

## Anti-apartheid defiance spreads in South Africa

### Gov't violence unleashed to halt protests

BY RONI McCANN

Rubber bullets, whips, police dogs, guns, truncheons, tear gas. News reports out of South Africa list the weapons used by police against striking workers, schoolchildren, protesters, and students, the majority of whom are Black, as the campaign of defiance against apartheid continues.

The regime has met the peaceful campaign with force and violence. The defiance efforts are aimed at Pretoria's repressive and segregationist laws, which severely restrict political activity.

The third week of August brought a sweep of arrests of anti-apartheid leaders, including Mohammed Valli, acting general secretary of the United Democratic Front, arrested on August 18.

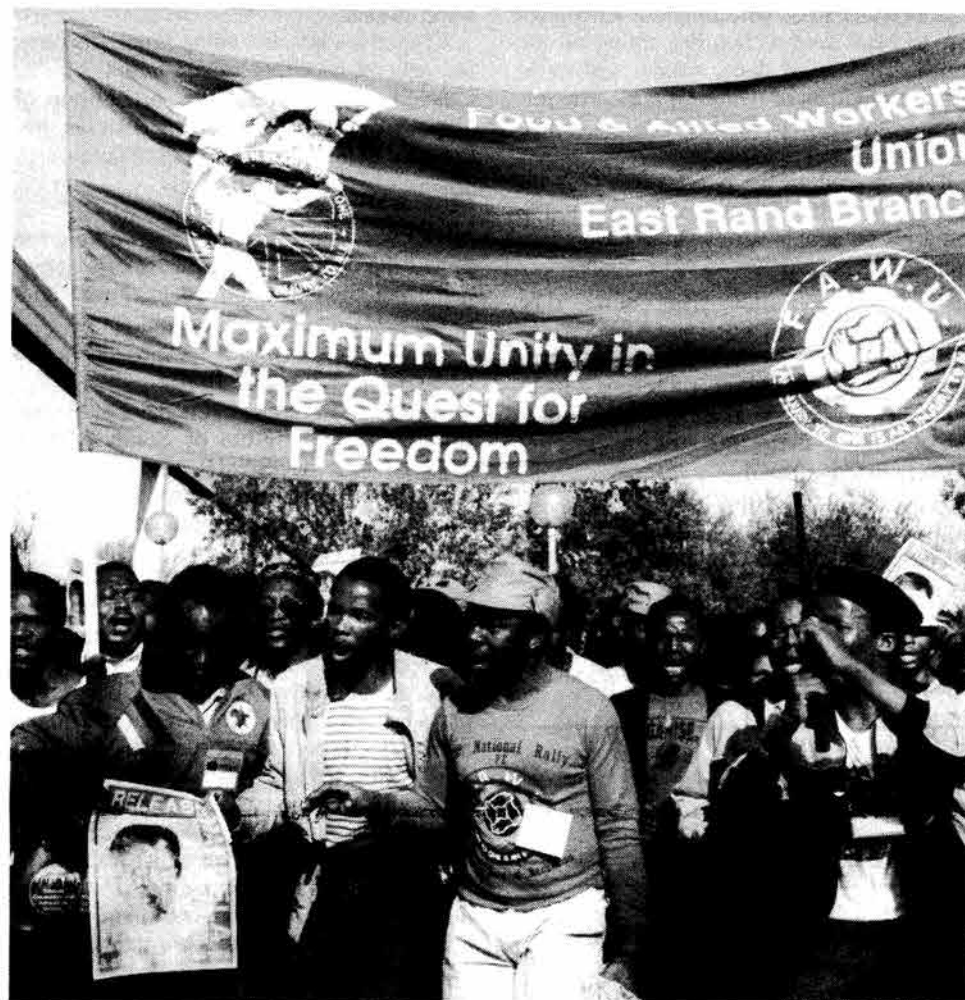
The defiance campaign was launched nearly four weeks ago by the Mass Democratic Movement, an alliance of restricted anti-apartheid groups.

Since 1986 when the South African regime imposed a state of emergency, many political organizations have been banned by the government and forced to function under difficult conditions. In 1987-88 new restrictions were imposed, making this situation even more unbearable. The defiance of these laws today is a fight for more legal space in which to operate politically.

"We have come to the position where we can't accept being restricted, or where we can't accept a meeting being banned," said Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs for the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

Efforts are also aimed at apartheid's segregationist laws.

Continued on Page 2



Johannesburg, July 1989. Delegates arrive at the third national congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. COSATU called for a week of action leading up to the September 6 parliamentary elections as part of defiance campaign.

Afrapix-Impact Visuals/Cedric Nunn

## Behind government shift in Poland

BY DOUG JENNESS

The appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a leader of the Solidarity union movement, as the prime minister of Poland, reflects the deepening crisis facing the Polish Communist Party and the bureaucratic caste it serves. The privileged bureaucracy that has dominated Poland for the more than 40 years since capitalism was overturned has not lost power

conditions are deteriorating. Rates of serious diseases have been increasing sharply during the 1980s, and life expectancy has been falling.

Measures taken by the CP-led government have failed to reverse the crisis. These have included attempts to stimulate capitalist business. Private companies, for example, have been extended more legal rights.

Price controls, which to some extent have kept food and other prices down, are being lifted. More than 50 percent of such controls have already been eliminated. An increase on August 1 jacked up the price of sugar 42 percent, flour 100 percent, butter 77 percent, and ham 277 percent.

Moreover, the government's attempts to make their manufactured export goods more competitive on the world capitalist market have failed.

As conditions have gotten worse, the resentment of working people has mounted and protest strikes have increased. Last year two rounds of strikes sounded a warning to the bureaucracy about the possibility of a revolt like the one in 1980-81 that gave rise to Solidarity.

This led to a series of discussions between government officials and Solidarity leaders, resulting in the organization's regaining its legal standing in April of this year and to its participation in the June parliamentary elections. There it made an impressive showing, winning 99 of 100 seats in the Senate in addition to the 161 seats assigned to it in the 460-member legislative assembly. Solidarity had been outlawed since the December 1981 military crackdown.

The 1980-81 upsurge was spearheaded

and led by workers in Poland's shipyards, steel plants, and coal mines. They forged an alliance with farmers and inspired students, mobilizing millions in a country of 38 million people. Out of this struggle for improvements

Continued on Page 2

## Eastern strikers appeal to subcontract workers

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — On August 21 some 20 striking Eastern Airlines workers and supporters set up picket lines at three sites at La Guardia Airport, in addition to the regular daily picket there.

The added picket lines were aimed at reaching workers at Hudson General, a subcontracting company hired by Eastern to do fueling, ramp, and cleaning work on flights restarted by the company in July. The strikers' union, International Association of Machinists Local 1018, organized the picketing.

Hudson General workers, who make little more than minimum wage and have few benefits, are also IAM members.

Strikers gathered at Local 1018's union hall near the airport before the sun came up to make picket signs and organize into teams. Strikers' signs read, "Stop Hudson General scabbing." Everyone had leaflets in English and Spanish directed to "our brothers and sisters at Hudson General."

"While the fight at Eastern has always been a fight of the entire membership of the IAM," the leaflet explains, "it is now directly and immediately a fight of the IAM at Hudson General. Hudson has entered the battle at Eastern on the side of Frank Lorenzo. In New York and Boston Hudson General is providing scabs to replace striking members of the IAM. This goes against the time-honored principle that unions do not allow the companies they organize to do work for other companies where workers are on strike." Similar companies, such as Ogden Allied and Servair, have also been hired in other cities.

The leaflet appeals for solidarity from Hudson General workers and explains their stake in the Eastern fight. "If we are able to defeat Lorenzo's union-busting, this will put our union in a better position to fight for the living wage and decent working conditions that you deserve. We, the strikers at Eastern, pledge our support in that fight."

The leaflet invites Hudson General workers to stop by or call Local 1018's strike

Continued on Page 6

## NEWS ANALYSIS

to Solidarity. But it has been forced to admit that it can't govern without the help of this organization, which has considerable credibility among Poland's working people.

The economic and political difficulties facing the bureaucratic castes throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are especially acute in Poland. Economic stagnation and low levels of labor productivity compared to capitalist Europe plague the country. Inflation, which was about 60 percent a year ago, is running at an annual rate of 100 percent today. Chronic shortages of food and other necessities are worsening the living conditions of working people.

### Cut back on medical care

Moreover, many social benefits are being slashed. Last year, for example, the government cut back on Poland's free medical care, forcing people to pay for drugs and hospital services. This was the officialdom's response to growing protests by workers that hospital

## 'Militant' supporters to set goals for Sept. 9-Nov. 12 sales drive

BY SUSAN LaMONT

As the September 9 kickoff date for an international circulation drive nears, *Militant* supporters around the world are discussing the goals they will be taking.

Supporters of the paper in Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Britain, Canada, the United States, Iceland, France, and Puerto Rico will be participating in the nine-week drive.

The overall goal is to win 9,000 new readers for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the French-language quarterly *Lutte ouvrière*, and the Marxist magazines *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Before the drive ends November 12, supporters plan to sell 5,800 introductory or renewal subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,400 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 400 to *Lutte ouvrière*, to workers, farmers, youth, and political activists from Price, Utah, to Stockholm, Sweden.

An important component of the drive will be selling every new subscriber a copy of the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

The basis of the proposed goal is the success of an eight-week circulation drive earlier this year that topped by 16 percent its goal of winning 8,000 new readers.

To get the campaign off to a strong start international distributors are projecting a September 9-16 kickoff week. During this eight-day period, supporters of the publications will be taking special measures to organize extra sales efforts.

*Militant* readers are urged to join in the international campaign to win new readers for the socialist press. If you would like to take on a goal, or order copies of the publications, write to the *Militant* at the address on page 2.

A scoreboard listing the goals for each city, town, and/or country will be published soon in the *Militant*.



# Crisis in Poland leads to gov't shifts

Continued from front page

in living and working conditions and more say in the economic and political life of the country, Solidarity, a mass union organization outside the structures of the bureaucratic regime and the official CP-dominated unions, was created.

The specter of this kind of workers' rebellion still haunts the bureaucracies throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It contributed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's launching the economic restructuring measures and reorganization of the bureaucracy called *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Far from being a reform movement, as they

are usually presented by their supporters, perestroika and glasnost are a counter reform effort by the crisis-ridden bureaucratic caste to try to head off the kind of revolt that occurred in Poland and potentially even deeper social explosions.

The conditions against which the Polish workers rebelled were intolerable, and their militancy and creativity inspired working people throughout the world. The leadership of Solidarity, however, failed to chart a course that would deepen the workers' self-confidence and experience in exercising control in the economic and political life of the country. The leadership failed to help workers ad-

vance to a broader understanding of themselves as part of an international class of workers fighting against exploitation and oppression, from Angola to El Salvador, and from the United States to South Africa. Instead of advancing a communist outlook that would sharply contrast with the narrow nationalist, administrative, and middle-class outlook of the bureaucracy, they looked for support from the imperialist governments and the anticommunist, proimperialist union officials in the capitalist countries.

After its suppression, the Solidarity leadership, never homogeneous, divided still further. Some components have become outspo-

kenly anticommunist. Many are championing wider use of capitalist economic methods along the lines of Gorbachev's proposals to try to solve the economic crisis.

The organization declined from the 10 million members it had in 1981 to 2 million today, although it still enjoys broad popular support, particularly in a contest with the thoroughly discredited Communist Party, as in the June elections.

## Communist Party

The Communist Party's poor performance in the elections led to a big internal discussion and a shake-up in the party's leading bodies. This took place through a series of events:

- On July 19 party leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski was narrowly elected president by parliament.

- Ten days later he gave up formal leadership of the party to former prime minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Five of the 17 members of the party's Politburo resigned, as did five of the eight secretaries of the Central Committee.

- On August 2 Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak was appointed prime minister, but was unable to get the representatives from the 500,000-member Peasants Party and the Democratic

## Campaign of defiance spreads in S. Africa

Continued from front page

gation laws. The first phase of the defiance efforts targeted whites-only hospitals around the country. The anti-apartheid alliance called

### Demonstrators unfurled an ANC flag, an illegal act in South Africa.

on doctors and health workers to insist on treating all patients regardless of race. As a result, hundreds of Blacks were given medical care at these facilities.

Ephraim Nkoe, a leader of the restricted South African Youth Congress (Sayco), declared the efforts victorious.

"We commit ourselves to defy apartheid laws and the system of white domination in this country," he stated.

After the initial success, several rallies were planned going into the weekend of August 19. The apartheid regime then decided to try to thwart these efforts.

### Rallies disrupted, banned

A rally on August 20 at Witswatersrand University was disrupted by South African police who staked out the campus and turned away buses bringing supporters from Soweto and other townships.

The government banned a scheduled rally in Johannesburg. One demonstrator said police were turning back buses but that a crowd of about 150 showed up anyway and unfurled an ANC flag, an illegal act in South Africa. As they were leaving, police attacked them, and several were beaten with clubs.

The same day at the University of the Western Cape another rally was banned by the Pretoria regime. Archbishop Desmond Tutu then secured a meeting place in a Cape Town church; several thousand turned out.

Whites-only beaches in Cape Town were the focus of desegregation efforts over the

August 19-20 weekend.

On August 19 police blocked beach entrances with barbed wire and flew helicopters low to blast sand at families sitting on the beach. They used dogs, whips, and clubs against hundreds of demonstrators. The following day when protesters returned, police shot at them and fired tear gas.

Tutu, present at the beach, said, "It's incredible that the government is prepared to use arms on people who wish to have a picnic."

South African workers also continue to be a target of attack. The Food and Allied Workers Union said whips and shotguns were used August 18 against workers protesting a lock-out at their workplace. Four days later police arrested more than 100 striking hospital workers in Cape Town.

Schoolchildren gathering for anti-apartheid rallies in Cape Town were beaten with whips and fired on by police using rubber bullets.

Despite Pretoria's attempts to squelch defiance efforts, the campaign continues. An ANC news release from Lusaka on August 22

### Despite Pretoria's violence, campaign continues.

outlined the mass actions that took place the past weeks in the schools, parks, hospitals, mine compounds (where miners are forced to live separated from their families), and beaches.

"The victories we have scored place even greater challenges on our shoulders," states the release. Continued defiance activities "must be led and coordinated by effective structures at the national, regional, and local levels."

The government-banned United Democratic Front, a coalition of 700 anti-apartheid groups, has thrown its weight behind the

broad defiance efforts along with youth and student organizations, church groups, and trade unions.

Church leaders, including Frank Chikane, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Tutu, archbishop of Cape Town; and Rev. Alan Boesak announced their support for the campaign.

### Mine workers' union

The National Union of Mineworkers has joined the campaign against racially segregated facilities and reports Blacks have begun to use a whites-only cafeteria and buses.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has backed the nationwide efforts.

Jay Naidoo, secretary general of the 1-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), spoke at a rally early on in the campaign after the first successful efforts against segregated hospitals in Durban.

"The defiance campaign will be taken to every corner and every section of society until apartheid is unworkable," he said to thunderous applause. "This is just the beginning."

At its July convention COSATU outlined plans for five days of action leading up to the September 6 parliament elections in South Africa. Colored and Indian populations have token representation in parliament, and South Africa's 23 million Blacks have none at all.

Calling the elections an insult to the majority of people in the country, the ANC urges all South Africans to boycott them and denounces them as "yet one more attempt by the regime to win sorely needed legitimacy and credibility."

COSATU has also launched a campaign against Pretoria's Labour Relations Amendment Act, which greatly limits the activity of the trade unions and all but illegalizes the right to strike.

"The all-around isolation of apartheid South Africa is intensifying, as Africa and the rest of humanity further close ranks around the positions of the struggling people of our country, led by the ANC," the August 22 press release sums up.

### Chronic food shortages are worsening living conditions.

Party, based on small businesspeople, to join his cabinet. On August 14 he stepped down.

- On August 18 Jaruzelski appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor of Solidarity's newspaper, as prime minister.

The new cabinet will include representatives from the Peasants and Democratic parties as well as the CP and Solidarity. The CP will retain its control over the police and the armed forces.

While many CP leaders have been upset with this new setup, Jaruzelski, with the backing, if not the prodding, of Gorbachev is pushing it through.

The bureaucracy is hoping that Mazowiecki and Solidarity can get workers to go along with new belt-tightening measures, including cuts in escalator clauses for wages and slashes in social benefits.

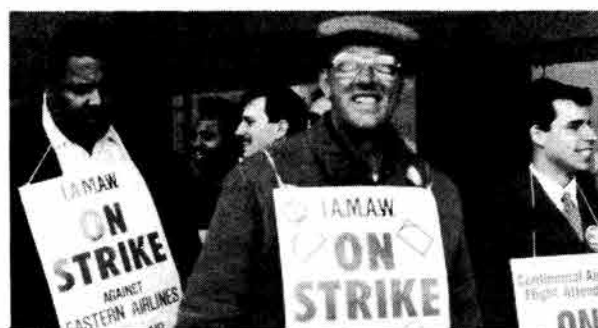
"Our policy can't be soft," Warsaw Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak asserted, suggesting the direction the Mazowiecki administration will be taking.

But as long as it turns to capitalist methods, including increasing unemployment and letting the market regulate prices, the problems facing working people will get worse, and the crisis facing the bureaucratic caste can't be solved.

## THE MILITANT TELLS THE TRUTH Introductory subscription offer

12 weeks for \$4.00 for new readers — an \$8.00 savings

The *Militant* carries firsthand coverage of the Eastern Machinists' strike and other labor battles. It features news and analysis of the developing capitalist economic crisis, and resistance by workers and farmers to employer and government attacks — from the U.S. to the Philippines, Britain to South Africa.



- Reports on advances in Cuba
- On-the-scene coverage from our bureau in Managua, Nicaragua

Enclosed is

- ☐ \$4 for 12 weeks, new readers ☐ \$9 for 12 weeks, renewals
- ☐ \$17 for 6 months ☐ \$30 for 1 year ☐ \$55 for 2 years
- ☐ \$1.00 for Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, a Pathfinder pamphlet.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Send to THE MILITANT, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

## The Militant

Closing news date: August 23, 1989

Editor: DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Arthur Hughes, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Roni McCann, Greg McCartan, Selva Nebbia, Peter Thierjung, Judy White (Nicaragua).

Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: £22 for one year, £12 for six months, or £6 for three-month renewal. Send check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney, NSW 2037, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.



# Cuba proposes cooperation with U.S. gov't to curb drugs

BY SELVA NEBBIA

The Cuban government has called on the U.S. government to cooperate with Cuba in the fight against drug trafficking.

An editorial in the August 7 *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, explains Cuba's initiative. It was published soon after as a pamphlet and is being widely circulated by the José Martí publishing house under the title *Cuba's Proposal to the United States: Take It or Leave It*.

*Granma* points to Cuba's strategic importance for drug smuggling from the Caribbean and South America into the United States "given that its geographic location virtually turns it into a 1,200-kilometer-wide corridor leading to the southern United States." Located in the Caribbean, Cuba is 90 miles from Florida.

In late July and early August congressional committees and subcommittees met to discuss Washington's policy toward Cuba.

Instead of taking up Cuba's proposal on bilateral cooperation to curb the drug trade, "the July hearings, sponsored by congressmen and senators notorious for their antagonism toward the Cuban revolution, centered on the subject of Cuban participation in the drug trade," the Cuban newspaper pointed out.

"They continued to project Bush's catastrophic view of worldwide socialism while underscoring the opinion that the Cuban government was not promoting these initiatives out of sincerity and goodwill but because of 'economic and political difficulties.'"

## 30-year record

"For 30 years we have been effectively fighting drug trafficking in this area in spite of the lack of cooperation or understanding on the part of the U.S. authorities," said Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón at a July 24 press conference in Camagüey, Cuba.

Even before the triumph of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro issued a law in October 1958 to be enforced in the territories controlled by the rebel army in the Sierra Maestra region.

"It is the responsibility and aim of the revolutionary movement and this administration to completely eliminate hard drugs and illicit gambling, which at present make the real physical, mental, and economic development of the Cuban people impossible," this order stated.

The law called on the rebel police and military authorities to take "severe action" in all drug cases.

Drug trafficking and drug consumption were widespread in prerevolutionary Cuba. A 1986 Cuban pamphlet titled *Drug Consumption and Traffic* explains, "The main socioeconomic problems responsible for the improper use of drugs were solved with the triumph of the revolution on Jan. 1, 1959."

"Within a very short time," continues the pamphlet, the Cuban people "put a stop to the activities of those involved in this illicit business. Many of them fled justice and sought refuge in the United States."

However, because of its geographical position, Cuba's beaches, offshore waters, and airspace have been used by drug smugglers.

Between October 1970 and March 1986, for example, the Cuban Coast Guard captured 328 drug smugglers, confiscating 250 tons of marijuana, one ton of cocaine, 735,000 tablets of Quaalude, and 147,000 tablets of Dilaudid.

