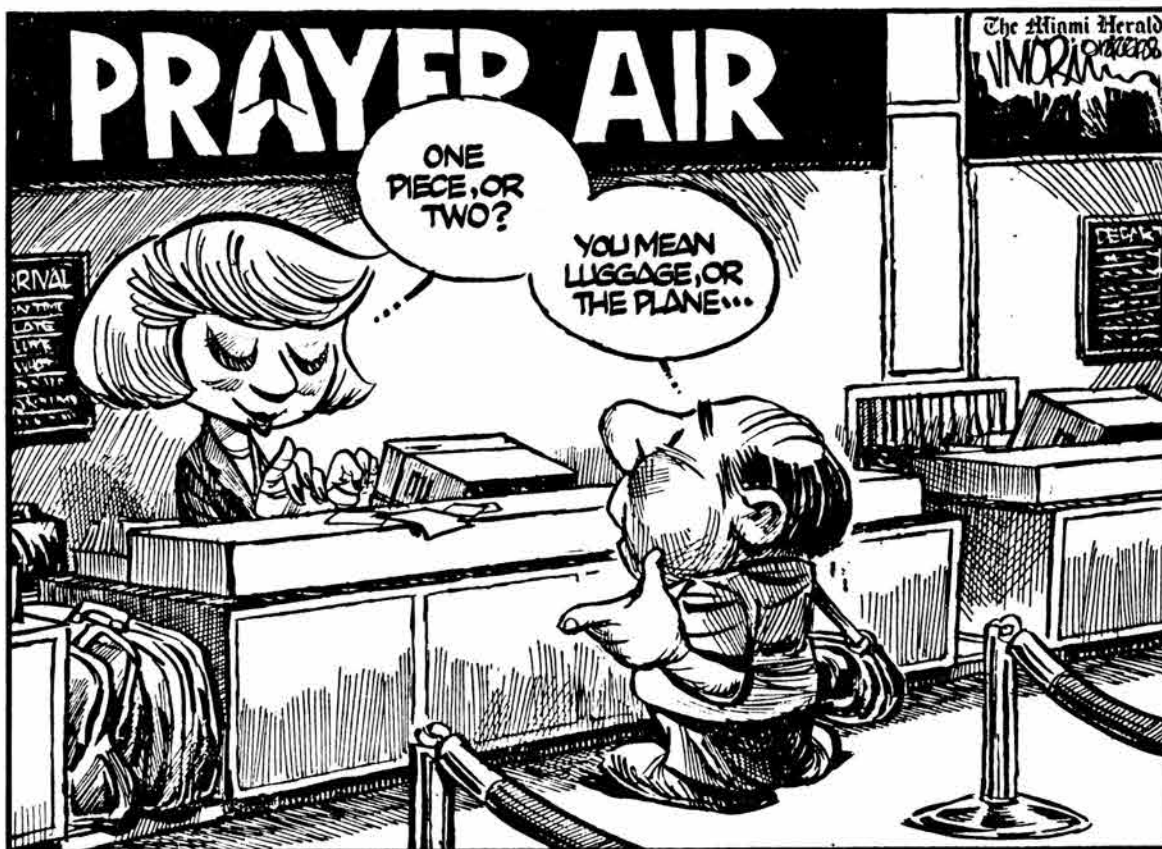
The distinction is vital for the whole socialist movement. Unless all of us understand that a new social order — a new class society, a noncapitalist, nonsocialist, bureaucratic managerial system — has arisen and that it is likely to be around for a considerable stretch of time then we are all lost in a dead-end alley of disproven dreams.

The *Militant* has held onto a beautiful, but unrealized, idea for a long time. You understandably feared that if we openly said the workers' revolution would bring, not a workers' state, but a managers' state, it would hurt the idea of fighting against capitalism. Forget those fears. The damage has already been done. We must recognize reality and go on from there.

Go where? Right back to fighting capitalism, of course. Additionally, we now have to wage a fight with the managerial society for more democracy. We fight to replace capitalism, but we fight to reform managerial society.

There is a possibility that the glasnost-perestroika reforms that the Gorbachev wing of the Soviet managerial class is now attempting could unleash a working-class upsurge. A resurrected workers' and farmers' government could emerge.

But could we expect it to last if it did come about? Probably not. There seems to be a tendency for



postrevolutionary society everywhere, without exception, to evolve into a managerially dominated social order.

Socialists can't keep on telling workers that classes are not going to arise after the revolution. The workers know better, so it just discredits anything we try to say.

Democratic socialists must consider the role of loyal opposition within the managerial society. The glasnost-perestroika reforms are apt to produce deep-going improvements. We have very little choice but to support and encourage this. We can constantly call for improvements, but it is utopian to think that the working class is going to take over from the managers any time soon.

Perry Cartwright  
Woodridge, Illinois

### Palestine

I'm glad you're finally addressing the issue of Palestine more than you had been doing in the past. Also, thanks for the excellent

editorial on Libya in the January 13 issue. Please keep on with articles on Palestine and Libya and the U.S. anti-Arab feeling in general.

I'd like to see more about the oppressed in Ireland. Like many others, I rely on the *Militant* for the truth.

P.M.  
New Hope, Minnesota

### Art exhibit

Last month I saw an art exhibit I think readers of the *Militant* would enjoy. The "Caribbean Festival Arts" show is a multimedia celebration of the arts and artists of this culturally diverse region.

Jonkonnu, a Christmas-time street masquerade; Hosay, an Islamic festival of elaborate floats; and Carnival, the original Mardi Gras, are explored through videos, music, and displays of ornate costumes. The show ends with a film of interviews with Caribbean costume designers and festival performers.

The exhibit will be at the St. Louis Art Museum until February 19. Then it will travel to Washington, D.C.; Brooklyn, New York; Toronto, Canada (at the Royal Ontario Museum); and Seattle.

S.H.  
Morgantown, West Virginia

### Correction

In the article "Government bailouts for S&Ls point to bigger crisis for U.S. banks" in the January 20 issue of the *Militant*, the statement by Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. Chairman L. William Seidman that banks made only \$3.6 billion in profits, the lowest level since the Great Depression of the 1930s, referred to 1987.

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.



## Antiabortion disruptions blocked

### Toronto: abortion foes target clinics, prochoice activist

BY MAGGIE TROWE

TORONTO — For three days from January 12 to 14, members of the North American antiabortion group "Operation Rescue" tried to shut down abortion clinics here. The previous week they had unsuccessfully tried to mobilize at the home of abortion rights activist Joyce Rosenthal, who organizes escorts for women visiting the clinics to defend them from antichoice harassment.

These actions come at the time of the first anniversary of the decision by the Supreme Court of Canada to strike antiabortion laws from the books because they violate women's constitutional right to "integrity of the person." Abortion has remained decriminalized since then in Canada but access and funding vary from province to province.

Antichoice attacks were met on every occasion by opposition from women's rights activists, including unionists and university and high school students. The announced picketing of Rosenthal's home, by which Operation Rescue leaders hoped to turn neighbors against the longtime women's rights activist, backfired. Fifty prochoice activists showed up early at the home. As a result, only one person from Operation Rescue showed up to harass Rosenthal, while a small number of others drove by in cars.

#### Unionists defend clinic

At the Morgentaler clinic January 12 and the Scott clinic January 13 (two of the three abortion clinics in Toronto), Operation Rescue demonstrators were able to block entry to the clinics for several hours. Prochoice mobilizations of 50 to 150 people pressured police to clear access to the clinics, however, and all scheduled patients were able to go to their appointments.

On January 14 more than 100 opponents of abortion rights attempted to charge the several hundred people defending the Morgentaler clinic, but were forced back

by the clinic's defenders, including members of a number of unions who had been mobilized by the Metro Toronto Labour Council. As they were charged by Operation Rescue attackers, prochoice forces sang "We Shall Not Be Moved." Police arrested 150 antiabortion demonstrators as they retreated to the street and attempted to block traffic by lying down on the pavement. All were released later that day without charges.

A previously planned rally at the Morgentaler clinic (which is run by pioneer abortion rights movement leader Dr. Henry Morgentaler) at noon that day drew more than 500 people. As a result most of the remaining antichoice demonstrators removed their yellow armbands and left in disarray.

#### Support for abortion

The Conservative Party majority government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, which tabled plans for legislation recriminalizing abortion during the election campaign last fall, is expected to try again soon, in spite of Gallup poll findings that 71.2 percent of Canadians agree that "abortion is a medical decision that should rest with the woman in consultation with her physician."

In August 1988 the Canadian Medical Association approved a policy that the decision to perform an abortion — defined by the association as the active termination of pregnancy before fetal viability — is a medical one to be made by a pregnant woman and her doctor.

At a January 21 rally to celebrate the anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling, 250 people cheered Morgentaler and sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" as he came to the podium to speak. Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics leader Carolyn Egan termed the previous week's abortion rights mobilizations "one of the most significant victories for the women's movement" and challenged supporters to "continue to build a strong movement to stop any new law."



Impact Visuals/Donna Binder

Some 1,000 opponents of women's right to abortion tried to block entrance to Planned Parenthood's Sanger Clinic in Manhattan in January.

### Unionists in New York urge upholding law on clinic access

BY NANCY BLYTH

NEW YORK — Some 1,500 opponents of legal abortion came to New York January 12-14 to blockade abortion clinics across the city. Organized by Operation Rescue, they demonstrated at the entrances to six different clinics. Five of the six clinics were eventually able to open and receive patients.

One of Operation Rescue's main targets was Planned Parenthood's Margaret Sanger Center in Manhattan. More than 1,000 abortion opponents blocked the clinic entrance. As "sidewalk counselors" they attempted to intimidate women trying to enter the clinic.