Referring to the tactics employed by drug smugglers flying over the Caribbean, U.S. customs officials say that today many drug traffickers drop their load from planes into the ocean, to be picked up by small boats, and fly back to their point of departure.

A July 30 *New York Times* article reported, "After the drop, they scatter in different directions, frequently off Cay-Sal, a chain of islands about 25 miles north of Cuba. 'We don't have the resources to track six boats simultaneously,' said Robert Viator, a customs pilot."

## Ochoa-La Guardia case

On July 13 former general Arnaldo Ochoa, former colonel Antonio de la Guardia and two other high-ranking officials of the Cuban army and Ministry of the Interior were executed for drug trafficking and high treason. Others received long prison sentences.

During the extensive investigation that led to their arrest and trial, it was revealed that having had information concerning the Ochoa-de la Guardia group's drug trafficking activities, the U.S. government did not supply it to the Cuban authorities.

"The truth is that because they failed to cooperate with Cuba by providing that information," *Granma* points out, "six tons of cocaine — the equivalent of 4 million doses — were smuggled into U.S. territory."

"Although this represents less than 1 percent of the United States' annual cocaine consumption, some teenagers in the United States may have died on account of these drugs or crimes related to them," continues the editorial. "Some families may now be in mourning just because President George Bush's administration did not permit its specialized agencies to cooperate with the Cuban government."

Following the drug-trafficking revelations involving Ochoa and high officials of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces issued a press release June 24 stating that any aircraft violating Cuban airspace that refuses to obey the order to land would be shot down.

This was a shift from the previous policy of accepting detours of up to 20 miles in the international corridors that cross Cuba when they have been required for safety of flights, or have resulted from navigational errors.

"On many occasions," the statement said, "private aircraft have violated Cuban airspace and refused to land despite repeated warnings. Such flights, and the subsequent conduct by the violators, can only be explained as being part of drug-trafficking activities."

In the wake of this announcement, according to U.S. law enforcement agencies, drug-smuggling flights over Cuba have come to a virtual halt, reported the July 28 *Washington Post*.

## Washington's hypocrisy

Before the U.S. government would engage in any kind of cooperation with Cuba in the fight against drug smuggling, stated U.S. authorities at the congressional hearings, the Cuban government would have to meet a series of conditions.

Among these are the demands that Cuba break relations of support and solidarity with revolutionary movements in Latin America, modify its relations with the Soviet Union,



Militant/Sam Manuel  
Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón.

and adopt a "human rights" policy to Washington's liking.

At a recent Republican fund-raising luncheon, President George Bush said that improved relations with Cuba "cannot be and it will not be as long as Castro violates the human rights of his own people, as long as he, almost alone in the entire world now, swims against the tide that is bringing sweeping change and democracy and freedom to closed societies around the world."

"This is not a serious position," explains *Granma*. "The Cuban revolution will not enter into this immoral game of give-and-take. In our policies concerning drug trafficking we aren't obliged to present 'good conduct' certificates to anyone."

By dealing decisively with the problem of drug trafficking by government officials in Cuba, "the Cuban revolution severed, in a manner without equal in our hemisphere, the treasonable connection that had been made between our country and drug trafficking," stated *Granma*. "The Bush administration, like its predecessor in the White House, has behaved like a vulgar accomplice of its own rabble."

The Cuban government makes no such demands on the U.S. government, the editorial concluded, and reiterated its offer of cooperation in the fight against drugs. "It is up to Washington to respond."

## Gathering in Montréal defends Cuba's rights on 30th anniversary

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — Nearly 200 people attended a celebration here August 19 of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The "Fiesta Cubana" was organized by the Québec-Cuba Friendship Association.

In welcoming the participants, executive member Cécile Deschamps explained that the Québec-Cuba friendship organization was in its 10th year. It has brought many Cuban artists and performers to Montréal with the goal of developing cultural relations between Québec and Cuba and increasing knowledge about Cuba throughout Québec.

To warm applause Deschamps introduced Lourdes Urrutia, the Cuban consul general in Montréal.

Friendship Association Secretary Michel Dugré told the audience that the work of the group is more and more needed as the threats by Washington against Cuba continue to mount. He explained that this fall the U.S. government is committed to opening a TV station that will illegally use one of Cuba's television channels to spread its slanders and lies against the Cuban revolution. Washington has also warned it will carry out a "surgical strike" into Cuba if the Cuban government follows through with its intention to jam the television signals, warned Dugré.

"These actions and threats are a violation of Cuban sovereignty," said Dugré. "They must be protested." He urged everyone to join the association to strengthen its ability to build bonds of friendship with the struggle of the Cuban people.

Last summer the organization organized a successful two-week tour to Cuba of workers, students, and others who participated in Cuba's voluntary work movement by joining a construction crew working on a hospital in Havana.

## Newark meeting celebrates Cuba's role in Third World

BY JANICE LYNN

NEWARK, N.J. — An August 17 meeting here at the Newark Public Library celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, attracting 100 people. The audience was predominantly Black.

The meeting's theme was a discussion of the Cuban revolution from an African-American perspective and coincided with the 102nd anniversary of Marcus Garvey's birth. Garvey was a Jamaican-born Black nationalist leader who headed the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which attracted hundreds of thousands of supporters in the early 1920s.

Speakers noted Cuba's commitment to the people of the Third World, in particular the internationalist brigades of soldiers, teachers, and doctors in Africa and other countries, and Cuba's decisive role in helping Angolan forces defeat invading South African apartheid forces.

Those addressing the meeting spoke about the emphasis placed by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the country's African heritage.

The social gains of the Cuban revolution were illustrated in slideshows and a video presentation by local Black artists, one of whom has been to Cuba 13 times. Cuba's free hospital and medical care, free education, and the big gains made in combating racism, hunger, homelessness, unemployment, prostitution, and drugs were contrasted to the conditions facing the Black community in Newark.

A multimedia tribute to Black rights fighter Assata Shakur, who presently resides in Cuba, was presented by a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

Rosemary Mealy of WBAI Radio and the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, who just returned from Cuba, spoke.

She denounced the U.S. government's economic blockade against Cuba, restrictions on the rights of U.S. citizens to travel there, and the denial of visas to Cuban journalists, artists, and others to visit the United States. Mealy encouraged people to join the Venceremos Brigade and other organizations that are taking up these fights.

Discussing the recent trials and executions of top Cuban government officials for crimes of treason, corruption, and drug trafficking, Mealy explained that Cuba has done more than any country in this hemisphere to solve the drug problem.

She explained "how important the rectification process has been for the Cuban revolution in building socialism. As Cuba continues to maintain its own independent policy and remains a beacon for the Nonaligned



Militant/Selva Nebbia  
Rosemary Mealy in Cuba, 1989.

Movement," she added, "we will see it come under attack more and more."

"We must defend that revolution," Mealy stressed, "not only because there are Black people there, not only because Assata is there, not only because they carried out their internationalist duty in Angola, but because they are asking us to defend that revolution for its principles."

Sponsoring groups included the People's Organization for Progress, a Newark-based community group; *Horizontes*, a local Latino publication; the All-African People's Revolutionary Party; Frontline Artists, a local cultural group; and others.

## BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

CHICAGO — A joint celebration of the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions attracted more than 300 people here July 22.

Prominent Nicaragua solidarity activist Walter Urroz chaired the meeting. Community leader Emma Lozano, who went to Cuba on the recent Venceremos Brigade, talked about the brigade's experiences. James Starks, a leader of the Palestinian Solidarity Committee, discussed Cuba's outstanding internationalism and noted especially Cuba's support for the freedom struggles of the Angolan, Puerto Rican, and Chilean peoples.

A satellite hookup with the meeting featured a live message from Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

The meeting was sponsored by a broad coalition and endorsed by a number of organizations, including Casa Nicaragua and the Venceremos Brigade.



# Puerto Rico independence marchers sign for Curtis

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail term on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on

tis case to the violations of democratic rights encountered by the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, Puerto Rican independence activists framed up by the U.S. government.

Sixty-eight people signed in support of the right of Curtis and other prisoners to receive non-English literature and correspondence and their right to share literature.

Hazel Zimmerman, secretary of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, spoke to a meeting of the Ne-



Sixty-eight people at New York Puerto Rican demonstration supported Curtis' and other prisoners' right to receive non-English literature.

Militant/Robin Mace

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country please send them to the *Militant*.

Some 2,000 people braved a torrential rainstorm in New York on August 12 and marched to demand independence for Puerto Rico. A popular chant of the demonstrators was "Independence yes, colonialism no!"

The march was sponsored by a variety of Puerto Rican organizations displaying a spirit of unity that also encouraged a favorable response to the case of Mark Curtis. Supporters of the Curtis defense effort set up a literature table at the action.

Members of left-wing Puerto Rican organizations from both the island and the United States gave their support. Several unaffiliated marchers expressed familiarity with Curtis' case because they had read about it in *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language monthly published in New York.

Edwin Vargas, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, endorsed the defense effort. He noted the similarities in the Cur-

braska Rainbow Coalition in Omaha on July 29. She was invited to the meeting by Frank Lamere, a board member of the national Rainbow Coalition and the executive director of the Nebraska Inter-Tribal Council.

For many it was the first opportunity to hear about the case. Participants included activists from Nebraskans for Peace, Winnebago tribal leaders, leaders of the Rainbow Coalition from other parts of the state, and farm leader Merle Hansen.

Lamere pointed to the similarities between the Curtis case and the frame-up of Native American activist Leonard Peltier. Hansen, a longtime Curtis supporter, motivated the importance of every political activist supporting the defense effort. Plans were made to talk with other national Rainbow Coalition leaders about the Curtis case.

Zimmerman met with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense lawyer Wadie Thomas and Nebraskans for Peace board member Don Fiedler. Both signed up to be sponsors of the Curtis defense

committee. Native American leader Art Hill also became a sponsor and agreed to publicize the case.

Zimmerman also met with leaders in the Latino community in Sioux City, Iowa.

Curtis defense committee supporters reported a good response from delegates at the Chicago-Gary area United Steelworkers of America District 31 annual conference, held August 11-12.

Eight delegates signed a petition protesting Iowa prison authorities' non-English ban and restrictions on prisoners circulating literature

among themselves. Delegates from four locals asked to have a meeting to hear more about Curtis' case and defense campaign.

Steelworkers Local 1011, which represents more than 3,000 workers at LTV steelworks in Indiana Harbor, invited Curtis supporters to set up a booth at its Labor Day picnic. Curtis had addressed a local union meeting prior to his incarceration, and the local has heard reports since then to update members on the developments in the case.

Pittsburgh supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee set up an

information table at the August 13 labor solidarity rally held in that city. More than 5,000 workers participated.

An international team of Curtis supporters from Britain, Switzerland, New Zealand, and Canada pitched in to help distribute defense committee literature.

Fifty-six workers signed letters addressed to the warden at the prison where Curtis is incarcerated protesting prison regulations against non-English literature.

Signers included Richard Adams, first vice-president of the Pittsburgh Board of Education and Pennsylvania Rainbow Coalition chairperson; Molly Rush, a Plowshares Eight defendant; Thomas Merton, Center for Peace and Justice staff member; and Vickie Stacy, unit vice-president of Communications Workers of America Local 4372 in Wheelersburg, Ohio.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has published new materials to help win support for Curtis. They include a new pamphlet featuring a speech by defense committee leader John Gaige (25 pp., \$1), a reprint of Curtis' federal civil rights lawsuit against the city of Des Moines and the police officers who beat him after his arrest (\$50), and an updated international list of endorsers of the defense committee. Copies and bundles of these materials are available from the Des Moines defense committee office.

*Evelyn Vega from New York, Pat Leamon from Omaha, Mitch Rosenberg from Chicago, and Michael Pennock from Pittsburgh contributed to this column.*

# Pittston fight continues, more strikes are called

BY MARY IMO AND MAGGIE McCRAW

NORA, Va. — Two miners on strike against Pittston Coal told a crowd of 400 here that the company's attacks on health care and benefits for pensioners were key issues that pushed them to strike 19 weeks ago. "It's like what the phone company is offering the CWA [Communications Workers of America] members," one said. "Pretty soon only the rich will have any health care at all."

Pittston wants to set up its own health and retirement funds rather than contribute to the UMWA Benefit Trust Funds set up in 1950.

The August 19 rally drew miners and supporters from several states. An International Association of Machinists member who spoke contributed money collected at his Boeing plant in Tennessee for the striking miners.

"I know of many nonunion plants in Tennessee, and it's important you're sticking together to stop Pittston from breaking your union," he said.

Another rally in support of the Pittston miners, who are concentrated in Virginia, West Virginia, and eastern Kentucky, is slated for Labor Day weekend in St. Paul, Virginia. Miners are encouraging strike supporters to bring tents and stay at Camp Solidarity, centers set up during the wave of sympathy strikes this summer by 44,000 miners.

### Three new strikes

In Charleston, West Virginia, officials of the United Mine Workers of America announced strikes against three other southern West Virginia coal operators on August 20.

Miners at Chafin Coal have been working without a contract since the company refused to sign the industrywide agreement in 1988.

At Big Bear Mining, owned by A.T. Massey Coal Co., miners have been off the job without a contract since October. The mine has since been running with scabs.

Rum Creek Coal, an A.T. Massey operation in Logan County, West Virginia, has been the focus of protests even before it was struck. It is one mile from Pittston's Elkay mine — shut down since the strike against Pittston began.

Rum Creek closed its preparation plant and declared bankruptcy in July, blaming its financial difficulties on the sympathy strikes earlier this summer in support of Pittston miners. The plant employed 15 union miners. A few weeks later it canceled its contract with the UMWA and hired nonunion contractor Con-Serv, Inc., to re-open the plant, accompanied by heavily armed Nuckols Security guards.

Community residents and miners organized daily protests of 50 to 100 people to prevent coal from being moved. A temporary restraining order was then issued against picket activity, but process servers were turned away before they could present the papers.

Massey and Con-Serv responded with provocations and violence. On August 15 two women pickets were hit by a company truck.

### 'SCAB 1'

Two days later the *Charleston Gazette* carried a full-page story on the Con-Serv outfit, complete with a photograph of company President Michael Holbrook. In his bullet-proof vest, gun on hip, Holbrook is leaning on his truck, which is covered with right-to-work stickers and has the license plate "SCAB 1". Holbrook is a former mine boss and supplied A.T. Massey with scabs during the 1984-85 strike.

On August 19 Roy Blankenship, a mine union local official at Pittston's Elkay Mine, was shot by guards and hospitalized for surgery. At the same time a company loading machine demolished the Pittston miners' picket shack nearby. The company claimed the miners started shooting and its guards

fired back in self-defense. Henry Farley, in the picket shack at the time, said, "We don't carry guns. We're not allowed to. They'd arrest us if we did."

The weekly strike newsletter points to the company as the source of violence. "They can escape justice due to them by claiming a 'legitimate business interest,'" union officials stated when they announced the recently called strikes. They contrasted this to the fines and jail terms miners receive. On Au-

## Curtis given defense committee mail, denied letters from garment workers

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — On August 10 the Mark Curtis Defense Committee received a letter from Curtis reporting that a ban on his receiving mail from the defense committee had been ended after two weeks. Curtis wrote, "Today when I picked up my mail at noon, I was given two packets from the defense committee including photocopied material." Prison authorities at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa had impounded the packets until then.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee sent a letter to supporters around the world reporting, "This victory is the latest step in a continual tug of war over Mark's rights and his ability to maintain contact with the outside world and to participate in his own defense campaign, which will continue until the minute Mark walks out the door of the prison."

Even while granting Curtis the packets from the defense committee, prison authorities used arbitrary regulations to deny him some of the material in them. He was denied a photocopy of a recent Supreme Court decision restricting prisoners' rights on the grounds he could get it in the prison library. He was denied a copy of the periodical *Bars and Stripes*, a prisoner-rights journal, because the entire issue, rather than just an article or two, was included. Curtis was told he could

order the periodical from the publisher. In the same letter reporting on the prison authorities' decision to give him mail from his defense committee, Curtis wrote that the officials "denied to me a message from some garment workers, written in Chinese or Korean, I couldn't tell which, on the basis that it was in a foreign language. So this foreign-language correspondence fight continues."

The defense committee stated, "The fight to overturn these restrictions is now at the center of the ongoing battle to defend Mark's right to continue functioning as a political activist while he is behind bars. The committee is asking all supporters of basic democratic and human rights to send telegrams and letters to the warden at Anamosa urging Curtis, and all other prisoners, be allowed to receive correspondence in any language they want and to exchange material with each other."

Protests should be sent to John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205. Copies should be sent to Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319, Paul Grossheim, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and to the defense committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

### Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.



# Socialist conference attracts workers, activists from 20 countries

BY PETER THIERJUNG

OBERLIN, Ohio — More than 1,000 communists and other political activists from 20 countries met here August 5-9 at the International Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference.

Setting the political framework for several days of political discussion and education, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, opened the conference with a talk called "Communist Future and the Crisis of Imperialism Today."

As the crisis of capitalism and imperialist domination deepens, "the tremendous unevenness in world developments gets accelerated," Barnes said. But "behind the unevenness" there is the "coming together of struggles, the human material, and the forging of revolutionary leadership."

"To see the convergence of tasks, attitudes, and character of communists worldwide," and "to be co-combatants" in this process,

## It's revolutionary Cuba that's advancing the cause of socialism worldwide.

not just interested observers or supporters, is the challenge before revolutionists and communists.

Barnes underscored the assessment of Cuban President Fidel Castro that the world is living through a great economic crisis, particularly in the Third World, creating conditions that make the experiences of the French revolution and the Russian revolution more relevant today.

### Crisis of bureaucratic regimes

Contrary to the claims of the representatives of capitalism, "what is happening is not the disintegration of socialism" in countries where capitalism has been overthrown, Barnes explained. What exists is the crisis of the bureaucratic regimes there that are incapable of leading workers and farmers forward to socialism.

It is Cuba, Barnes underscored, where the leadership and working people are genuinely advancing the cause of socialism worldwide.

Stressing a theme repeated throughout the conference, Barnes said that telling the truth about Cuba and defending Cuba's socialist revolution is a central priority for communists and political activists today.

New International editor Mary-Alice Waters gave a talk titled, "Socialism or Death: Cuba's Communist Leadership Today." (See article in last week's *Militant*.)

Mac Warren, SWP organization secretary, took up political developments in the United States in his talk, "Sharpening Class Conflict in the United States."

Warren noted the impact of the decade-long offensive of the employers against the rights and standard of living of working people in the United States. The labor officials' course of collaboration with the employers led to the gutting of union power.

Warren referred to statistics that show wages did not increase in the last economic upturn — the first time in 50 years this has happened during an upswing in the capitalist business cycle.

In the context of the worldwide capitalist crisis, it is these conditions that will drive millions of workers toward struggle and toward "the possibility of developing consciousness of themselves as part" of a worldwide working class, he said.

### Eastern strike

Warren discussed the rise in political activity and labor struggles in the United States, particularly the strike at Eastern Airlines. The strike by the Machinists union, he said, backed up by flight attendants and pilots, "is the longest nationwide strike battle of an

industrial union in this country since World War II."

The outcome of the Eastern Airlines strike "is not settled at all," Warren explained. He stressed the need for all workers and unionists to join together to respond to the most recent challenges by Eastern Airlines management to break the strike.

The director of the Nicaragua Bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, Larry Seigle, presented a talk on defending Nicaragua's workers and peasants.

He reviewed the significance of the Nicaraguan revolution, its evolution over the past 10 years, the present course of its leadership, and the important task of defending it from U.S. imperialism.

SWP leader and New York mayoral candidate James Harris closed the week by outlining the international political priorities and campaigns over the next several months for the communist groups that helped organize the conference.

Harris projected:

- solidarity with and defense of the Cuban revolution;
- solidarity with the struggles in southern Africa, particularly Namibia and South Africa;
- stepping up the fight for victory in the Machinists strike at Eastern Airlines;
- winning support for imprisoned political activist and unionist Mark Curtis;
- building actions in defense of abortion rights, especially the protest called by the



Militant/Janet Post

International Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference featured political talks on imperialist crisis, socialist Cuba, class conflict in the United States, the Nicaraguan revolution, and building revolutionary working-class parties.

National Organization for Women for November 12 in Washington, D.C.;

- advancing the fight against racism and defending affirmative action, including building the August 26 march on Washington called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People;

- promoting communist election campaigns and the distribution of the pamphlet *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*;

- meetings to discuss two new books published by Pathfinder Press, *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro and *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, and raising \$150,000 to support the publishing projects of Pathfinder;

- increasing circulation of the communist press by organizing from September through November to get 9,000 new readers for the *Militant*, the Spanish and French socialist monthly magazines *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Lutte ouvrière*, and the Marxist journals *New*

*International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*;

- and organizing international support and fund-raising for the completion of the Pathfinder Mural Project — a six-story high mural painted by international artists on the Pathfinder Building in New York.