The police allowed the disrupters to block the clinic for several hours before making any arrests. About 225 people were arrested at the Sanger Center and 500 at

other clinics in the city.

Clinic workers and patients were joined by dozens of activists from the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other supporters of abortion rights in counter-demonstrations at the protest sites.

Project Defend, a coalition of NOW, the National Abortion Rights Action League, and Planned Parenthood, issued a leaflet stating, "It is important that we organize to prevent these clinics from being closed down. A united prochoice response to Operation Rescue's tactics will make our voices heard."

The Sanger clinic had been attacked by Operation Rescue earlier, on December 3. In that action, 300 people blocked the clinic's doors, and cops allowed them to continue doing so for five hours.

Following this, Sanger Center workers, who recently won a union at the clinic, organized an open meeting to seek broader support for the right of the clinic to function. The workers, who are members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), urged their union to speak out in defense of the clinic and to protest the inaction of the cops.

On January 10, just prior to the announced return of Operation Rescue, CWA officials sent a letter to the police precinct where the clinic is located, with copies to Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward and Mayor Edward Koch. It was signed by Jan Pierce, vice-president of CWA District 1, and Vincent Messina, president of Local 1105.

"As representatives of the workers at the Planned Parenthood Margaret Sanger Center Clinic in Manhattan, we expect immediate and safe access to the clinic for workers and for the clients whom they serve," the union officials stated.

"We recognize the right of groups to express their opinions, but we expect the right of our workers to enter their workplace as scheduled to be defended. We anticipate the New York City Police Department will protect this right, as well as the constitutionally guaranteed right of a woman to choose to have an abortion, when these rights are under attack."

The Sanger unionists also organized a contingent to the January 16 demonstration here on Martin Luther King's birthday against racist violence. The workers' participation aimed to expose Operation Rescue's claim that it is a "civil rights" movement and to appeal to King Day demonstrators for support in the abortion rights fight.

## Actions build April 9 prochoice march

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Supporters of abortion rights marched and rallied in several hundred cities and towns around the country January 21 and 22 to mark the 16th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and to protest stepped-up efforts to overturn the ruling.

The actions also helped kick off building for the April 9 National March for Women's Equality and Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). The demonstration has the endorsement of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The January 21-22 actions, in many cases, were larger, younger, and more militant than similar events in previous years, and enthusiasm for the April 9 demonstration was high.

#### 'Battle lines are drawn'

"If they want a war, the battle lines are drawn, and we will fight," NOW National Treasurer Patricia Ireland told the crowd of 200 in front of the federal building in Atlanta, referring to the campaign by opponents of abortion rights. The crowd signed petitions supporting legal abortion, part of the National Abortion Rights Action League's drive to gather millions of such signatures in the coming months. The campaign, which is headed by actress Joanne Woodward, is aimed at "alerting and mobilizing prochoice public opinion,"

NARAL spokeswoman Debra Ness explained in a telephone interview from the group's Washington D.C., office. The petition drive, called "Millions of voices silent no more," calls on those who sign to actively work to defend legal abortion.

The effort to create a climate in support of abortion rights, Ness added, is especially important at this time. The Supreme Court recently decided to review a 1986 Missouri law that placed major restrictions on women's access to abortion. Opponents of abortion rights are urging the Supreme Court to use this review to overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion.

In Chicago hundreds of abortion rights supporters, many of them students from campuses, marched downtown and rallied in front of one of the antiabortion movement's phony clinics. These operations are set up to appear like abortion clinics. Their purpose, however, is to browbeat women seeking abortion into reversing their decision.

In Pittsburgh more than 600 people participated in an action called by the Campaign for Abortion Rights. The march went from the Federal Building to the county morgue, a site chosen to dramatize the deaths of women that would occur if abortion were again made illegal. Speaking at the action were former NOW national president Eleanor Smeal and other NOW leaders. The campaign is planning a conference

March 17-18 at the University of Pittsburgh to help build the April 9 march.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, 400 people participated in a spirited march and rally for abortion rights on January 21. About half the participants in the action, which began at the state capitol and proceeded to a local abortion clinic, were students from the University of Utah and other campuses. The demonstration was sponsored by NOW, NARAL, and a number of prominent individuals.

In New York 175 people attended a meeting sponsored by the New York affiliates of NOW, Planned Parenthood, and the National Abortion Rights Action League. Further meetings to build the April 9 march were mapped out.

President George Bush spoke to the annual antiabortion demonstration held in Washington, D.C., January 23. "I think the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* was wrong and should be overturned," he said. The march was estimated at around 65,000 by the media, somewhat larger than in recent years.

A few days earlier, Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, also an opponent of abortion rights, said in a CBS television interview, "In order to get *Roe v. Wade* passed, the number of back-alley abortion deaths had to be exaggerated by a hundredfold." He added, however, that if the Supreme Court returned control of abortion to the states, "we'll have 50 problems instead of one."