Special workshops were held to discuss many of these projected activities.

In addition to the featured talks and workshops, major class series were organized. These focused on the political continuity of the Socialist Workers Party; the experiences and lessons of workers' and farmers' governments in Algeria, Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Azerbaijan; and the rectification process in Cuba. There were also introductory classes on socialism and a variety of other topics.

A special panel discussion took place with African National Congress of South Africa member Fred Dube; Paca-Kabedi, an attaché of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the

Continued on Page 17

## Rally demands freedom for Mark Curtis

BY PETER THIERJUNG

OBERLIN, Ohio — "We're not going to let anyone turn us around. We have to intensify the fight for Mark Curtis, because what happened to Mark is against the working people of the world," Mississippi civil rights fighter Hollis Watkins said.

Watkins was the opening speaker at an international rally on August 6 here in support of political activist and unionist Mark Curtis. The rally platform reflected the growing worldwide support won for the imprisoned packinghouse worker as the result of the campaign conducted by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee based in Des Moines, Iowa.

Curtis is serving a 25-year jail term at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory at Anamosa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Since his incarceration began last September Curtis has remained active, discussing his political ideas with other prisoners, standing with other prisoners whose rights are violated, challenging unjust regulations and actions by prison authorities, and expressing his solidarity with the struggles of working people across the world. Curtis is the secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, a prisoners' group, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Margaret Jayko, former editor of the *Militant* and author of *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis: A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice*, a pamphlet published by Pathfinder, chaired the rally.

Jayko pointed to the move by prison authorities to prevent Curtis from receiving mailings from his defense committee. This was the most recent of a series of attacks by officials to limit Curtis' political activities.

New Zealand farm activist Denis Hiestand described the successful struggle to win freedom for Arthur Allan Thomas, a dairy farmer from that country who was framed and later vindicated in a double murder case. Hiestand said Curtis was framed for fighting for justice as Thomas had and appealed to everyone to keep up the fight on Curtis' behalf.

Alfredo Alvarez, chair of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, said the city is "racially and economically polarized." Alvarez and the Human Rights Commission have come under attack by Des Moines city



Militant/Janet Post

Alfredo Alvarez, chair of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, and Susan Mnumzana, member of African National Congress' observer mission to UN, spoke at rally.



Militant/Eric Simpson

officials for exposing and criticizing the police department's racist and sexist practices.

He explained that these conditions "swallowed up Mark Curtis." Curtis, a Des Moines resident, was arrested, framed, and beaten by police there. "What happened to Mark Curtis is wrong," Alvarez concluded. "To allow him to remain behind bars is to allow ourselves to be imprisoned by injustice."

Dag Tirsén, a member of the National Food Workers Union in Sweden, described successful efforts of Curtis supporters there, especially among immigrant Kurdish and Turkish workers. He explained that Swedish workers face similar attacks on their rights. Tirsén was fired recently for his union and political activities.

Susan Mnumzana, secretary for women's affairs of the African National Congress Observer Mission to the United Nations, spoke

of Curtis' continued political activity in jail which, she explained, will help other prisoners understand better the system that has tried to dehumanize them.

Gil Sierra, a member of Local 431 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union and an alderman in Davenport, Iowa, explained that the frame-up of Curtis is part of the ongoing attacks on labor and civil rights in the United States. He noted Curtis' defense of immigrants' rights and pledged to continue to help win support for Curtis, particularly in the labor movement and UFCW.

Comparing the strike by Eastern Airlines workers with Curtis' struggle, Rick Walker said, "We're fighting for workers' rights; so is Mark Curtis." Walker is a member of the Machinists union in Miami and a striker. He

Continued on Page 17



# 1,000 welcome strikers' caravan at Atlanta rally

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern,

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

ern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 daily flights.

Since July Eastern has been trying to restart operations. By August 15 it was scheduling 390 daily flights.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

One thousand Eastern strikers and supporters turned out at the Atlanta Civic Center for a rally to greet the Machinists' and pilots' "Journey for Justice" caravan, which had arrived

for a 24-hour stay in the area.

Before heading downtown for the rally, the caravan held a motorcade through the Atlanta airport.

The caravan, which is aimed at gaining broader public and labor support for the strike, left Miami August 11. A rally of 250 strikers and supporters gathered at Machinists Local 702's union hall at 7:00 a.m. to give the procession a send-off.

It is working its way up the East Coast, visiting 26 communities.

A second caravan, organized by the flight attendants, leaves Miami August 20. Strikers will be stopping in Orlando and Jacksonville, Florida; Atlanta; Knoxville, Tennessee; Raleigh, North Carolina; Norfolk, Virginia; Washington, D.C.; Baltimore; Philadelphia; Newark, New Jersey; New York; and Greenwich, Connecticut. In many of these stops, airport rallies are planned, along with other activities.

Both caravans will be participating in an August 25 solidarity rally in Castlewood, Virginia, to support striking Pittston coal miners. They will also be joining in the September 4 Labor Day march in New York and September 6 labor demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Some 200 workers from a score

of union locals turned out at Los Angeles International Airport August 12, between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., for the second expanded picket line organized by Eastern strikers and supporters in that city.

A spirited contingent of 25 International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members participated, as they had two weeks earlier at a mass picket. The ILGWU members are on strike at La Mode factory, fighting for union recognition and a contract.

Refinery workers, auto workers, Machinists' union members, and other unionists joined strikers to "keep the heat on Lorenzo," as the leaflet for the action said.

During the picketing, one strike supporter — an IAM member from McDonnell Douglas — stood in front of the door to Eastern's facilities, talking with passengers about why they should support the strike and not fly Eastern.

Eastern personnel got upset and called the cops, who came and surrounded the picket. The cop told him he was "disturbing the peace" and that if he continued to try to talk to passengers, he would "get in trouble." The Machinist stood his ground, and the cops finally backed off.

Eastern strikers and supporters in

Los Angeles are planning another expanded picket line for August 26.

Amtrak workers at Washington, D.C.'s Union Station showed their support for the Eastern strike July 31 by donating more than \$350 to a collection that went to the Machinists' and flight attendants' food banks.

Members and officials from the United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and Brotherhood of Railway Carmen organized the collection. The day before, a leaflet was passed out to Amtrak workers explaining the status of the Eastern strike and asking workers to bring extra money the next day. Several railworkers helped an Eastern striker with the collection.

Workers belonging to the nine unions at Amtrak all responded enthusiastically to the collection appeal. Some had thought the strike was over. Most agreed the fight at Eastern has big stakes for the entire labor movement.

"You're damn right I'll give. We may be next," said one engineer. Many other railworkers had the same response.

Amtrak workers themselves face demands for more concessions from management, which could lead to a

strike this fall.

The Eastern strike was a prominent part of United Steelworkers of America District 31's annual conference, held August 11-12 in Downers Grove, Illinois.

Three strikers from Chicago attended the conference. Flight attendant and strike leader Betsy Murtagh addressed the delegates and guests, inviting them to "participate in the longest national strike in 30 years" by helping to "mobilize the entire labor community" in support of the battle against the carrier.

The strikers, with the help of some Steelworkers, sold hundreds of dollars of strike T-shirts and signed up many steel locals to receive strike reports.

Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, Vice-president Leon Lynch, and staff representative Oscar Sanchez, who coordinates strike solidarity for the union, also stressed the importance of the fight at Eastern.

Striking IAM Local 702 member Jeff Miller from Miami; Mitchel Rosenberg from Chicago; Liz Ziers from Atlanta; Ike Nahem from Washington, D.C.; and Lisa Ahlberg from Los Angeles contributed to this column.

## Eastern strikers appeal to Hudson Gen'l Machinists

Continued from front page headquarters.

Strikers also carried copies of a petition for Hudson workers to sign, stating their solidarity with the Eastern workers' fight.

Pickets were dropped off at the three sites by one of Local 1018's strike vans. They covered Post No. 1, away from the main terminal, where fuel, freight, mail, and catering trucks for the different airlines and subcontracting companies enter and leave the airport.

Post No. 2 also got pickets. This is the main entrance for Eastern scabs. Workers going to the Continental Airlines hangar also drive in there.

A third group of strikers stood downstairs at Eastern's doors to the main terminal, where they expected some Hudson workers to come to report for work.

### First attempt at reaching workers

"We're going to try to convince the Hudson General workers not to cross our picket lines and to support us," explained Derek Robain, who worked as an air freight handler at Eastern for five years before the strike started March 4. He was picketing at Post No. 1. "This is really our first effort to communicate with them."

While few Hudson workers were seen at this spot, workers from other airlines and catering and fueling companies were glad to see the Eastern strikers. They took copies of the leaflets to distribute inside the airport and put on the "Stop Lorenzo" buttons strikers gave them.

"Hudson has been working on Eastern planes for awhile," said one American Airlines worker who drove by. "You should have been out here before."

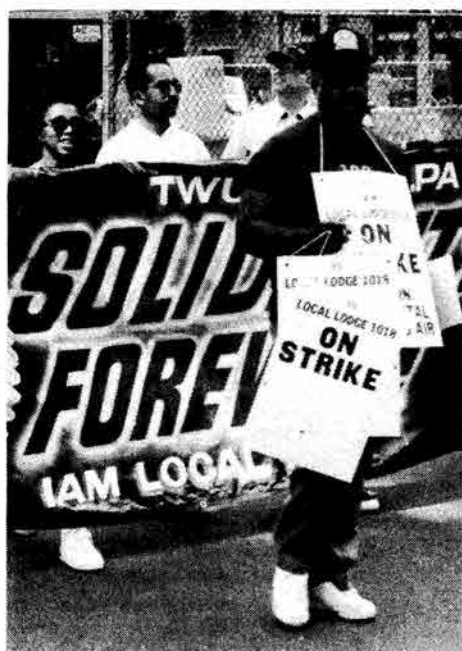
"We're at the 'make it or break it' point in the strike," explained Robain. "What we're doing out here today is important to winning."

### Workers sign petition

The main terminal proved to be the spot where most Hudson workers could be reached.

Although strikers missed some of the workers coming in for first shift, they managed to talk to more than 20 Hudson workers. Most were Black and Latino, and many had just been hired.

Hudson is hiring people every day, one worker explained. Although IAM officials had been told that "only probationaries" — that is, workers not yet in the union — were working on Eastern planes, Hudson workers told pickets about one worker with three years seniority who is doing the work. Another worker said the company keeps people out of



Militant/Ernie Mailhot

Eastern strikers from La Guardia Airport joined July 11 march to support striking hospital workers in New York.

the union so they can say that no IAM members are doing work for Eastern.

One young man who had worked at Hudson for several years told pickets he had done work on Eastern planes. He was surprised to hear that he had a right to refuse such work.

Several Hudson workers took leaflets to take inside. One, a young Black man, gave strikers his phone number. Another said he was thinking about coming over to the union hall.

Two Latino women stopped and signed the petition.

Another worker, a 20-year-old Black man with three weeks at Hudson, stopped and talked to pickets as he was coming off the midnight shift.

He had responded to Hudson's ad in the paper, he explained, adding that his mother had told him a little about the strike at Eastern. He works on the ramp, fueling tubs and other equipment.

Cleaners at Hudson make \$4.20 an hour, he said, and ramp workers make \$5 an hour. He lives in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn and has to spend \$50 a week of his take-home pay of \$150 on transportation, he explained, pulling out his check stub. The strikers listened carefully.

He signed the petition and asked strikers to come back again and talk.

Altogether 11 Hudson workers signed the petition, and many others took leaflets.

Strikers came back again the following morning. They are discussing how to orga-

nize this picketing most effectively.

"Hudson, and subcontractors in other cities, will be doing even more hiring in the next few weeks, as Eastern gets ready to try to increase the number of flights again," said Local 1018 strike committee member Ernie Mailhot. "If strikers can reach the IAM members, and new hires, at Hudson, and convince them that our fight is theirs, it can weaken Eastern's strikebreaking 'reorganization' scheme."

"If you look out on the runways, you can see the confusion and disorganization, as these new workers scramble to try to handle Eastern's planes without adequate training or other experienced workers to help break them in. When Eastern tries to add flights again in September, it will be even worse. With new pilots, flight attendants, and ground personnel, and aging planes just coming out of mothballs, the threat to passengers' and workers' safety is growing."

### 'A stronger appearance'

Louis Richardson, a 26-year-old ramp service worker at Eastern, was one of the strikers who helped picket and talk with Hudson workers.

"Things are kind of confused now in the strike," he said. "This is not exactly a high point. We're not in the press. The pilots are crossing the line. The strike needs beefing up."

"The Hudson General workers are our union brothers," he continued. "They're scabbing on us, and most of them probably don't even know that. It's important for us to inform them."

"Now is the time for us to make a stronger appearance," Richardson said, adding that he had recently attended rallies for striking telephone and hospital workers. "It's time for us to get back in the news."

"We need more public activities," he stressed. "Rallies are so important — they let you know what you're fighting for. Sometimes you can feel isolated at the airport, but if you go to a demonstration, you see others who are fighting and who support you."

### Labor Day march, September 7 start-up

Support for the Eastern strike will be the theme of this year's New York Labor Day march, set for September 4, marking the sixth month of the walkout. The march will be led by a contingent of striking Eastern Machinists, flight attendants and pilots. Special placards and T-shirts are being made up for the action, and other unions are urged to make the fight at Eastern part of their contingents' presence. Strike activists are working to insure a large turnout of Eastern workers for the march.

Local 1018 is also planning a September 7

action at La Guardia, backed by the New York Central Labor Council, to answer Eastern's projected start-up of more flights. The company plans to go from 390 daily flights to 600 that day. Strikers will be leafleting the Labor Day action about the September 7 event and urging others in the labor movement to participate.

Meanwhile, the Air Line Pilots Association executive board adjourned a two-day meeting August 18. They did not act on Eastern pilots' request that a poll be taken of the 38,000 active ALPA members to gauge support for a one-day national pilots' work stoppage, called an "SOS." Eastern pilots have been pressing for such action since early August, when more than 200 pilots and hundreds of flight attendants crossed picket lines at Eastern.

## Haiti: Nat'l Popular Assembly leader arrested, beaten

Jean-Robert Lalanne, a leader of the National Popular Assembly (APN) in Haiti, was arrested without a warrant August 1 in the northern city of Cap-Haïtien.

Lalanne was taken to jail, held for 24 hours, and severely beaten. APN spokesman François Pierre-Louis told Radio Metropole in Port-au-Prince that Lalanne was "so badly beaten that he was limping. We had to hospitalize him at Hospital Justinien with an IV in his arm. He was so badly beaten that his entire body is swollen. . . ."

Lalanne was arrested at the courthouse in Cap-Haïtien, where he and others had gathered to attend the arraignment of Patrick Casimir. Also a leader of the APN, Casimir was arrested in late July following an attempted demonstration that was disrupted by the army. He was also beaten by authorities.

As people were gathering for Casimir's arraignment, armed soldiers began surrounding the courthouse. People began to disperse, and soldiers arrested Lalanne.

Lalanne is a nationally known leader of the APN who has frequently been harassed and intimidated by authorities in the northern part of the country, reports the Brooklyn-based Committee against Repression in Haiti. In March he was fired on by soldiers during a demonstration in Cap-Haïtien, but escaped unharmed.

Messages protesting Lalanne's arrest and beating should be sent to: Gen. Prosper Avril, President of Haiti, National Palace, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, with copies to: Committee Against Repression in Haiti, 1398 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11210.



# Unionists in Britain prepare fight for 35-hour workweek

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — Voting is to begin among workers in the 12 major engineering (manufacturing) companies targeted for strike action by unionists demanding a 35-hour workweek. The outcome of this fight will directly affect some 2 million workers.

On August 14 the unions launched a national levy of one hour's pay per week from all engineering workers (machinists, auto workers, aerospace workers, and other manufacturing workers) but primarily aimed at those working for the 4,000 firms in the Engineering Employers Federation.

Some 5,000 British Aerospace workers in Preston in the North-West of England rallied at the local football stadium and 4,000 Rolls Royce aerospace workers in Bristol in the South-West of the country gathered outside their plant to hear union officials explain the campaign. Both mass meetings backed the 35-hour workweek fight.

Workers at 70 factories in Manchester began to pay the weekly levy immediately. And workers in the Manchester area who have been designated to strike are meeting to plan for action.

Several factories in Coventry in the Midlands responded immediately to an appeal,

made by a 200-strong delegate meeting representing some 70,000 workers, for a higher levy than that set by the unions nationally.

## 'Would create jobs'

Bill Jordan, president of the 800,000-member Amalgamated Engineering Union, told the rallies that the implementation of a 35-hour week would create jobs. It would also be a reward, he said, for the collaboration of the union with management over the past decade in dramatically increasing productivity through speed-up, increased job flexibility, and so on.

"It is the men and women who work in the engineering industry who have transformed its productivity and profitability," Jordan said. "By the acceptance of change and new technology, they have already earned the right to the 35-hour week."

The present campaign has been planned over the past four months following the breakdown of negotiations with the employers. The Engineering Employers Federation had offered a one-hour reduction in the current 39-hour working week, phased over three years and tied to a two-year wages deal substantially below the present level of inflation.



Militant/Paco Sánchez

Picket line of the National Union of Railwaymen in London during strike in July. Workers in other industries in Britain now look to build on their successes.

Unions representing the 8,500 manual workers at Vauxhall (General Motors) have raised the 35-hour week as a central plank of their annual claim. The unions at Ford are expected to do the same. The 28,500 Ford manual workers traditionally set the level for workers in manufacturing as a whole.

## Dock strike ends

A dock strike ended August 8 when a mass meeting of dockers in Liverpool voted 3 to

1 to return to work. The port employers have been successful in substantially gutting union organization. Many union activists have been victimized, and at certain ports the employers have refused to recognize the unions at all.

One-third of the 9,000 dockers at the start of the strike have been driven out of the industry.

Despite the dock strike defeat, workers in other industries are using the space opened up by the rail workers' strike success earlier this summer to defend their living standards and union organization.

Half a million local government workers are voting on a new offer from their employers of an average 8.8 percent wage rise; lower-paid workers will get a greater percentage rise. This follows six days of national strike action and some selective strikes.

Workers on the London Underground (subway), organized by the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR), scored a substantial victory in defeating employer attacks on work practices.

Following this, train crews on the underground system won raises of £13 to £16 (US\$21-\$26) a week. The train crews are members of both the NUR and the train drivers' union. They had taken 14 individual days of strike action. The raise is above inflation, but the settlement reached by the joint union negotiating committee at the national level has met with widespread opposition, including among NUR activists at the district level.

Oil-rig workers who had also engaged in a series of one-day actions over nine weeks have won a substantial pay rise but not yet established fully recognized unions on the offshore rigs. An unofficial Offshore Industry Liaison (OIL) committee has been established to continue the fight for union recognition.

# Western phone workers end walkout

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Some 43,000 striking telephone workers in California and Nevada returned to work August 21 after union negotiators reached a tentative three-year agreement with Pacific Telesis Group, the regional phone company.

On the question of health care, Communications Workers of America negotiators agreed to accept a health plan in which workers would pick doctors and hospitals from a company-chosen network. Workers who go outside the network would have to pay more.

Demands by "Baby Bell" regional phone companies that workers pay more for health care costs and insurance are the most important issue in the strikes by 200,000 telephone workers that began August 6.

The proposed agreement at Pacific Telesis, which must be voted on by union members, also calls for wage raises of 3.1 percent in the first year, 3.7 percent in the second, and 2.6 percent in the third.

Wages under the old contract ranged from \$228 a week for some operators to \$650 a week for skilled technicians.

A few days earlier, a tentative agreement was announced between Bell Atlantic and the CWA. The new three-year pact covers 41,000 workers. It includes a health plan similar to that at Pacific Telesis and small wage increases each year. A cost-of-living adjustment is also included in the last two years of the contract.

Bell Atlantic has yet to reach an agreement with the 11,000 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers members who are also on strike. The CWA has stated that its members will not return to work until an agreement is reached with the IBEW. Bell Atlantic covers Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and Washington, D.C.

## NYNEX strike

Meanwhile, the strike at NYNEX by 60,000 CWA and IBEW members continues. NYNEX is the regional phone company for New York and the New England states.

On August 21 a state judge in New York issued a temporary injunction against mass picketing or interference with phone company operations by strikers. Union officials contested the judge's jurisdiction and said the union planned to continue its picketing. "Essentially it means nothing," said William Sullivan, president of the Utica-area CWA Local 1126.

At least 40,000 telephone workers are also still out at Ameritech, the phone company for five Midwest states. Workers at Ameritech walked out August 13.

Rallies and demonstrations to support striking telephone workers, and other union-

ists on strike, have continued.

Some 1,000 CWA and IBEW strikers demonstrated in Newark, New Jersey, August 15, tying up downtown traffic for nearly an hour. The Bell Atlantic strikers had obtained a police permit for the rally. Earlier, a judge issued an order barring mass picketing at Bell headquarters and six other Bell sites in New Jersey.

The same day in downtown Boston, a demonstration of 5,000 NYNEX strikers and supporters took place. Contingents of striking coal miners and Eastern workers were also there.

A week later, more than 500 NYNEX workers, along with striking Eastern workers and coal miners, and members of dozens of other unions, held another rally in Boston near the headquarters of John Hancock Insurance Co. The site was chosen to focus attention on the demand that Hancock divest itself of holdings in Texas Air Corp., Eastern's parent company.

Some 1,500 people came to Nyack, New York, August 18 to attend the funeral of CWA striker Edward Horgan, who died August 15 after being struck by a car driven through a NYNEX picket line by a scab, in nearby Westchester County.

# New Jersey meat-packers on strike 2 months

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

NEWARK, N.J. — Packinghouse workers at Linden Beef have been on strike since the end of June, after rejecting the company's latest demands for concessions.

Linden Beef is a kosher slaughterhouse and the only cut-and-kill beef operation in the New York metropolitan area. The plant is tucked away in an isolated industrial section of the city, and the strike itself has received little attention in the media or from the rest of the labor movement.

On a recent visit to Linden — made with several Eastern Airlines strikers from nearby Newark International Airport — we found a group of strikers on picket duty outside the old, run-down brick slaughterhouse. Some 400 head of beef a day were killed and processed there for the large kosher market in the New York area before the strike began.

Most of the pickets were Black workers, veterans of many years in the plant. They welcomed the Eastern strikers. "We feel pretty much alone," said one worker with 31 years at Linden.

The Linden workers struck after the owner, refusing to consider the union's proposals, presented a series of concession demands. The workers are members of United Food

and Commercial Workers Local 174.

Although workers at Linden haven't had a wage increase since 1981, the owner offered only "a token raise, really an insult," one striker explained.

The owner also demanded an increase in the use of piece-rate wages, decreases in the number of sick days and personal holidays, and job combinations, which will lead to further speedup in the plant. The demand for more givebacks came on top of concessions made in the last two contracts.

Workers were especially angry about the boss' demand that workers not be paid during production shutdowns ordered by government inspectors, if the reason for the shutdown is deemed by the owner to be the workers' fault.

"Since the bosses are always looking to cut corners, the meat inspectors shut down the line all the time," explained one veteran kill-floor butcher. "Now they want to blame us and dock our pay. It's unbelievable!"

If this provision is enacted, it would seriously erode safety conditions in the packinghouse, which are already very bad, another striker added. The pickets' missing fingers and limbs were silent testimony to conditions in the plant.

"They never replace the hooks used for hanging carcasses," said one worker, who walked with the aid of a cane. "They say it will cost too much." Just before the strike began, a hook holding an entire carcass fell off the overhead rail on the kill floor, falling on top of him. The weight was so great that it broke the large knife hanging in a metal scabbard at his waist, driving the knife into his thigh.

Most strikers think that the boss is trying to drive the union out of the plant. "It's like what Lorenzo is trying to do at Eastern," one worker said. "And if he gets us, what do you think other packing bosses are going to do when the contract for the rest of Local 174's wholesale meat division comes up next year? It'll be like a green light, open season."

In mid-August the company sent out a letter stating its intention to close the plant in October. Some workers regard this as a scare tactic aimed at getting the union to agree to the company's demands. "If he wants to close it, fine," said others.

Jerry Freiwirth is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 174. He works as a lugger in New York's 14th Street meat district.



# Judge issues findings in 10-year lawsuit, affirms suit's intent was to disrupt SWP

BY SUSAN LaMONT

On August 15 in Los Angeles, federal Judge Mariana Pfaelzer issued her written findings in the 10-year-old lawsuit brought by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party.

The "findings of fact and conclusions of law" put in written form the ruling announced by the judge at the conclusion of the trial six and a half years ago — that is, not "a single piece of evidence" exists for any of Gelfand's charges.

In addition to restating that "there is no evidence" against the SWP, the judge declared that Gelfand's aim in the lawsuit was to harass the SWP. "Plaintiff's initiation of this litigation was not in good faith," she says. "His motivation was to disrupt the SWP."

The five-day trial occurred in March 1983, four years after a lawsuit was filed by Gelfand against the SWP. In the suit, he charged that the party is run by FBI agents and on this basis, asked for court intervention into the SWP's internal affairs.

From the beginning, the party fought to have the case thrown out of court for the harassment lawsuit it is. The judge refused to do so.

A fight was launched to win the broadest possible backing for the defense against Gelfand's suit, headed by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Meetings and rallies were organized around the country to explain the issues in the case and widen support for the defense effort.

Union officials, political activists, supporters of democratic rights and civil liberties, civil rights fighters, elected officials, and many others joined the SWP in demanding an end to the disruption operation.

## Implications for other organizations

They explained that for the case to come to trial at all — much less drag on in the courts for years — established a precedent of government intervention in voluntary associations, threatening everyone's right to privacy and freedom of association. Although the SWP was the immediate target in the Gelfand case, its course and outcome would have implications for trade unions, other political parties, civil rights organizations, farmers' groups, and similar associations, they explained.

Throughout the Gelfand case, the SWP has fought against the use of the courts to carry out lawsuits whose only purpose is to harass, disrupt, and financially drain political associations. It has also taken action aimed at preventing lawyers from profiting by waging such fraudulent and abusive lawsuits.

Gelfand's case is part of a broader antilabor disruption campaign waged by the Workers League, a small U.S. sect, along with a British group, the Workers Revolutionary Party.

In 1979 Gelfand — who had entered the

## Disabled workers held fewer jobs last year than in 1981

Disabled workers held fewer jobs last year than they did in 1981. Their wages did not keep pace with inflation, and the gap between the wages of the disabled and that of other workers grew larger.

In 1981, a total of 29.8 percent of disabled men held fulltime jobs. By last year it had dropped to 23.4 percent.

Disabled women registered a slight gain — 11.4 percent held jobs in 1981 and 13.1 percent last year.

The average earnings of a disabled male worker was \$12,579 in 1980, increasing to \$15,497 in 1987. Taking inflation into account, this represents a wage cut.

At the beginning of the 1980s, disabled men earned 77 percent of what all workers got. By last year it had dropped to 64 percent.

For disabled women, the rate fell from 69 percent to 62 percent.

Paul Hippolitus, director of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, said laws to ensure equal opportunity for the disabled had little impact. He added that those disabled who did get jobs had little opportunity to advance to better-paying ones.

SWP three years earlier as part of this disruption operation — was expelled from the party after filing a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP was controlled by FBI agents. The brief was aimed at undercutting the SWP's lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption, ongoing at the time, which resulted in an historic ruling against the FBI and other federal police agencies in 1986.

After he was expelled, Gelfand filed a suit in federal court demanding that he be reinstated into membership and that the party's elected leadership be removed. His claim was that his constitutional rights had been violated because "FBI agents" in the party's leadership had expelled him.

The judge upheld the court's right to decide whether Gelfand had been improperly expelled and whether the SWP's elected leadership should remain in office. This decision — regardless of the outcome of the trial itself — was damaging to the constitutional rights of privacy and freedom of association. It gave backing to the idea that courts have the right to interfere in political organizations to decide questions of policy and membership.

## Slander campaign

During the four years before the trial, the court gave Gelfand and his lawyers a free hand to interrogate SWP leaders and members for hundreds of hours.

The judge then went on to allow similar questioning in the trial itself, although afterward she admitted that such questioning was abusive.

In this way Gelfand and his lawyers amassed some 7,000 pages of "evidence" about SWP's leaders' background and views for use in the Workers League's slander campaign against the SWP.

At the conclusion of the trial, the judge was

forced to admit that there was never a shred of evidence to substantiate any of the charges against the party. She had decided to rule in favor of the SWP, she said.

When the trial was over, the SWP filed a motion asking the court to rule that Gelfand and the law firm representing him, Fisher & Moest, had to pay attorneys' fees to the party.

The aim of this motion was to deter other lawyers from taking on similar harassment lawsuits and, if possible, to recover some of the thousands of dollars spent by the SWP in defending itself.

Recently, in an out-of-court settlement, Gelfand's lawyers agreed to pay the SWP an undisclosed amount for attorneys' fees. As a result, the SWP withdrew its motion for the court to award the party attorneys' fees in the case.

Shortly thereafter, the judge issued her written findings in the decade-long case.

## 'Not in good faith'

"I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party," the judge declared at the end of the 1983 trial.

The August 15 findings restate the same point. "Plaintiff [Gelfand] did not then have any substantial basis in fact for any of his allegations, nor did he have a good faith belief that the allegations were true. Plaintiff had been a practicing attorney for several years and appreciated the nature and meaning of a legal proceeding brought in good faith. . . ."

"A large part of the discovery in this case was not conducted in good faith," the judge continued. "The pretrial discovery conducted by plaintiff was abusive, harassing, and in large part directed to matters that could have

no probative value in this litigation. The discovery was not conducted for the purpose of discovering evidence in support of plaintiff's claims; one of its main purposes was to generate material for political attacks on the SWP by the Workers League and Workers Revolutionary Party."

## 'Conclusions of law'

In her conclusions of law, the judge reaffirms the decision to hear Gelfand's lawsuit in the first place, stating that the court has jurisdiction in the case "under the Constitution and laws of the United States."

At the same time, she spells out the basis for ruling against Gelfand in all of his claims. Gelfand's expulsion from the SWP did not violate any of his constitutional rights, nor did it violate the party's Constitution, organizational principles, or traditions, the judge states. "The SWP and the individual SWP defendants are entitled to judgment against the plaintiff." The SWP is also entitled to recover court costs incurred in the case, she said.

In ruling on Gelfand's charge that the SWP is secretly run by FBI agents, the judge concludes, "As a *bona fide* political party, the SWP is entitled to the full protection of the First Amendment. Any attempt by any government agency to manipulate, control, or secretly influence the private or public activities or decisions of the SWP would be unlawful. However, there is no evidence in this case, credible or otherwise, that any such manipulation, control, or secret influence occurred."

The next step in the case is for the SWP's attorneys to file the final papers. After that, Gelfand has 30 days in which to file an appeal.

## Maori artist paints on New York mural

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — A swirling, 75-foot bright red pennant is the latest addition to the six-story mural being painted on the Pathfinder Building here. An inscription on the pennant in the Maori language reads, "Te Wepu Kooti" (Te Kooti's Whip).

The pennant was painted by a prominent Maori artist from New Zealand, Para Matchitt. He was one of a team of four artists from the South Pacific who painted portraits of leaders of working-class struggles and opponents of colonialism in the region.

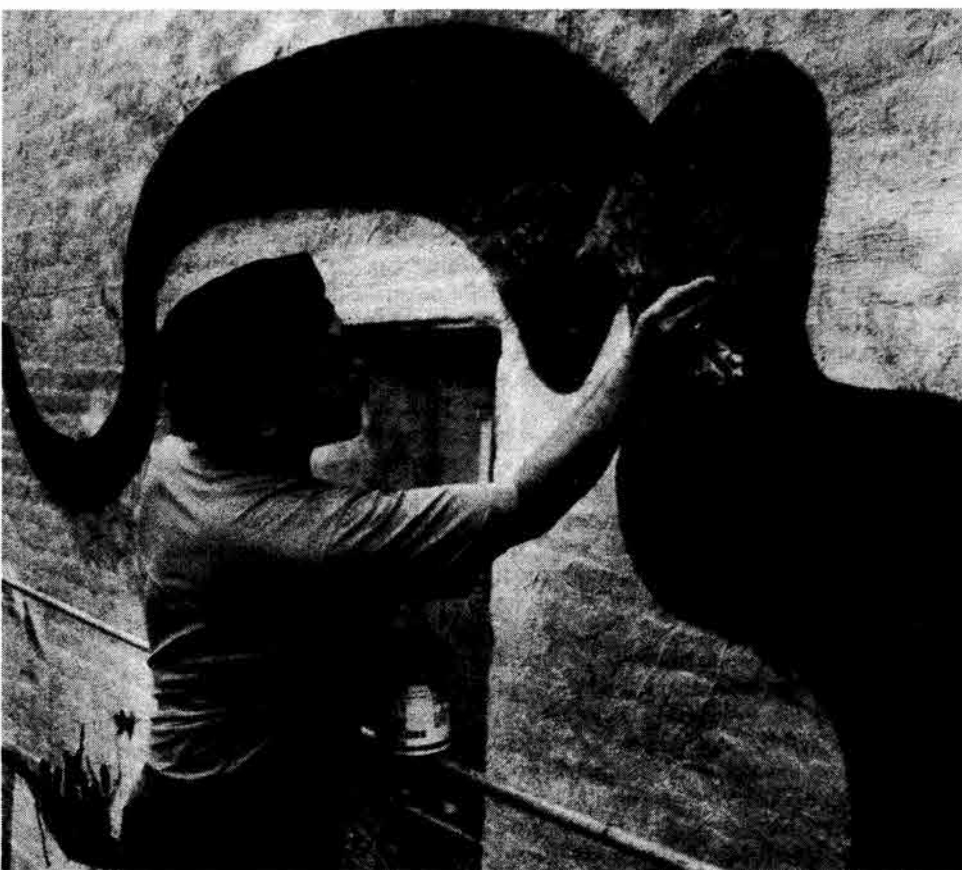
Te Kooti led armed Maoris in fighting against British settlers and their Maori collaborators in New Zealand in the mid-1800s. "The large pennant was placed at the head of Te Kooti's forces as they rode into battle or through an enemy village," Matchitt added, "crackling like a whip in the wind. I chose to paint Te Kooti's pennant," explained Matchitt, "because it symbolized the struggle of a people and because there are no accurate likenesses of him."

Te Kooti was a trader and fisherman. His first attempt to organize Maori resistance to British settlers who competed with Maoris in trading and fishing ended with Te Kooti and his followers being imprisoned on Chatham Island.

"However, they overcame their guards, captured a ship, sailed the nearly 500 miles back to New Zealand, and began their campaign again. This time they used guerrilla tactics, striking and moving on. Te Kooti's forces took everything with them, including their families," Matchitt explained.

Soon the British militia was called in to hunt down Te Kooti. Maoris were allowed to serve in the militia, especially as trackers. "But Te Kooti's forces were given sanctuary by Maori groups on the western side of the North Island, and the British militia was never able to break through to capture Te Kooti," Matchitt said.

Te Kooti was finally pardoned by the British at the end of the 1800s. He was greeted in Maori villages as his forces and their families began their journey back across the island. "Te Kooti never reached the eastern side of the island," Matchitt explained, "because he was killed in an accident during the



Militant/Sam Manuel

Para Matchitt, Maori artist from New Zealand, paints Maori battle pennant on Pathfinder mural. The six-story mural is being painted by an international team of artists on the side of the Pathfinder Building in New York. Among the completed portraits are those of Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Maurice Bishop, Che Guevara, Eugene Debs, and Rosa Luxemburg. The mural is scheduled to be finished by the first week of November. For more information or to send a contribution write, Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

journey."

During his imprisonment on Chatham Island Te Kooti founded the Maori religion of Ringatu, based on the old testament of the Bible. Matchitt noted, "Over the last decade Te Kooti has become one of the symbols of Maori pride and culture. I am honored to have been able to put his pennant among all these other fighters for justice."

The pace of painting on the mural is picking up as the artists drive to complete the mural by the first week of November.

Marjan Hormozi from Los Angeles has

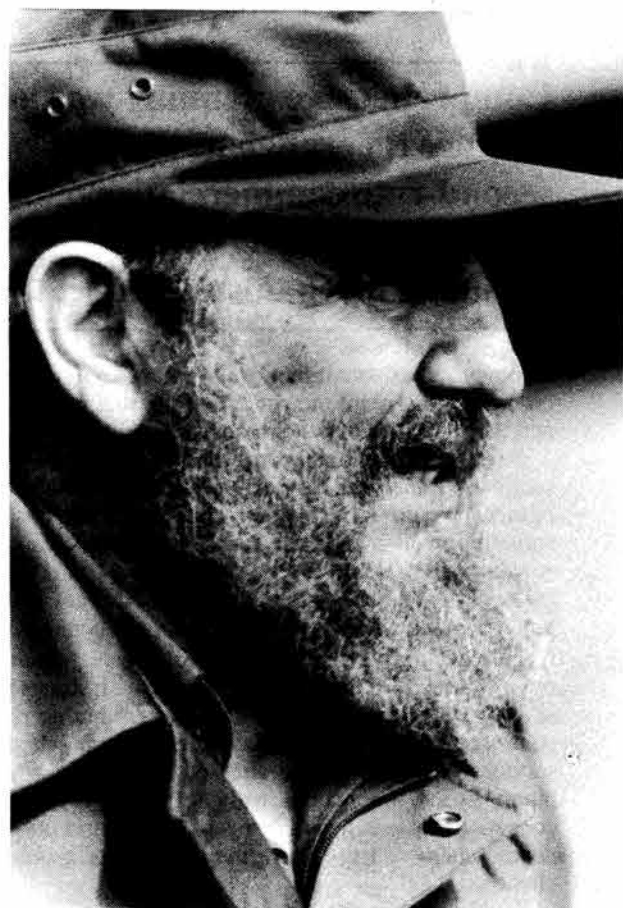
begun work on a portrait of the cofounder of scientific socialism, Frederick Engels. Chicago artists Barbara Wheeler and Katherine Stetson decided to come to New York and paint on the mural after seeing a slide presentation in Chicago. They painted in a scene of two marchers for women's rights. Ian White, also from Los Angeles, has begun work on portraits of antislavery fighters John Brown and Nat Turner. White's father, Charles White, was one of the most prominent Afro-American artists of the last half-century.



# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant

September 1989



Militant photos by Selva Nebbia  
President Fidel Castro in Camagüey, Cuba. People of city turned out to hear Cuban leader's July 26 speech in which he reviewed the progress in construction projects made since rectification process was launched in 1986.

## 'Socialism is science of winning people to this great cause'

### Fidel Castro on rectification in Cuba, 'difficulties in socialist movement'

The following is the complete text of Cuban President Fidel Castro's speech given on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban revolution. July 26 marked the day in 1953 when a group of young rebels led by Castro staged an attack on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba. Although the attempt failed and Castro and other leaders of what came to be known as the July 26 Movement were imprisoned, it marked the beginning of the end of the U.S.-supported Batista dictatorship, which collapsed Jan. 1, 1959, with the triumph of the revolution.

The July 26 celebration address was attended by a crowd of 150,000 in the city of Camagüey, the capital of the central province of the same name.

The text is taken from the August 6 English-language edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review*.

Distinguished guests;  
People of Camagüey;  
Fellow citizens all over the country:

I thought that perhaps we might have some rain during the ceremony. I thought that as I listened to the news that a front was moving in from east to west; but after so many months of drought, even if it rains on a day like today, blessed be the water. [Applause]

We don't know whether the drizzle will go on all afternoon, we don't know whether it'll get worse or soon be over, but it's up to you to decide whether I should hurry [shouts of "No!"], speak fast [shouts of "No!"], or take my usual time. [Applause and shouts of "Yes!"] I know no amount of rain can cool our enthusiasm or weaken our determination.

Now, what is it that draws one's attention at this July 26 commemoration — that draws my attention particularly. The admiration voiced by so many visitors in Camagüey, even by so many journalists, concerning the work done, the degree of enthusiasm, and the fighting spirit they've found in this city and in this province.

Why is it that after so many years of revolution — it's quite a few by now — our enthusiasm, far from sagging, keeps growing, our fighting spirit keeps growing? How can this be explained? It seems to me that there's no mystery involved here: it's what the revolution has done for the people. It's what the revolution has done on behalf of people throughout the nation and in this province. It's what the

possibility of building our own future and writing our own history has meant for our nation and our fellow citizens.

If we ask ourselves, and if the many visitors among the foreign delegations ask themselves, what the revolution has done for man, we could answer without going into very much detail: look at a field like education — about which our compatriots in the past, from José de la Luz y Caballero to José Martí, spoke so much as an essential precondition for the progress of a people, the independence and dignity of a country — we could point out some of the things accomplished by the revolution in this field in this province.

First, the creation of a university with nine schools and 25 fields; a higher institute of medical science we have just finished with an enrollment capacity of 3,000 students and three faculties; a higher teacher training institute with seven faculties; a senior high school for the exact sciences with room for 2,500 students; a military vocational school; a vocational art school; a teacher-training school for over 2,000 students; a school for 500 day-care attendants; a school for physical education and sports instructors with room for over 500 students; a school for basic training in sports for over 1,000 students; 21 senior high schools in the countryside; 43 new junior high schools for nearly 40,000 students; 319 primary schools, all of them with morning and afternoon sessions; 63 day-care primary schools with close to 36,000 students; 12 polytechnics for over 15,000 students; 41 special education schools; 62 day-care centers; and eight Pioneers palaces, not to make the list of projects too long. [Applause]

**Is there any place where more has been done?**

Did any of these institutions exist before the revolution triumphed? Is there any other place where more has been done to educate the people? And, mind you, I'm only referring to this province of Camagüey.

In the field of public health: building, remodeling, and modernizing 24 hospitals with nearly 5,000 beds [Applause]; 25 polyclinics, 15 dental clinics, and 18 dental prostheses labs [Applause], all of them providing free services for the people. Plus dozens of other institutions ranging from old people's homes and homes for the disabled, to maternity homes, etc., etc.

And what about the results? From being a province with a large number of illiterates and a large number of citizens

who could hardly read and write, the population's average degree of schooling today is seventh grade. Thirty-five out of every 100 citizens here are studying. Children's enrollment in school has reached nearly 100 percent and the dropout rate is 3 percent.

Studying at Camagüey University today are nearly twice the number of students that the whole country had when the revolution triumphed. [Applause] More higher education students graduate here every year than the total of university graduates in the whole country when the revolution triumphed.

Infant mortality, which exceeded 60 per 1,000 live births and which still 10 or 11 years ago stood at 26 per 1,000, has now dropped to 11 per 1,000. [Applause]

Life expectancy has gone up to nearly 75 years; the number of family doctors was multiplied manyfold and the family doctor program is already in full swing with over 350 doctors. The number of family doctors we have here now exceeds the total number of doctors there was in the province when the revolution triumphed! [Applause]

In the field of economy, all the province had was sugarcane and sugar industrial development, plus some small industries or rather hole-in-the-wall businesses.

Born with the revolution was the electrical industry, which multiplied nearly 40 times the generation capacity that the province had, with nearly 5,000 kilometers of power lines being installed. How could we possibly conceive of this city today, all these lights, the stadiums, conceive of this ceremony without that electrical development?

Born with the revolution was the chemical industry. Today the province is capable of producing ammonia, urea, and mixed fertilizer, turning out hundreds of thousands of tons every year.

Born with the revolution was Camagüey's machine industry. It can now proudly exhibit that modern plant where thousands of Camagüeyans work [Applause] for civilian and military production; the barbed wire and galvanized cable factory, tool factory, and about 200 machine shops just in the field of agriculture!

Born with the revolution was the building-materials industry, starting with a modern cement plant that can turn out 600,000 tons a year and that runs like clock-work; modern factories turning out porcelain fixtures; eight stone-crushing

Continued on next page



## Continued from previous page

mills — one of which has a capacity of over 1 million cubic meters; and dozens of plants turning out construction material, of different types. Which is what makes all these projects you're looking at today possible. [Applause]

Born with the revolution was the prefabricated and mechanized construction industry, with many factories like the Sandino, Gran Panel, and IMS plants, thanks to which we can build impressive things like the brand-new 26-story building here that was finished practically in one year. [Applause] Construction processes were mechanized.

## Food industry is born

Really born with the revolution was the food industry, whose main exponent is that modern brewery that turns out 25,000 cases a day and is rated among the best in the country quality-wise [Applause]; the modern meat complex that can process up to 1,000 head of cattle a day; the hog-processing plant capable of handling and packing 500 pigs a day; pasteurizing plants; the new cheese plants; and dozens of other food industries.

The revolution boosted the development of the sugar industry with the new standardized sugar mills built in this province. All the old sugar mills have now been rebuilt or remodeled. Also born was the sugarcane by-products industry that continues to be developed.

Our agriculture is now more sophisticated technically, more modern, mechanized. When the revolution triumphed, all our rice production was harvested by hand, all the cane that was processed was harvested and hauled by hand. Most agricultural work and transportation were done using animals.

How could anyone imagine this modern Camagüey if our country still needed to harvest rice manually, cut and haul the cane manually? How could the sugar harvest be carried out without the 115 cane-conditioning centers the province now has?

All that resulted in big advances: agricultural production was multiplied manifold in many products, as were industrial production and construction. Thousands of economic and community facilities were built in these years of revolution! Thousands of kilometers of highways, railroad tracks, and country roads were also built in these years! And I'm only referring to the province of Camagüey as it is now constituted. [Applause]

Facilities of all types were built in the ports: bulk-sugar warehouses, mechanized loading operations, new ports, new fuel installations or installations to store ammonia, some of them extremely costly.

## 105,000 new housing units

In a province where I believe there was only one small dam during those years, we have built 44 major dams and 179 minor ones. [Applause]

Thanks to this progress, since the victory of the revolution 105,000 new housing units have been built in Camagüey Province. [Applause] I haven't done the precise calculations, but given the total number of inhabitants in the province — just over 700,000 — we can assume that more than 50 percent of the families in Camagüey are now living in housing built after the victory of the revolution. [Applause]

I haven't mentioned three important sectors: scientific activities, which were born with the revolution in this province. There are now dozens of laboratories and that very modern genetic engineering and biotechnology center, the second in the country, has just been inaugurated. [Applause] Perhaps it wasn't right to say inaugurated, for a few weeks of work remain, since to assure top quality they didn't want to speed things up just to finish on the specified date. [Applause]

Now we are doing things of the kind that can be seen at the shrimp-breeding center, in the biological processes that take place there: artificial insemination of female shrimp, artificial spawning, and all the scientific and technical processes that give us the foundation for significant development in this field of production.

Our hospitals have achieved a high scientific level.

I haven't mentioned the cultural field that has advanced so much during the years of revolution, which is symbolized by the Ballet of Camagüey, the symphony orchestra, the Ignacio Agramonte Museum, the reconstruction of theaters, the development and preservation of the historic section of the city, and the cultural centers in all the municipalities of the province, something which has enabled the city of Camagüey to stage a program of extraordinary quality like what we saw yesterday, using only performers from Camagüey. [Applause]

I haven't mentioned the field of sports, which was born with the revolution with major facilities like the Cándido González Stadium or the recently completed multipurpose gym, surely the largest and one of the most beautiful in the country. [Applause]

A passerby who sees the multipurpose gym here wouldn't know if he was in Camagüey or in ancient Greece at the height of its greatest architectural splendor. [Applause]

This progress in sports is reflected not only in the instructors' school that I mentioned before, the schools for basic training in sports, or the athletic improvement schools, which I think I haven't mentioned. It is reflected in the nearly

800 sports facilities created by the revolution in this province of Camagüey. [Applause]

While Camagüey residents can feel pleased with what they have done through their own efforts and revolutionary spirit in the last 30 years of the revolution, I think they can feel even prouder of what they are doing right now and of the outlook for the future.

I visited this province a little over two years ago for several days and toured various spots with Comrade Lázaro Vázquez.

I remember that, in the midst of the process of rectification of errors and negative tendencies, in major sectors the pace of development in our country had slowed down or was paralyzed.

In view of the enthusiasm in this province, the cultural and technical level it was acquiring, the prestige and authority of our party, I talked to Camagüey residents about these important plans. We considered the major natural resources



Militant/Selva Nebbia

**Voluntary worker at minibrigade construction site. "Voluntary work," Castro said, "had virtually disappeared in Cuba, but the rectification process has raised it to unprecedented heights."**

of the province, the most sparsely populated or with least population density per square kilometer in the entire country, and worked out a series of programs.

We proposed to the leadership of the party in Camagüey Province the idea of transforming the province into a development model for the Third World and, first of all, a model for food production and social development.

## Largest dairy center in world

In previous years some of these plans had been paralyzed. I won't explain now, since I have done so on various occasions, the factors that led to this situation.

In fact, we proposed building in Camagüey the largest dairy center in the world, in record time. [Applause] This would involve the full development of the more than 180,000 hectares [1 hectare = 2.5 acres] that can be used for cattle breeding near the city: to the west, southwest, south and southeast, east and northeast.

We prepared a plan for the construction of 300 new dairies, the large kind, with the complementary installations in a period of no more than six years. The first equipment was allotted and work started.

We proposed that rice production in the province be doubled.

We proposed that sugarcane cultivation be boosted in order to assure sugar production of at least a million tons a year and the raw materials for other uses for cane, especially animal feed, with the goal of not wasting a single green or even dry leaf.

We proposed a big boost in the production of tuber vegetables and other vegetables to fully meet the needs of the province.

We proposed boosting citrus fruit production to reach the 13,400 hectares proposed initially and working hard in the construction of irrigation systems, which at the time didn't even cover 1,340 hectares.

We proposed taking full advantage of the available water in rivers and streams; restoring the awareness of the need for water conservation. We proposed the idea of transforming

the barren and sterile plain into highly productive land.

We proposed the idea of promoting fish breeding in every possible reservoir, dam, and minidam.

We even proposed turning the manure from the huge herds of cattle around the city into humus, through the use of worms, producing thousands of tons of animal protein for the manufacture of fodder.

**“Comprehensive planning was lost because theoreticians of second-rate commercialism got the crazy idea of toying with capitalist mechanisms here . . .”**

We proposed maximum use of science and technology on our soil, to plant the right kind of cane in every field and the right type of pasture on every hectare.

Here you had a major program in agriculture and other sectors. We analyzed carefully how this agricultural development would take place with comprehensive plans, something which had been started in the first years of the revolution and that was then lost because of the theoreticians of second-rate commercialism, who got the crazy idea of toying with capitalist mechanisms here.

This even gave rise to the ghost towns, which were towns with buildings but no streets, or with streets but no sewage system, or with a sewage system but no running water; or without stores, day-care centers, schools, or services of any kind. We stressed the idea of all-round plans, in keeping with a truly lofty and revolutionary concept of socialism, which means the opportunity to plan development and not leave the solution of problems to chance.

We remember that during those days we urged the province to work to host this July 26 celebration [Applause] and what's more, to strive to host the Fifth Congress of the party. [Prolonged applause] Of course, in this struggle it will have to compete with the other provinces of the country, but I am sure that although the struggle will be difficult, Camagüey is far from being on the bottom of the list.

To mark this July 26, the province has finished more than 1,000 projects, ranging from a small embryo-transplant center, with an area of about 800 square meters, to a building like this of more than 100 apartments and 26 stories. This building is counted not as 100 or so projects, but as one project, just like the multipurpose gym, which is counted as one project. [Applause] More than 1,000 projects have been completed in the last 18 months, since the province proposed to become the venue for the July 26 celebration! Of course, the effort made by the province impresses all visitors.

Yesterday we toured around with a big group of journalists. They expressed admiration, and more than admiration, amazement. We visited the dairy center being built, as much as was possible to see in a few hours. We visited the communities for cattle workers, built in periods of not more than a year, communities with 300 homes each, as we had projected when we drafted the dairy center program.

But these weren't ghost towns: they were communities with finished buildings, streets, water supply, sewage systems, day-care centers, day-care schools, food stores, are for other services required by the community. There was a home-office for the family doctor and space had been set aside for the construction of the community center in the future. [Applause] This was an all-round community and it wasn't the only one being built.

## Concept of socialist development applied

They also set out to build or complete projects left unfinished in previously built communities where there were no day-care centers or schools or other services, or where new homes had to be built. It was the idea of socialist development, the true concept of socialist development fully applied; hundreds of kilometers of roads and highways, straight highways and belt roads: the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth belt roads that begin from the area near Vertientes; some of them begin in the southwest and end in the north.

I can assure the residents of Camagüey that here, on the outskirts of this city, we are building the world's largest dairy center as an all-round unit. An integrated unit covering almost 188,000 hectares, organized into a large productive unit. Let me know if there is anything of the kind elsewhere.

It will have about 540 cowsheds, some already built and others under construction, and hundreds of other installations: calf-breeding areas, integrated centers for raising the heifers that will replace current milk-producing cows, centers for breeding males. In short, everything needed for the overall development of every dairy group.

On this project we have the cooperation of the Food and Agriculture Organization, a UN agency. I know how



highly they value this program, their view of this program, which they visit nearly every month, which they present as an example of livestock breeding development in a Third World country. But I would say that in any first world country as well.

I'd like to know whether in the United States, for example, there is a unit of this kind. I'd like to know whether in Europe, in France or the Netherlands, there is an integrated production organization of this magnitude that will also include all the necessary laboratories and shops, all the necessary power lines and irrigation systems, built according to the hydro potential.

That is why we can proudly say that surrounding this city we will have a cattle breeding center that is unique in the world. [Applause]

The province has worked intensely for this July 26 celebration in the construction of dams and minidams.

This year there will be a 13,800-ton increase in rice production and the goal in the not-too-distant future is 138,000 tons, which is more than double the current amount. The citrus fruit program is advancing with about 9,390 hectares planted of which over 4,000 have been irrigated. We are advancing on the production of tuber vegetables and other vegetables, which has increased 2.6 times in recent years but is still inadequate. Construction for hog-breeding is coming along, something I hadn't mentioned before, and in the last few years there has been a 60 percent increase in pork production, a 40 percent increase in egg production, and a 60 percent increase in poultry production. This year, in spite of the drought, milk production has increased by 11 million liters.

We are sure that the plan to reach 300 million liters of milk yearly in the province will be obtained in the not-too-distant future, given the current pace.

Construction on the powdered milk factory has been started and the new cheese factory is being concluded. It will have a capacity of more than 30,000 liters daily and there will be new investments in this field.

In recent years the province's stock of sheep and goats has increased fivefold and in the sterile plain of the past, where progress is being made speedily, there are about 40,000 animals. The goal is 300,000.

#### Experiences are being extended to other provinces

This news is a source of pride for Camagüey residents and enthusiasm for the province as a whole; but also enthusiasm for the country, because some of the experiences gathered in this work are being extended to other provinces.

An ambitious construction program for cattle installations is under way, not of the magnitude of this one but of the same quality, in neighboring Las Tunas Province. A project like the one in Las Tunas is under way in neighboring Ciego de Ávila Province. There is a project similar to that of those two provinces in Granma Province. And this year we propose to start a project in Sancti Spiritus and, if possible, also a major project in Pinar del Río.

All the provinces in the country are seeking the areas to build new dairies, because the ideas we are developing here in Camagüey are being extended to all provinces.

As we were telling Comrade Lázaro, we do nothing by having the project limited to Camagüey. We must develop them and are developing them in line with the natural resources, in all the provinces of the country.

I want to stress that we aren't just working in Camagüey. We are working with the same spirit all over the country. [Applause] These plans require effort, coordination, and the supply of cows.

We will build more than 200 large and small dairies a year and I want you, the residents of Camagüey Province, to know that when the rectification process started we were building seven a year. That's what this toying with the mechanisms of capitalism led us to.

We are doing the same with schools, day-care centers, hospitals, and polyclinics. We are doing the same thing with economic and social plans. We are doing the same with the construction of roads and highways. We are doing the same with water conservation. In addition, our ambitious food-production plan is being carried out in all provinces in the country.

Now how has this province achieved these successes? It's no accident. We know that right from the start of the revolution, Camagüey was characterized by its great enthusiasm, but that alone isn't sufficient. I think the secret of these programs' success in Camagüey Province is closely connected to the party and its work style in this province [Applause], with the effort of the 37,000 party members and 35,000 members of the Young Communist League, and the massive support of the people of Camagüey. [Applause]

Voluntary work in Camagüey, as in the rest of the country, had virtually disappeared, because the evils which I mentioned previously gave rise to these problems. The technocrats didn't want to hear anything about voluntary work.

I ask myself if it would have been possible to build the over 1,000 projects inaugurated in these days without the support of the masses, without voluntary work. [Applause] The people participated in everything: in the construction

of communities, in the construction of the zeolite factory; in the construction of schools, day-care centers, and homes; in the construction of the biotechnology center; wherever work was going on.

Socialism is the science of leading the people to promote the development of the country, leading the masses to direct participation in the development of the country, winning over the people for this great cause. Socialism is the science of creating, preserving, and developing the greatest possible link, the most profound link of the party with the masses. Socialism is the science of leading with correct methods. Socialism is the science of example. Regarding this, we have seen very important things in recent days.

Yesterday, when we visited the cheese factory, which is under construction and almost finished, we found people doing voluntary work there since the early morning: all the secretaries of the party cells in the Sibanicú municipality, all the cadres of People's Power, and all the cadres of the mass organizations. [Applause] The entire population of Camagüey, dividing up total voluntary work hours among the number of inhabitants — including those born in the first half of this year — has an average of 25 hours of voluntary work. Fifteen million hours of voluntary work, nearly 2 million eight-hour shifts! [Applause]

Lázaro was telling me something that is decisive, vital. He told me that all those cadres of the party, Young Communist League, People's Power, local or central administration, and the mass organizations who are physically fit to do so did at least 208 hours of voluntary work in the last 18 months. Real and meaningful work: cleaning cane fields or cutting cane, building, working with their hands. [Applause]

Two hundred and eight hours of well-organized and well-directed work, which equals 20 days of more than 10 hours, or more than 25 eight-hour days, amidst the work and obligations of any cadre in the party, the Young Communist League, mass organizations, or administration. That's called being exemplary and that is the really revolutionary and socialist path, capable of leading a people to any goal, even to the ends of the earth! [Applause]

I was thinking about how Che would have felt, he who so often advocated voluntary work and provided so many examples of personal dedication to voluntary work, how he would have felt if he heard this. [Applause] He gave us his example.

#### How would have Che, who so often advocated voluntary work, felt if he heard of these achievements...

Voluntary work had virtually disappeared, but the rectification process has raised voluntary work to unprecedented heights in the history of the revolution.

That's why Camagüey — despite the rains, which came at the wrong time right down to the end, in the last two months of the sugar harvest, and didn't come when they should have come after the harvest either — could produce a million tons of sugar this year. [Applause]

That's why by July 26, 95 percent of the sugarcane in Camagüey had been weeded, a rate never before obtained.

In spite of the drought, whose damage is incalculable, we expect to maintain an acceptable level of sugar production in Camagüey Province; because people have done what they could in planting, cultivation, and weeding. But of course a lot will depend on the rains in the final part of the month, especially in August and September.

Overall, this is what the great effort of Camagüey residents means. Nobody knows how far we can go working like this.

But amidst what international conditions does our effort transpire? I have to talk a bit about this; it is very important. We have to understand where we are, what world we live in, what problems threaten the productive efforts of our people.

We live in a time of great economic problems in the world, especially in the Third World; of major debts and major economic crises.

We live in a special moment for the world revolutionary movement. We aren't going to beat around the bush; we must tell it like it is.

There are difficulties in the world revolutionary movement; there are difficulties in the socialist movement. We can't say with certainty that the supplies from the socialist camp that have been arriving here with the punctuality of a clock for nearly 30 years will continue to arrive with this same security and punctuality.

#### There are difficulties in the world revolutionary and socialist movements...

While the country has done more than ever with less than ever — and these accomplishments demonstrate this, done with less foreign exchange than ever — it is possible that in the future, we will have to continue to work and strengthen ourselves — and work miracles! — with problems also in the obtaining of supplies from the socialist countries.

But, perhaps the biggest problem is the euphoria of the imperialists, the overconfidence of the empire and the imperialist government.

Never has any government, not even that of Reagan, been so arrogant. Never has anyone given such arrogant speeches. In the face of difficulties in the socialist camp, but fundamentally in some socialist countries, the Bush administration has given speeches that take the premise that the socialist community is in decline, that socialism is in decline, and that socialism will end up in the trash heap of history, which is precisely the place those brilliant creators of the socialist movement reserved for capitalism.

In the face of these difficulties — which are evident and which everyone acknowledges — that have existed and exist in Poland, the difficulties in socialism that have existed and exist in Hungary, Bush organized a triumphal tour, a triumphal trip to these two countries in recent weeks. It's clear that there are difficulties there, and Bush didn't go to those countries by chance.

He went to encourage the capitalist tendencies develop-  
Continued on next page

FROM PATHFINDER

by Fidel Castro

## In Defense of Socialism

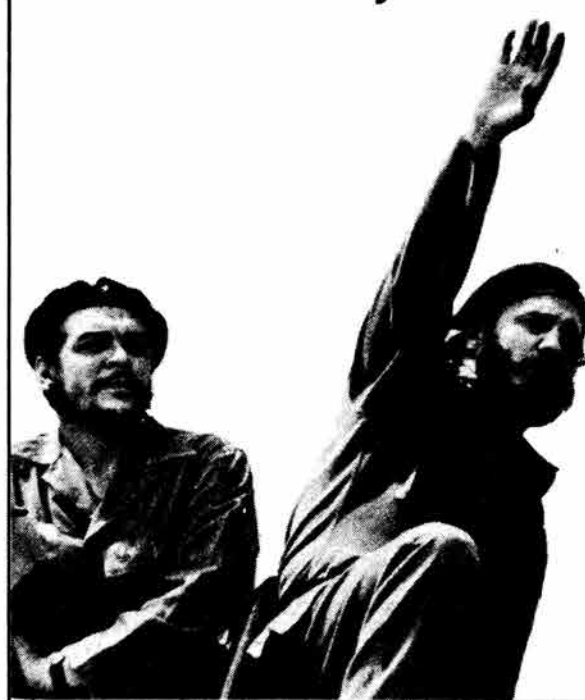
Four Speeches on the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Castro explains his views on the lessons of 30 years of building socialism in Cuba; the prospects for socialism in today's world; internationalism; and many other topics. 142 pp., \$7.95.

**"Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods"** Excerpts from Castro's July 26, 1988, speech. 32 pp., \$1.50.

by Carlos Tablada  
**Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism**

Now available in English, the 1987 bestseller in Cuba looks at Che Guevara's theoretical contributions to building socialism. 286 pp., \$11.95.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for postage and handling.





## Continued from previous page

ing there and the political problems that have emerged there. It will be the work of historians, someday, to determine the causes of those problems. I have my own ideas on the matter, but now is not the time to expound them.

The fact is that they have difficulties. In the recent elections in Poland the liberal opposition — the procapitalist, or at least antisocialist, opposition, whose intentions have still not been really well defined — won the senatorial elections, almost 100 percent of the seats. And today in Poland the leader of this opposition, Mr. Walesa, who is known in our country through news reports, has even suggested to President Jaruzelski, who won the presidency by one vote more than the minimum number of votes required, that the best thing for him to do would be to hand the government over to the opposition.

He has even said in recent days that he is not against members of the opposition accepting positions in the government, but that they would not enjoy the support of the opposition; that the only thing the opposition will accept is the handing over of the government.

In Hungary the same thing is happening. Yesterday an election was held for four parliamentary seats, and three were won easily by the opposition.

“**The right to construct socialism wasn't given to us by anyone. We won it ourselves, we will defend it ourselves . . .**”

In light of these phenomena, are we perhaps witnessing peaceful transition from socialism to capitalism? This is possible; we're not against it. We defend each country's and each party's sacred right to independence. This is what we ask for all the people in the world, for the peoples of Latin America and the Third World: the right of each country to construct socialism if it wants, which is something the United States tries to prevent by force of arms — our people's right to construct socialism. Obviously this right wasn't given to us by anyone; we won it ourselves and we will defend it ourselves. [Applause]

I believe many mistakes have been made that have created these problems. Sometimes I even wonder if it wouldn't be better if the new generations born into socialist Poland and Hungary didn't take a little trip through capitalism, so that they could get to know it: the egoism, brutality, and inhumanity of capitalist society. This is a very delicate point, but these are my sincere reflections on these problems.

During his triumphal tour, it is said that a multitude greeted Bush in Gdansk, Poland. And according to news reports from the biggest U.S. news agency there were many placards — I can't verify whether there were many or a few, because I wasn't there, I didn't see it on television, I only read the wire stories — they say there were many placards that said, “The best Communist is a dead Communist!” You see how profoundly fascist, how clearly fascist, these placards in Gdansk were during Bush's tour.

Of course, there are two kinds of Communists: Communists who let themselves be killed easily and Communists like us who don't let themselves be killed easily! [Prolonged applause and shouts of, “Fidel, Fidel, give the Yankees hell!”]

## What does it mean to call Lenin a ‘murderer’?

These imperialist news agency wire stories gleefully relate that other placards said, “Lenin, Jaruzelski, murderers!” I'm not going to defend Jaruzelski, I think he can defend himself. But what does it mean that in a country whose liberation from fascism cost the blood of half a million Soviet soldiers, people call Lenin, the founder of the first socialist state, a murderer? Lenin, who opened the road to liberation for the peoples of the world, the founder of the first socialist state, whose revolution made possible the disappearance of colonialism, when more than 100 states gained their independence, more than 100 former colonies gained their independence.

I'm leaving aside whatever political errors the Soviet Union may have committed in other times in relation to Poland. I'm referring only to the fact that a half million Soviets died fighting alongside Poles for the liberation of Poland. How repugnant it is to use the term “murderer” for Lenin, whose people achieved victory, liberated the world from fascism with the sacrifice of 20 million of their best sons and daughters. To call Lenin a murderer is really distressing.

But, clearly, this increases Bush's euphoria. It greatly increases his triumphal attitude, the imperialist hostility toward Cuba. Because if Mr. Bush is starting from the premise that socialism is in decline, that the socialist community is about to disintegrate, what must he think about Cuba, this solid, brave, heroic Cuba that neither gives in or sells out? If he accepts that premise, why change the policy toward Cuba?

He has a policy of peace toward the big powers and of war toward the small, progressive peoples. His policy is based on the premise that if socialism disintegrates the Cuban revolution would disappear. This reasoning increases the aggressivity and hostility of U.S. imperialism toward our people, toward our revolution, toward our country.

This is the truth. For this reason we now see the empire more insolent than ever, more villainous than ever, more threatening than ever.

Imagine what would happen in the world if the socialist community were to disappear. This would mean, if this were possible — and I don't believe it is — that the imperialist powers would set upon the Third World like wild beasts. They would divide the world up all over again like in the worst days before the victory of the first proletarian revolution. They would divide up the oil, the natural resources, and the labor of billions of people. Three-quarters of the world's people would once again fall under colonialism.

But the struggle would never end this way. Never would our peoples accept this. People would continue to struggle, perhaps more than ever, and our people, our nation, our revolution would be in the front ranks of this struggle! [Prolonged applause]

Naturally imperialism is deceiving itself greatly. Bush is deceiving himself in regard to the problems that the Soviet Union is experiencing. It's clear that the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the socialist system, is experiencing difficulties, it's no secret, and the dream of the imperialists is that the Soviet Union will disintegrate.

There are difficulties and the tension between nationalities in the Soviet Union is increasing. Internal tensions are also evident in the Soviet Union, and we've seen the strike of hundreds of thousands of coal miners in Siberia, in Donetsk, and other places. These reports fill the reactionaries worldwide and the imperialists with joy.

In these days, we have received a very warm and fraternal message from the Soviet Union in the name of the Soviet party, government, and state. Our feelings of friendship towards the Soviet people and our recognition of the role of that great country are enormous. This you all know. We also feel an infinite appreciation toward this country.

## Our desire is that Soviets overcome difficulties

Our most fervent desire is that the Soviets manage to overcome their difficulties, that they manage to reestablish their unity and to maintain and enlarge the great role their country has played in the world.

The problems of the Soviet Union are of great concern to the Third World countries, the former colonies, whose peoples don't wish to be recolonized, because the Soviet Union has been their fundamental and firmest ally.

At the sight of these problems, the imperialists start to dream of a 1,000-year empire, like the one dreamed of by Adolf Hitler with his Third Reich. He thought it would last 1,000 years, but actually it lasted very little time indeed. It's possible that in the most reactionary sectors of imperialism these dreams are being repeated, and I'm sure that they won't last long either.

This is not a question of nuclear arms, of one side or the other's missiles, or of nuclear disarmament agreements. It would make us very happy if they got rid of those weapons. But the independence of our people has always and will always depend on ourselves, and not on the nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union or of anyone else.

“**We must warn imperialism not to have illusions that our revolution won't be able to resist if there is a debacle in the socialist community . . .**”

I recall the October crisis\* and a phrase that we used during that crisis: “We don't have strategic missiles, but we have moral weapons.” These are the arms our people use to defend themselves. I believe in the peoples of the earth. And more than ever I believe in them like I believe in my own people, and know what our people are capable of! [Prolonged applause]

Here, thinking very coolly — as one has to think with the people on a day like today, at a historical moment like the world is living today — we have to consider: Are we going to slow down? Are we going to give up this colossal effort? No! Never! Will we close our eyes to reality? No! Never! Will we, in the face of reality, stick our heads in the

\*In 1962 Cuba acquired missiles from the Soviet Union to defend itself from a threatened U.S. invasion. In October of that year, Washington initiated the “Cuban missile crisis” by ordering a total blockade of Cuba and placing U.S. forces on nuclear alert. The crisis abated following an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet governments to withdraw the missiles in exchange for a commitment by Washington not to invade Cuba.

sand like an ostrich? No! Never!

We have to be more realistic than ever. But we have to speak, we have to warn imperialism not to have so many illusions in regard to our revolution, in thinking that our revolution won't be able to resist if there is a debacle in the socialist community. Because if tomorrow or any other day we receive news of a great civil war in the Soviet Union, or even that the Soviet Union has fallen apart, things we hope will never happen, even then Cuba and the Cuban revolution will continue to struggle and continue to resist! [Prolonged applause]

## It's time to speak clearly

Cuba and the Cuban revolution would resist! This is what I say, and I say it calmly, serenely, with a very cool head. It's time to speak clearly to the imperialists and to the entire world. We're not joking.

What could scare us now, when nearly 27 years ago we lived through the October crisis? Historians have written papers about it, giving their version of events. We have still not given ours. Yes, we attended a conference in Moscow where there were Americans, people from that period, Soviets, and a few Cubans. We have still not given our version of events nor have we released our documents, for we too have documents.

And one thing is certain: we lived through that experience, and I don't remember seeing a single Cuban hesitate. Cubans would resist any concession to imperialism. And Cubans from that generation — most of whom are still alive and who have been joined by younger, well-trained generations who have a highly developed political consciousness — they were ready to die without any hesitation. Death before retreat! Death before surrender! [Prolonged applause]

What can frighten our revolutionary people? There is nothing in the world that can make them waver, that can frighten our revolutionary people.

Some time ago, a little more than eight years ago when Reagan burst onto the scene with great threats against Cuba, we abandoned academic books about war. We did accept all the positive experience, all the experience of conventional warfare, and we adopted the doctrine of the defense of the country and the revolutionary concept of the war of all the people.

Everyone knows what this is, because everyone participates in it. It's what our country should do in all circumstances, what it should do in the case of a total blockade in which not a single liter of gasoline would come in, not an ounce of food. It's what we would do, and we know, we know very well what we would do, and we know that we would resist.

In the case of a war of attrition, we know what we would do. We know we would resist. In the case of an invasion and occupation of the country by U.S. troops, we know how we would resist, how we would fight, and what we would do. And we know that sooner or later the price would be so high for the aggressors that they would have to leave our country. [Applause]

Concerning defense we learned some time ago to count only on our own forces and we know that in the case of a complete blockade not a single liter of gasoline, not an ounce of food, not a single bullet would enter the country. The Soviet Union would not have the conventional forces to break a blockade thousands of miles from home. No country can entrust its defense to another, a country can only rely on itself for its defense.

Our will, our ideas, our concepts have been worked out and developed. And what do they think, that we lose sleep over this? What do they think, that we're overcome by doubt because of these premises and hypotheses? They should sweep the cobwebs out of their heads, because we know what we are, what we have, what we can do. We know our resources, and for that reason we're not worried. Not even the worst thing scares us, not the worst premise, not the worst hypothesis! But since we live in this world, on this planet, we have to be aware of the realities and we have to reflect on the realities.

The future holds threats due to this imperialist policy, to these beliefs, to this euphoric idea that socialism is in decline, and the day will come when they will want to collect from Cuba for its more than 30 years of revolution. They won't collect anything here!

And this is not a recent idea, this has been true for a long time. Antonio Maceo said it, said what would happen to those who tried to take over Cuba.

This is the country and the people of [Carlos Manuel de] Céspedes and Martí! [Applause] This is the country and the people of Agramonte and Máximo Gómez! [Applause] This is the country and the people of Maceo! [Applause] This is the country and the people of Yara and Baire! [Applause] This is the country and the people of the Baraguá Protest! [Applause] This is the country and the people of the Moncada, of Girón, and of internationalism, but with a revolutionary consciousness that has never been so developed! [Prolonged applause] And this people and this country will be loyal to their glorious history!

¡Patria o muerte!  
¡Venceremos!  
[Ovation]



# Fate of Northwest's ancient forests debated

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

PORTLAND, Ore. — Despite the much-heralded "timber summit" held in Salem, Oregon, in June, the five-year-old battle between the timber industry and environmentalists over the fate of the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest remains at an impasse.

The summit meeting had been called by Oregon Gov. Neil Goldschmidt, Sen. Mark Hatfield, and Congressman Les AuCoin. It included representatives of the timber industry, environmental groups, federal forestry agencies, and the rest of Oregon's congressional delegation.

This debate occurs at a time when the timber monopolies are on the verge of wiping out the last remaining ancient forests in the United States. Virtually all the remaining old-growth timber in the United States is in the Pacific Northwest and Alaska and falls under the regulation of the U.S. Forest Service. Old growth refers to trees ranging in age from 200 to 1,000 years old. These trees form part of an irreplaceable natural ecosystem affecting water conservation, nutrient recycling, and a large variety of plant and animal life.

In the early 1980s the forest service called for speeding up the cutting of the ancient forests, calling them "dead wood" of little ecological value. In 1988, a record 5.5 billion board feet were cut from the 19 national forests in the Pacific Northwest, which is three times the annual harvest at the height of the post-World War II building boom.

According to the Wilderness Society, only 2.4 million acres of old-growth timber remains. At the present cutting rates, this will be gone within 15 years.

Part of the fight to protect these ancient forests has focused on the fate of the spotted owl, which lives only in old growth forests of Washington, Oregon, and northern California. In December 1987, the Fish and Wildlife Service issued a report concluding that the owl was not endangered and thus not in need of protection.

Last February an investigation by the General Accounting Office concluded that the Fish and Wildlife report ignored basic scientific facts about the spotted owl. This report was exposed as a political cover-up for the interests of the timber industry.

In April the Fish and Wildlife Service reversed its findings and placed the spotted owl on the list of threatened species.

Environmental organizations have successfully obtained court injunctions blocking

the cutting of timber in areas where the spotted owl resides.

The proposal by Oregon's congressional delegation at the timber summit was presented as a compromise short-term solution.

It called for a slightly reduced timber harvest on forest service lands of 8 billion board feet a year over the next 15 months. This would be 700 million board feet below current levels. The proposal also promised legislative protection of some old growth until September 1990. In exchange, the environmentalists had to drop the current court injunctions in effect and promise not to challenge in court the timber industry's logging plans. However, no specific sites of total

acreage of old growth to be preserved were agreed upon.

Sen. Robert Packwood motivated this package deal with the threat that if this compromise is not accepted, 10,000 people would lose their jobs in the next couple of months.

The industry representatives accepted the deal, though they made clear that the industry will go ahead with layoffs and mill closures regardless of whether the compromise is implemented. Bill Shields, executive vice-president of Willamette Industries, speaking for the timber industry owners, claimed that the proposal could lead to more than 18,000 lost jobs.

The environmentalists were split. The Sierra Club favored the proposal. Representatives of the National Wildlife Federation, Wilderness Society, and Oregon Natural Resource Council opposed the deal.

In mid-July, representatives of the major environmental groups presented a new proposal. Their plan called for reducing the harvest level to 7.6 billion board feet from the national forests over the next 15 months and agreement to lift some of the major court injunctions around the spotted owl. The use of lawsuits against future timber industry actions was not ruled out.

Industry representatives together with the U.S. Forest and Bureau of Land Management immediately rejected the environmentalists' proposal.

## Palestine unionist tours U.S., Canada

BY CAROLE LESNICK

LOS ANGELES — Union leader Hani Baydoun described to teachers and other unionists here the Israeli government's discrimination against Palestinian workers. One of the first Palestinian trade unionists to tour the United States, he spoke at the United Teachers hall last month.

Congratulating the Los Angeles teachers on their recent strike victory, Baydoun detailed the crisis of the education system under

Israeli occupation.

Bir Zeit University in the West Bank was closed 52 times between 1980 and 1987 and for the 19 months since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising in West Bank and Gaza Strip, he said. All schools were closed as well, affecting 300,000 children.

Baydoun explained that Palestinians fought to reopen these institutions because "education is a simple human right." Teachers in the occupied territories, he said, have

no legal right to organize unions and are fired when they try.

Founder of the Hotel Workers Union in Jerusalem, Baydoun also helped establish the Progressive Labor Front in the occupied territories. This is a federation of 21 local unions and seven central labor councils. The union leader was imprisoned by the Israeli government in November 1985 and held for more than two and a half years for his organizing activity.

The Israeli government has closed 95 percent of the union headquarters in the occupied territories and detained 18,000 workers and 2,000 union administrators. Twenty-three have been deported. According to Israeli law, Palestinians are not permitted to hold union office if they have ever been arrested, Baydoun explained.

He said the Israeli government ordered 70,000 Palestinian workers in the occupied territories to carry pass cards. The workers struck against this command and are now required to wear orange shirts instead.

Palestinians in Israel face similar discrimination, Baydoun said. Called the "black market" by the government, they now make one-third of the minimum wage. Before the uprising they earned two-thirds.

Deductions for taxes, social and health insurance, and for the state-run labor organization eat up 31 percent of wages. Much of this money, the labor leader noted, is supposed to be used to develop services in the occupied territories, but the people there are only "served" with more troops and repression.

"With international solidarity," Baydoun concluded, "the U.S. administration can be forced to stop aiding Israel, and to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization and the right to an independent Palestinian state." He appealed to the U.S. labor movement to recognize the Palestinian union movement and solidarize with its struggles.

Baydoun's tour, in the United States and Canada, was sponsored by the North American Coordinating Committee of the Non-Governmental Organizations, accredited by the United Nations Division for Palestinian Rights.



Bill Rayson

On West Bank, Palestinian workers line up in morning, hoping for day labor in Israel.

## Icelandic workers block price increases

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — A number of strikes and demonstrations have taken place in recent months in response to government measures that impose more of the costs of a downturn in the country's capitalist economy on working people.

Some 15,000 people rallied here June 1 protesting government price hikes of 10 to 20 percent on dairy products, meat, and gasoline. The protesters demanded that the government find other means to solve the enormous state budget deficit.

The action, called on a day's notice, was the largest demonstration by working people in many years. Fish processing plants and other industries were shut down. Post offices were closed. Workers employed by banks, travel agencies, and other businesses in the center of town left their jobs to join the rally. Protests were also organized in other cities in this country of 250,000 residents.

Other actions followed, including boycotts of dairy products and gasoline. Workers in some industries decided to press further. Seamen stopped working overtime to press for higher wages and threatened a strike.

Under pressure from this resistance the government backed down and eliminated the mid-May price hikes. This would have been the second round of massive price increases since the beginning of the year.

The stagnation of this North Atlantic island country's economy has been clear for a few years. A record number of business bankruptcies are seriously affecting the government budget.

The capitalist crisis is also seen in the fishing industry, which constitutes 77 percent of the country's export earnings. Declining market prices, increased international competition, and U.S. and West German opposi-

tion to buying Iceland's fish products because of Icelandic whaling practices have fueled a crisis in the fishing industry. This has led to increased layoffs.

The government's currency devaluation earlier this year to shore up the profits of the fishing industry hurt working people, who are now paying higher prices for imported goods.

Prior to the June action, strikes against

concessions by public employees, professionals, high school teachers, and others won some gains.

Icelandair, the country's airline, has also met resistance from employees organized in three different unions. From May through July pilots refused to fly new aircraft purchased by the airline. Machinists organized a slowdown. Both were involved in contract negotiations and have since settled.

## Australia: Black-rights activist rearrested

BY KATE BLAKENEY

SYDNEY, Australia — Tim Anderson has been charged for a second time with participating in a Feb. 12, 1978, bombing outside the Hilton Hotel here that resulted in three deaths.

Anderson is an activist in the Committee to Defend Black Rights, which has been exposing and denouncing the large number of deaths in police custody of Aboriginal people. At an international gathering of judges and lawyers held in March this year, Anderson charged that senior police officers in New South Wales had perjured themselves.

Anderson's second arrest on charges of responsibility for the bombing took place May 30. Eleven years ago, days after the explosion, Anderson had been arrested along with Ross Dunn and Paul Alistair.

The three were members of Ananda Marga, a small religious denomination based in India. Authorities claimed that the bombing was carried out against India's former prime minister Morarji Desai, who was attending a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting at the Hilton. The Indian government had jailed a leader of Ananda Marga.

The charges were dropped for want of evidence.

In 1979 the three were charged with conspiring to murder Robert Cameron, a leader of the National Front. They were sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment. The key witness was Richard Seary, a police informer later described by Australian High Court Justice Lionel Murphy as "the most unreliable person ever presented as the principal prosecution witness on a serious charge."

After serving seven years, the three were pardoned, released, and given the equivalent of US\$75,000 compensation each.

Within days of Anderson's rearrest in the Hilton bombing, a public meeting of 250 people condemned the arrest as a frame-up by New South Wales police.

Anderson, who received an ovation when he addressed the gathering, pointed out how the major media had sought to lend credibility to the case against him by quoting extensively from police news releases while ignoring those issued by the Tim Anderson Support Group.

"I have no intention of sitting back for another seven years waiting to go through all

the due processes of law and saying nothing about this case," he declared, denouncing laws that ban defendants from commenting on cases.

"I think they want to shut me up," Anderson said of the New South Wales police in an interview. "I've been singled out as one of the three involved in the original frame-up because I have remained vocal on issues that embarrass the police — police verbals, police violence and killings." Police verbals are confessions concocted by the cops and then signed by their prisoner.

Anderson pointed out that "for 11 years, Terry Griffiths, a policeman injured in the Hilton bombing, has pressed for an inquiry." Griffiths has stated that he possesses evidence that implicates the Special Branch of the police in the bombing. "If they wanted to clear up the Hilton bombing," Anderson said, "they'd have had an inquiry years ago."

Opponents of the arrest and prosecution of Anderson are urging that letters of support and donations be sent to the Tim Anderson Support Group, P.O. Box 737, Sydney South, NSW 2000, Australia.



# Ortega on economy, debt, int'l relations

## Nicaragua's situation 'complicated by confrontation with U.S.'

*This article was written prior to the agreement reached at the beginning of August between President Ortega and Nicaraguan opposition groups regarding the February 1990 elections. Next week's Militant will have a report on this agreement.*

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega answered wide-ranging questions on the country's economy, relations with other countries, and the coming elections, among other topics at a July 25 press breakfast here.

In answer to a question about the results of a trip he made earlier this year to Western Europe seeking aid for Nicaragua's troubled economy, the president said that \$250 million is needed this year to balance the country's budget and "finance the program of economic adjustments." However, "we were

### Nicaragua needs \$250 million in aid for coming year. \$50 million promised.

promised about \$50 million," Ortega told reporters, "20 million of that in hard currency, which is what is truly practical and useful for us in resolving the shortfall." The remaining \$30 million, he said, was in lines of credit.

All of the underdeveloped nations face grave problems, Ortega noted, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean. "These problems would not be resolved even by canceling the debt, erasing it altogether." The debt exacerbates "structural problems that are linked to the international economy," he stated. There must be profound changes in the economic, political, and social structure of Latin American countries, he said, "to achieve social and political stability. Then we could be talking about a real strengthening of democracy."

#### 'A political problem'

Ortega also spoke about relations with the Mexican and Venezuelan governments in response to a question by a reporter from a Mexican news agency. During the early years of the revolution, Nicaragua received oil from Mexico and Venezuela. But these supplies were cut off in 1985 when Nicaragua was unable to pay for them. Nicaragua still does not receive any oil from either country, Ortega said. "It's a political problem, not a purely economic problem."

"If Nicaragua was not in a confrontation with the United States this would be less complicated," he stated. Nicaragua had hoped that with the election of Carlos Andrés Pérez as president of Venezuela things could be worked out with that country and that the debt with Mexico could be restructured, the president said, but "this has not been possible."

Since the oil cutoff, Nicaragua has received oil from the Soviet Union, Cuba, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia, Ortega stated. "There were shouts of how we are dependent on the Soviet Union. But this is a healthy dependency."

"We would like to be dependent on the United States for oil and financial assistance," he added.

Nicaragua has also been seeking aid for holding the February 1990 elections, the costs of which are estimated at \$25 million. Sweden, Spain, and West Germany have all expressed their willingness to contribute to the electoral process, Ortega stated, but there are few firm commitments. Nicaragua still "does not have enough money to finance all the expenses," he added.

The Nicaraguan government is encouraging Western European countries to send observers during the election period "and not rely on the observations of the United States," Ortega stressed. That way they will see for themselves that the elections are "not closed" but open to the opposition.

#### 'An indigenist party?'

In advance of the elections, some former contra leaders, with the encouragement of the

U.S. government, have been returning to Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government has required that they renounce ties to the armed groups.

Ortega was asked about rumors that additional requirements, including a promise to not form an "indigenist party," had been placed on Brooklyn Rivera before he may return. Rivera is a leader of antigovernment Miskito guerrillas.

Thousands of Miskito Indians on Nicaragua's North Atlantic Coast fought

"The most important thing we asked Rivera," Ortega said, "is that he renounce the armed struggle." What Rivera wants, the president stated, "is to return here to organize an armed party. That is absurd."

Two reporters asked Ortega what Nicaragua would do in the case of a U.S. invasion of Panama and if the Sandinistas had sent arms to Panama.

"We hope there will be no confrontation between Panama and the United States," Ortega replied. "We would like to see a negoti-

process — have all come out clearly against a U.S. military intervention in Panama," Ortega said.

In response to the question about arms shipments, he said, "Nicaragua has given what aid it can through normal channels so that the Panamanian people can defend themselves if they are militarily invaded by the United States."

Nicaragua also favors a negotiated solution in El Salvador, Ortega explained, "which is what the FMLN proposes." He criticized attempts by Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani to try to link demobilization of the contras in Honduras with disarming of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

"The FMLN is made up of the people of El Salvador. It is sustained by the people. The FMLN breathes, moves, and swims among the Salvadoran people," Ortega stressed. "If the people did not want the FMLN, it would cease to exist."

The situation with the U.S.-financed contras is "totally different," Ortega said, since the war in El Salvador is an internal problem. "Undoubtedly we can work in favor of a dialogue and a negotiated solution between the FMLN and the Salvadoran government."

Ortega was asked about press reports that the Cuban Antonio de la Guardia had made his first drug contacts in Nicaragua. "I spoke by phone with Fidel Castro," Ortega reported. "Fidel assured me that there is no involvement by Nicaragua" in the matter of drugs.

"Cuba has given an example of how to fight drug traffic," Ortega said. "The United States should follow that example and investigate U.S. government functionaries like Oliver North and John Poindexter." North and Poindexter worked with drug dealers to help set up a base in Costa Rica to supply the contras, Ortega charged.

In response to a question on why some members of the armed forces have deserted, including most recently two officials who fled to Costa Rica, Ortega said that Nicaragua's army, like other armies around the world, experiences desertions. "Some of the desertions could be directly the work of the United States, that is, of the CIA; others are simply within the normal margin of desertion that occurs in any army."

"The most important thing is that the bulk of our officials and soldiers are steadfast," the president concluded. "The defections of one or two officers are not going to weaken the consciousness of the Sandinista army."



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Child working as street vendor in Matagalpa, Nicaragua. All underdeveloped countries face grave problems, Ortega said, which cannot be resolved just by canceling their foreign debts.

against the government from 1981 until 1988. Starting in 1986 the government succeeded in reaching agreements to end the conflict with most of the Miskito groups. They turned in their old arms and received others from the government and agreed to collaborate with Nicaragua's army in defending the region. But armed groups based in Honduras, led by Rivera and Steadman Fagoth, have continued to oppose the revolution.

ated solution to this conflict." The Nicaraguan president said this solution should be promoted by Panamanian political forces, Latin American countries, and the United States.

#### 'All are against U.S. intervention'

"Everyone in Panama — the defense forces, the political parties, both those that are for and those that are against the Panamanian

## S. Korea student protests hit teacher firings

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Riot police attacked a demonstration of high school students and clubbed at least 20 of them in Seoul, South Korea, last month.

In a number of cities and towns in the southern rural regions, students clashed with secondary school administrators and riot police. Thousands of protesting students threw out their desks and chairs in the southwestern city of Kwangju.

A wave of student protests has been provoked by the government's firing of 65 teachers; 92 others have been relieved of their teaching posts.

Since May teachers have been locked in a struggle to win government recognition for the National Teachers Union. They have defied government edicts prohibiting the formation of the independent union.

Across the country 5,000 teachers have engaged in classroom hunger strikes to win support for their struggle. Police have arrested 57 for illegal assembly.

Saying teachers have no right to organize unions under civil service laws, the Education Ministry continues to refuse to recognize the NTU and has threatened to fire all teachers who support it. NTU organizers said that hundreds and possibly thousands of teachers may be fired.

"That would disrupt the education system," said one NTU leader in Seoul, "but if that is what the government wants, we're willing to pay the price."

The ministry claims only the Federation of Korean Teachers Associations represents primary and secondary teachers. But many teachers reject the FKTA, which they point

out is government controlled. The top leadership of the FKTA is chosen by the Education Ministry from among retiring government bureaucrats.

The average teacher's monthly salary is 437,000 won (US\$657), far below wages of industrial workers. Long working hours, arbitrary promotions, government control of teaching materials, and no leeway for teachers to develop or refine courses offered are some of the grievances.

In one of his weekly radio broadcasts last July, South Korean President Roh Tae Woo

criticized teachers and said some had been feeding students leftist ideas. Teachers have been reprimanded for contradicting the government's views on the country's history by teaching that South Korea started the Korean War.

The growing struggle of the teachers and the high school student activism has ruling South Korean circles anxious. "The situation of high school youths joining adults [in protests] is deplorable and worrisome," read an editorial in *Dong-A Ilbo*, a leading daily newspaper.

## Strikes in Sweden reveal discontent

BY ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — A recent wave of strikes involving more than 6,000 workers revealed the growing discontent over wages and working conditions in this country.

The strikes involved steelworkers, railworkers, woodworkers, and metalworkers, many in the north of Sweden.

In June workers walked off their jobs in 24 companies to protest drawn out negotiations for new contracts and low wage-increase proposals by employers. This followed 10 strikes in May.

Most strikes lasted two or three days. The longest was in rail, where workers stayed out nearly a week.

The rail strike was the most widespread. It started in a maintenance shop in the northern city of Luleå and then expanded south to 10 rail depots. All northern freight transport

was stopped, and workers threatened to shut down passenger traffic.

The strikes led to an immediate speedup of negotiations and were enough to win contract agreements for some workers.

Monthly wage increases were guaranteed. These ranged from \$75 to \$100. Many workers also received bonuses — called "vacation money" — to be paid prior to the July vacation period. These lump sum bonuses varied between \$100 and \$300.

Some areas, however, still do not have a local contract.

Agreements in steel and rail are temporary and expire September 1. If new agreements are not reached, workers may decide to strike again.

Only one of the walkouts in May and June was authorized by union officials.



# No relief under new Mexican debt deal

BY DON ROJAS

Roughly \$3 billion a year for each of the next four years. That's what the much-heralded Mexican "debt relief" agreement announced in Washington on July 23 boils down to.

Favorable to Mexico's creditors and to the country's ruling capitalist families but detrimental to the millions of poor and working people bearing the brunt of the debt burden, this complicated agreement is being hailed by the George Bush administration as a successful breakthrough for Washington's "Brady plan."

The plan, which claims it will lighten the Third World's \$1.3 trillion foreign debt, had stagnated since it was announced in early March by Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady.

President Bush was anxious to have the Mexican agreement as a feather in his cap before the mid-July summit meeting in Paris of the world's seven largest capitalist powers since the Third World debt had topped the meeting's agenda. But this was not to be.

Intense pressure on the negotiators by both Brady and Bush, however, resulted finally in the agreement being signed a week after the Paris summit had endorsed the Brady plan in principle.

## \$107 billion debt

Depending on what Mexico's creditor banks decide to do within the framework of the agreement, the country's total foreign debt of \$107 billion could be reduced by a mere 14 percent, or it could actually increase.

The agreement offers the country's 300 international bankers a range of options: they may forgive 35 percent of a portion of the \$54

## New lending means new profits for the banks and new debt for the borrower.

billion bank debt, cut interest rates by about the same percentage, make new loans, or choose a combination of these options. It will take months before it becomes clear which of the choices will be exercised. Furthermore, the agreement does not cover the more than \$50 billion in non-bank debt.

Should some of the banks opt for making new loans as guaranteed by the U.S. government through an arrangement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, Mexico's debt could even grow more.

In fact, the deal guarantees only to keep the debt at its current level four years from now. This means that the growth of Mexico's debt may be arrested in the near future but the overall volume of foreign debt will not be significantly reduced.

Debt experts predict that some 40 percent of Mexico's creditor banks, especially the big, U.S.-headquartered ones like Citicorp, BankAmerica, and Manufacturers Hanover, will opt for more lending and the smaller banks will take the 35 percent cut in the principal.

Additionally, the agreement mandates Mexico to pay higher interest rates (above the current 6.5 percent) if the price received for its oil exports rises in the future.

For the large creditor banks new lending is guaranteed by the U.S. Treasury. This, in effect, means the transference of some of their risk to U.S. working people who pay taxes. It means that they can continue to collect interest payments from Mexico. New lending means new profits.

But new lending also means new debt for the borrower.

## Debt-equity swaps

To induce banks to choose the debt reduction option the agreement offers them \$3.5 billion of debt-equity swaps and 30-year bonds at a 35 percent discount value in exchange for old loans.

This would give the creditor banks the right to own up to 50 percent of the stock in state-owned Mexican companies.

Debt-equity swap arrangements are particularly contentious throughout debt-ridden Latin American countries since they are viewed even by the local capitalists as a sell-out of the region's economic sovereignty to the transnational corporations. Earlier swaps had been so damaging and unpopular that Mexican officials had ceased using them.

Yet, the bankers' negotiating team, headed by John Reed, chairman of Citicorp, prevailed on the Mexicans to accept the swaps this time around and to make other concessions to foreign capital.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, chief spokesman for the Mexican ruling class, has been carrying out an elaborate public relations campaign to sell the "good news" of the agreement to the Mexican people.

Salinas, along with others in his administration and in Mexico's big-business community, described the agreement as a historic breakthrough. But opposition parties, union officials, and independent economists were less than convinced, labeling it as inadequate and unjust. Some union officials said they will continue to press for a complete debt moratorium.

"You can now, my compatriots, tell your children that the world in which they live will not be easy," declared Salinas in a nationally televised address on July 24. "But it will be better, because no longer will they bear the burden of excessive indebtedness."

But Samuel Ruiz Mora, head of Mexico's National Workers Council, did not see better days ahead. "Having been unable to obtain a greater reduction in its debt, Mexico is not going to be able to get out of the economic crisis it has been going through," he said.

The Mexican president's optimism and euphoria has not been shared by some political leaders or by the big-business press in the United States, Europe, and Latin America.

U.S. Congressman Charles Schumer of Brooklyn criticized the agreement as too easy on the creditor banks. "What's needed is real debt relief," he stated. Latin American finance ministers characterized the reduction in interest payments under the agreement of less than \$2 billion a year as modest.

## 'A stingy package'

A *New York Times* editorial called it "a stingy economic package" that provides "little actual debt reduction for an economy strangled by debt payments."

The *Economist* magazine, published in Britain, stated, "The deal struck in Washington will not provide a definitive solution to Mexico's debt problem."

Neither were Wall Street traders happy with the accord. They argued that few investors would want to deal with the complexity of the collateral offered under the agreement or be exposed to Mexican credit risk for 30 years.

All of these apprehensions reflect growing concerns in capitalist circles of North America and Europe that piecemeal solutions to the Third World's debt problem add to, rather



Children of working people suffer the most from Mexico's debt crisis

than minimize, the risks posed by the mounting debt structure to the already volatile international financial system.

The Bush administration, on the other hand, appeared to be more concerned about shoring up the political stability of Salinas' shaky nine-month-old government and averting the kind of debt-related rebellions that took place in Venezuela in early March and in Argentina in early June.

Mexico, a country of 83.5 million people, has always been considered by Washington as having utmost strategic importance because of its location, size, and influence in Central America. Furthermore, it is a major trading partner of the United States and a source of cheap labor and natural resources for U.S. capital.

Recently, Secretary of State James Baker praised Mexico for being an "economic model" for other debtor nations because it had made significant progress in opening up its economy and had introduced policies that emphasized privatization of state-owned enterprises and fewer government regulations.

Moreover, for the past seven years Mexico has promptly paid its debt no matter how

frightful the social costs. A drained economy and a pauperized population has been the price paid for being "the most deserving debtor."

Who's next on the debtors' list "to benefit" from the Brady plan? Initially, Brady had said that his plan would be available to all of the nearly 40 Third World countries most in debt, but now the list has been drastically reduced to less than 15.

Venezuela, the Philippines, and Costa Rica, all of strategic importance to the United States, top the current list of future beneficiaries.

Recently, Brady told Argentina, Brazil and other Latin debtors to "do what Mexico did: bite the bullet, make the tough choices, put on economic programs that open up markets, reduce tariffs and barriers."

But Venezuela's government has already signaled that it wants more than what Mexico got when its turn comes. The Carlos Andrés Pérez regime is proposing that the country's creditor banks take either a 50 percent reduction in debt principal or a 50 percent cut in interest payments on the country's \$20 billion foreign bank debt. So far the creditor banks have balked at this idea.

# Canadian Steelworkers fight firings and attempts to bust their union

BY MONICA JONES

TORONTO — Members of United Steelworkers Local 32U at Bilt-Rite Upholstering have launched a fight to win back the jobs of two union leaders fired by the company in an effort to bust the union.

The company removed union President Gogi Bhandal, who was on medical restriction after an injury, from her packing-line job and sent her home. Later it informed her the only job available to her was in the office — out of the union. The company then fired Bhandal when she refused the office job without agreement that she could file a grievance to return to her old job.

Tom Leys, a well-known union activist, was fired on several trumped-up charges, including talking to coworkers and being out of his work area.

Workers responded to these firings, which occurred in June, with a petition demanding that the company return Bhandal and Leys to their jobs with full back pay and that it "stop the unjust harassment and provocations of our union members now." Some 250 workers — more than 80 percent of those in the plant during the three-day petition drive — signed the protest.

A special union meeting July 11 heard a report on plans to pursue grievances against Bhandal and Leys' firings through to arbitration, along with the cases of two injured workers fired while out on compensation. The union is also taking to arbitration a new

rulebook issued by the company, which increases management's powers and widens grounds for dismissal of workers.

After being contacted by the union, New Democratic Party provincial leader Bob Rae wrote to the Ontario minister of labor expressing concern over the firings and the high number of injuries at Bilt-Rite.

## Hard-fought strike

The attack on the union comes four months after a hard-fought strike. Company owner Martin Silver had demanded forced overtime, the right to contract out work, a longer probation period, and other givebacks. He counted on past weakness of the union and potential divisions in its ranks.

The big majority of workers at Bilt-Rite came to Canada from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. To the bosses' surprise, workers united in the struggle, kept up solid picket lines, resisted threats to close the plant, and after eight weeks finally won. They pushed back the concessions and won some improvements, including a dental plan.

"We won," Bhandal said, "and it's because of that they are trying to fire me."

The company has never accepted the union victory. From the first day after the strike it stepped up attacks in the plant. It has sought to drive down the rates of workers on piece-work. It has imposed speedup, transferred workers without regard to seniority, and victimized those who resist.

The company offensive has especially targeted the many workers who, like Bhandal, are injured on the job from repetitive stress, heavy lifting, and hazardous chemicals. The company disputes and delays nearly all claims for compensation.

Firing the union president is a major escalation. Bhandal explained that "other workers have received [injury compensation] pensions like me, and they're working. They're after me because they're after the whole union."

"All we have to defend ourselves from these attacks — which are sure to continue as the boss tries to be more competitive at our expense — is our union," Tom Leys said. Leys, who has worked at Bilt-Rite for three years, is well known as an outspoken unionist and socialist. He is the Toronto organizer of the Young Socialists and a member of the Revolutionary Workers League.

"If they can get away with this at Bilt-Rite, the second-largest Steelworkers-organized plant in Toronto, it will be a blow to the entire labor movement," Leys said. "But the strike showed that we can unite, that many more workers can step forward to become involved and develop as leaders, that we can win broad support in the labor movement. That's our strength, and that's what we have to mobilize now."

Monica Jones is a member of United Steelworkers Local 32U at Bilt-Rite.



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**How to Defend Women's Right to Choose Abortion?** Speakers: Diane Bacon, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Communications Workers of America; Angie Barone, Universities for Choice (ASU); Nancy Best, National Organization for Women; Rena Cacoullos, Socialist Workers Party; Charles Fanniel, A. Philip Randolph Institute, Laborers' International Union; Kim Martin, Arizona Right to Choose; Louis Rhodes, American Civil Liberties Union; Chiquita Rollins, Arizona Women's Reproductive Rights. Sat., Aug. 26, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Oakland

**Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast Region: The Struggle for Peace and Autonomy and Recovery from Hurricane Joan.** Speakers: Carlos Maibeth, a Miskito Indian from Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, member of steering committee of South American Indian Information Center and of Hurricane Relief for Nicaragua (Hurnica); Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from three months in Puerto Cabezas. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### San Francisco

**An Injury to One is an Injury to All: Rally in Defense of Mark Curtis.** Speakers: Helen Grieco, executive director, San Francisco chapter, National Organization for Women; David Barber, *Barricada Internacional* Support Committee; Thabo Bopape, project director, South African International Student Congress, Santa Cruz chapter; Margaret Jayko, author of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*; Jeff Bettencourt, striking Eastern Airlines Machinist. Sun., Aug. 27, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Nicaragua: Defending the Nicaraguan Revolution Today.** Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1126. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## MINNESOTA

### Minneapolis

**Celebrate 30 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: David Carey, participant in Venceremos Brigade's 20th anniversary trip to Cuba this summer; Ramona Olson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 879; Chris Nisan, director of Africana Student Cultural Center, member Twin Cities Committee Against Racism; representative of liberation struggles in southern Africa; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 26. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 310 E 38th St. Donation: \$3 to \$10. Sponsors: Africana Student Cultural Center, Central America Resource Center, May Day Bookstore, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, Socialist Workers Party, others. For more information call (612) 645-1674.

## NEBRASKA

### Omaha

**Stop the Attacks on Affirmative Action.** Speakers: Diane Shur, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**On Strike!** Striking New Jersey unionists discuss Eastern, coal miners', telephone workers', meat-packers', and hospital workers' strikes. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd

floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**The Roots of the Civil War in Lebanon.** Speaker: Georges Sayad, Socialist Workers Party, coauthor of pamphlet, *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation*, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Sat., Sept. 2, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Cancel the Third World Debt.** Speaker: Don Rojas, former press secretary to assassinated Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop; member coordinating committee of Anti-imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Sat., Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**The Fight for Puerto Rican Independence.** Speakers: Selva Nebbia, Militant staff writer; others. Sat., Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Rock for the Radios.** Benefit dance marathon for radio stations of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Fri., Aug. 25, 8 p.m.-4 a.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. W. Donation: \$12, \$15 at the door. Sponsor: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). For more information call (212) 431-9251.

**Namibia Day: International Day of Solidarity with the People of Namibia and Their Liberation Movement SWAPO.** Speakers: representatives from South West Africa People's Organisation and African National Congress of South Africa; recently returned observers from Namibia. Video showing of recent documentary footage out of Namibia. Cultural presentation and refreshments. Sat., Aug. 26, 7 p.m. Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. Sponsor: Namibia Day Committee. For more information call (212) 557-2450.

**Going Away Party for Prof. Fred Dube.** A leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, Dube is engaged in a battle with the State University of New York over its denying him tenure because of his political views. This month he is moving to Olympia, Washington, where he will be teaching at Evergreen State College. Fri., Sept. 1, 7-10 p.m. Cathedral of St. John the Divine Synod Hall (cor. of Amsterdam and 110th St.)

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Support the Pathfinder Mural Project.** Speakers: Dumile Feni, South African artist and member of the African National Congress; Mark Severs, representative of Pathfinder Press. Sun., Aug. 27. Reception 6 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OREGON

### Portland

**The "Ochoa Affair": Cuba Confronts Corruption and Bureaucracy.** Speaker: John Linder, Socialist Workers Party, activist in Central America solidarity movement, visited Cuba in 1981. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Rally for Choice.** Sat., Aug. 26, 9-11 a.m. Sam Houston Park, Bagby and Dallas. Speakers: Sarah Weddington, lawyer in *Roe v. Wade* abortion rights case; Craig Washington, Texas State senator; Deborah Danberg, state representative. Music by the Beethives. Sponsor: Choice Coalition. For more information call (713) 522-6673.

## BRITAIN

### London

**The Nicaraguan Revolution Today.** Speaker: Pete Clifford, recently returned from 10th anniversary celebrations in Nicaragua. Fri., Sept. 1, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum. For more information call 01-928-7947.

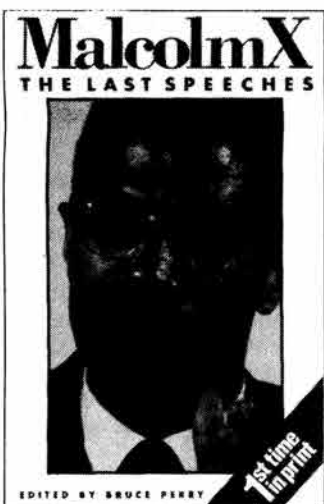
## CANADA

### Montréal

**Abortion: For Woman's Right to Choose!** Speakers: Cynthia Kelly, Québec Coalition for Free and Legal Abortion; Katy LeRougetel, Revolutionary Workers League; Margo Storteen, National Organization for Women in Boston; Sheena Weir, Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics. Translation from French to English and Spanish. Sat., Aug. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

**Solidarity with Cuba!** Speaker: Joe Young, participated in minibrigade of voluntary work in Cuba. Translation from French to English and Spanish. Sat., Sept. 2, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

## New from Pathfinder



## Malcolm X: The Last Speeches

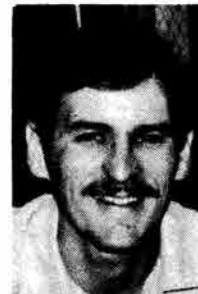
Six never-before-published speeches and interviews. Included are Malcolm X's final two speeches in print given in the week prior to his February 1965 assassination, two December 1964 interviews, and two 1963 speeches.

These newly available works shed light on Malcolm X's political evolution during the last months of his life and reaffirm his place among the outstanding revolutionary leaders of the 20th century.

\$8.95. Available now at Pathfinder bookstores listed below, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$1 for shipping.)

## from PATHFINDER The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$2.50.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed below or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Lutte ouvrière*.

## UNITED STATES

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: 1306 1st Ave. N. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11963. Zip: 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

**IOWA:** Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: P.O. Box 53224. Zip: 70153. Tel: (504) 484-6418.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA:** Austin: 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: 5534 Troost Ave. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 444-7880. **St. Louis:** 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

**NEBRASKA:** Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW YORK:** Brooklyn: 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Greensboro: 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

**OHIO:** Cleveland: 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

**OREGON:** Portland: 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: 9 E. Chelton Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS:** Houston: 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**UTAH:** Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021. **WASHINGTON:** Seattle: 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor, Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-660 1673.

## BRITAIN

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

## CANADA

**Montréal:** 6566 boul. St-Laurent, H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

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

**Vancouver:** P.O. Box 69742, Station K, V5K 4Y7. Tel: (604) 873-8898.

## ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

**Christchurch:** 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

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

## SWEDEN

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



**Pigout a la Lorenzo** — The lawyers involved in the Eastern Airlines bankruptcy swindle have filed bills totaling \$7.4 million. Commented pilots' union attorney Bruce



**Harry Ring**

Simon, "Bankruptcy is a trough, and all the animals in the barnyard come to feed in it."

P.S. — Meanwhile, Eastern

agreed to pay a \$75,000 federal fine for failing, in 1986 and 1987, to make credit card refunds in seven days, and neglecting to notify some customers that certain flights were being flown by independent carriers. But what with the bankruptcy deal, Uncle will have to wait in line for the money.

**That's capitalism** — "WASHINGTON (AP) — Health Secretary Louis Sullivan said the success of new treatments should encourage more people to be tested for AIDS, though he offered no assurance these therapies would be available to those who cannot afford them."

**A tonic** — "AIKEN, South Carolina (AP) — More than 100 employees at a nuclear weapons plant here drank water contaminated with a highly toxic solvent for 15 months because of a plumbing mistake, but an official of the plant says the workers were not harmed."

**Granola dum-dums** — To help protect the environment, police in Britain's West Midlands region are reported planning to use lead-free bullets.

**The march of civilization** — The American Engineering Company — galleys, gas chambers, electric chairs — is marketing a machine that administers lethal injections without need of medical personnel. One prison official enthused, "You don't have any Hippocratic Oath problems."

**Ready to retch?** — Carolyn Roehm, spouse of leveraged-buyout operator Henry Kravis, is described by *Fortune* magazine as Kravis' "trophy wife." *Fortune's* editor explains: "Powerful men are beginning to demand trophy wives."

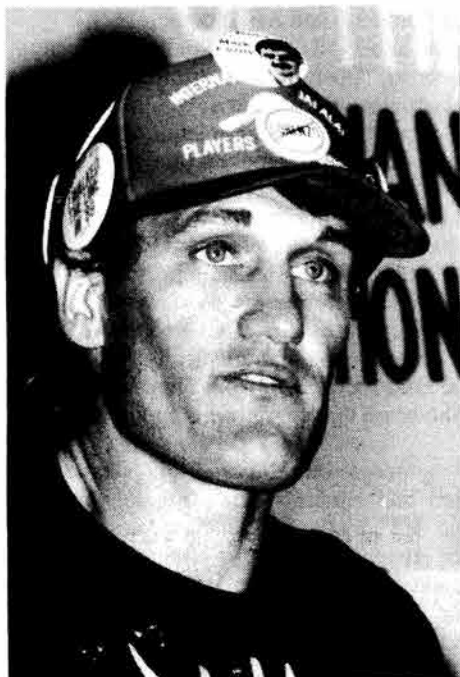
**Price of bagels just went up** — An Israeli couple are operating Jerusalem's first bagel shop. It's off to a modest start, but there are problems. To attract the most devout Jews, they sought a special rabbinical certificate. The problem? "They

want us to have Jewish workers. It's more expensive than Arabs."

**Now there's an alibi** — Vernon King, ex-prez of a Texas savings and loan bank, was charged with providing prostitutes to Linton Bowman, then a savings and loan commissioner. King's lawyer contends the charge is improper because Bowman was impotent at the time.

**Capitalist fool** — When we read that magazine publisher Malcolm Forbes was flying nearly 600 pals to his Morocco estate to celebrate his 70th birthday, it reminded us that they really should correct the misspelling in the *Forbes* magazine advertising slogan, "Capitalist tool."

## International rally demands freedom for Curtis



**Rick Walker, Machinist union member on strike against Eastern Airlines.**

Continued from Page 5

presented Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife, with a strike T-shirt for Curtis. "Mark knew when he went to court that he wouldn't get justice. Eastern strikers are learning that we too have no allies in the bankruptcy court," Walker said.

Hazel Zimmerman, secretary of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, reported on her recent tour through Iowa on Curtis' behalf and outlined the defense committee's efforts in challenging prison authorities' restrictions on prisoners receiving non-English language materials and sharing literature among themselves.

She noted the thousands of protest messages sent against these restrictions and efforts by prison authorities to penalize Curtis for standing up for his rights. "It boggles the mind of the average Iowa warden to know his actions have repercussions around the world," she said.

Zimmerman pledged that the defense committee would continue to organize a response to every attempt by prison officials to isolate

Curtis, or limit his ability to keep in touch with the outside world and remain a political person.

"If an injury to one is an injury to all, then we cannot remain indifferent to systematic violations of human rights, freedom of speech, freedom to be a political activist, and the right to live," said Marie Claude De Séve, vice-president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions. She brought a solidarity message for Curtis from her organization and called for "unity against such injustices."

"We recognize a transparent frame-up, and the reasons are equally transparent," Graham Till, secretary of the Midland District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen in Britain, said. The frame-up is "a blatant attempt to denigrate his [Curtis'] ideas and activities," Till explained. Referring to recent actions by prison authorities against Curtis, Till stressed, "We now see an attempt to break him. It is our duty to make sure in our international fight that this cannot happen."

John Gaige, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and the national farm work director of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke at the conclusion of the rally.

"Mark cuts across the grain" of what the prison system wants prisoners to be, Gaige said. "He does not turn inward to the world of the prison, but reaches for the world outside the prison — to the struggles of workers and farmers, and others who are exploited," Gaige explained.

He reviewed measures taken by prison authorities against Curtis, which included restrictions on receiving non-English literature, getting written up for spitting on the ground during a basketball game, and being denied his defense committee mailings.

"You don't have to do something bad to get written up" by prison authorities, Gaige said. "You get written up because it is impossible not to." He said the rules, regulations, and orders of prisons are backed by the arbitrary and unpredictable violence of the authorities and guards. "Their goal is to always remind prisoners of who is in charge, to keep you on edge and break your spirit," he stressed.

Gaige explained that responding with protests to every such move by turning the international spotlight on the prison helps expose

what authorities attempt to do and also exposes the political character of Curtis' frame-up.

Such efforts are crucial for prisoners like Curtis to win the space needed to remain political and to pursue political activity inside prison walls, and eventually to win their release, he said.

Gaige said Curtis is the same person today as when he was incarcerated, that he remains an effective political activist and communist.

He concluded his remarks by noting the scope of the worldwide support the defense committee has won for Curtis and called on supporters to continue the fight.

Other speakers at the rally included Kaku and Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker and political activist who waged a

successful decade-long fight to win U.S. residency.

Several messages of support from activists, unionists, and political figures from the United States, Canada, Britain, Sweden, and New Zealand were read at the rally.

Curtis' mother, Jane Curtis, and defense committee leaders Julia Terrell and Stu Singer were recognized from the platform, as were members of the Hoover family from St. Louis, who are fighting frame-up charges in Mississippi.

The rally was sponsored by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and was a highlight of the International Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference held here August 5-9.

## 1,000 at socialist conference

Continued from Page 5

United Nations; and David Gakunzi, editor of *Coumbite*, a French-language quarterly on politics in Africa and the Caribbean published in Paris.

A concert by the musical group Punto y Voz was held following a rally celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Soul Vibrations, a band from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, was scheduled to perform at the conference, but was prevented from doing so because the U.S. State Department withheld visas granting the group permission to enter the United States. The band members received their visas after the conference was over.

The conference was organized by an international steering committee of representatives from Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States.

Participants also came from France, Iceland, Puerto Rico, Namibia, South Africa, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, Germany, Switzerland, Korea, Palestine, and other countries. People came from more than 35 U.S. cities. More than half of those in attendance were workers in industrial unions.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes sent messages from the conference to Fidel Castro, the African National Congress, Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

Aug. 31, 1979

The effects of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua are already being felt elsewhere in Central America. Inspired by the Nicaraguan revolution, fresh popular mobilizations are shaking the region's military dictatorships, especially in Guatemala and El Salvador.

News of church occupations in El Salvador at the beginning of August, together with a student strike in Guatemala, confirm the fears of many bourgeois observers that the fall of Somoza will have important repercussions in neighboring countries.

On August 3 more than 50,000 students in Guatemala City began a strike against the government to demand democratic rights, according to a report in the August 4 *Barricada*, official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Student leaders said the strike was the beginning of a broad protest movement against the military regime of Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia. In Costa Rica, government troops engaged in pitched battles with some 5,000 striking dock workers.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Aug. 24, 1964

The U.S. bombing of North Vietnam hits squarely at the notion that President Lyndon

Johnson offers a progressive alternative to Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater on the vital issue of war and peace.

The Gulf of Tonkin episode proved that Johnson is every bit as ready as Goldwater to risk war in defense of capitalism. In his television speech announcing his decision to bomb North Vietnam, he declared: "Firmness in the right is indispensable for peace."

The common willingness of the two major party aspirants to commit naked aggression at the risk of world holocaust was made clear by Goldwater's swift endorsement of Johnson's action.

This bipartisan action has again escalated the U.S. war in Vietnam to a new stage. Previously, the Pentagon maintained the fiction of only "advising" the South Vietnamese military governments. Now Johnson drops the pretense and strikes directly with U.S. military units.

One of the most ominous fruits of the crisis was the joint resolution that Johnson rammed through Congress.

The key sections of that resolution give Johnson a free hand to repeat the kind of aggression committed already and to take the country all the way into war ("all necessary steps, including the use of armed force") if General Khanh or another one of our dictator-stooges in Southeast Asia should request "assistance in defense of its freedom."

The adoption of this resolution makes clear that neither party in the Congress wants to or can slow down the war drive. This was made clear by the unanimous vote in the House and the two lone votes of opposition in the Senate.

## 'Thomas Sankara Speaks' book launched in New Zealand with Gakunzi tour

BY RUTH GREEN AND JANET WARMAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Millions of African youth identified with Thomas Sankara's implacable opposition to moral and material corruption, his willingness to defend the most oppressed, and his confidence and revolutionary optimism. He quickly became known from Accra to Harare in Africa to Cuba's Isle of Youth.

The Pathfinder book *Thomas Sankara Speaks* was launched here recently. It contains the speeches of this president of the West African country of Burkina Faso, who led a revolutionary government from 1983 until his assassination at age 37 in a counterrevolutionary military coup four years later.

Featured speaker was David Gakunzi, a leader of the Thomas Sankara International Association and editor of the Paris-based magazine *Coumbite*.

Gakunzi also addressed meetings at Auck-

land University and at a local high school.

In Wellington, Gakunzi was welcomed at Victoria University by Gcinile Mabulu of the African National Congress of South Africa and hosted by union officials at the Wellington meat works for a lunchtime discussion with workers.

He met with Maori trade union officials and activists in the Africa Information Centre, as well as Susanna Ounei, representative in New Zealand of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front of the Pacific island of New Caledonia.

The Auckland book meeting also heard Syd Jackson, Clerical Workers Union secretary and longtime Maori rights activist; Phil Amos, an aid worker in Tanzania and former minister of education in the 1972-75 New Zealand Labour government; Dave Tolich, an organizer for the Hotel Workers Union; and Ruth Gray, spokesperson for the Communist League.



# Bush and Cuba's drug proposal

The White House has announced that on September 5 President George Bush will make public his plan to fight drug use and sales in the United States. On this occasion he should accept Cuba's proposal calling for cooperation between the two countries in the fight against drug trafficking.

The Cuban government has attached no conditions to its proposal to Washington. It has not demanded, for example, that the U.S. government drop its plans to set up TV Martí or to dismantle its illegal Radio Martí transmissions to Cuba. The Cuban government has not demanded that Washington return the Guantánamo naval base, or concede independence to Puerto Rico, or institute a system of free health care such as exists today in Cuba before it would be willing to proceed with bilateral cooperation with the United States.

Washington, on the other hand, has so far greeted Cuba's initiative with demands that Cuba meet a number of conditions, including that it modify its relations with the Soviet Union and end its solidarity with revolutionary movements in Latin America. Washington also has stepped up its slander campaign against Cuban President Fidel Castro, and the head of the Cuban armed forces, Raúl Castro, linking them to the drug trade.

On July 26, for example, testifying before a Senate foreign relations subcommittee, William von Raab, U.S. customs commissioner, called Fidel Castro "another piece of narco-trash floating in the Caribbean." Yet, it was von Raab's department that withheld information on the Ochoa-de la Guardia drug operation from the Cuban government since February of this year, thus allowing hundreds of pounds of drugs to enter the United States until Cuban authorities arrested those involved and put a stop to it in June.

Drug trafficking is a gigantic concern for working people throughout the United States, especially among the most oppressed — Blacks, Latinos, the unemployed, and the homeless. They, like their brothers and sisters in the Caribbean and Latin America, want to end this scourge.

Like other capitalist multibillion dollar businesses, drug production and trafficking is a multinational operation. U.S. Treasury officials estimate that the handful who profit from the U.S. drug trade rake in between \$40 and \$100 billion a year. These families are part and parcel of the capitalist classes of Latin America and North America.

In this context, Cuba's offer to cooperate in putting an end to some of the traffic that goes through the Caribbean should be a welcome one for working people in the United States and in the Caribbean, who are the victims of this social evil. Stopping this trade is of special concern to working people in Cuba, since to a huge extent drug use and drug traffic have been eliminated inside its borders.

The idea that such bilateral collaboration between Cuba and the United States is possible is not some far-fetched notion. In the 1960s and early '70s there was a wave of hijackings between these two countries. In 1973 the U.S. and Cuban governments signed an agreement aimed at curbing hijackings of aircraft and boats.

Even though the agreement was canceled by the Cuban government in 1976 following evidence of CIA complicity in the blowing up of a Cuban plane over Barbados, Cuba continued to honor its antihijacking pacts with other countries. The Cuban government adopted increasingly strict measures against this practice and virtually put an end to the problem.

Cooperation to curb the traffic of drugs would also be of mutual interest to the people of both countries. Bilateral agreements along these lines would be a positive step in the right direction, as opposed to current threats by some U.S. officials to send U.S. troops to Colombia in the name of combating the drug trade. This would be a gross violation of Colombia's sovereignty.

In his September 5 speech on drugs Bush should reverse Washington's policy, which has so far met Cuba's proposal with nothing but conditions and slanders, and instead accept the proposal of bilateral cooperation in good faith.

# Cuban band denied visas

The State Department's recent denial of visas to Cuban pianist Gonzalo Rubalcaba and his band Grupo Proyeecto is the latest example of Washington's stepped-up campaign of aggression against the Cuban people, their government, and their revolution. The Cuban musicians had been invited by prominent arts promoter Joseph Papp to perform in mid-August at a Latin cultural festival in New York City.

On the surface, this action appears arbitrary and even irrational, considering that three Cuban filmmakers were granted visas for the same festival. In recent months other Cuban artists as well as official representatives of the Federation of Cuban Women and scholars from the Cuban Academy of Sciences were all granted visas to tour the United States to give performances, lectures, public talks, and press interviews.

The visa denials, however, are part of an evolving pattern of hostile responses by the U.S. rulers to recent developments inside Cuba, which have been marked by political advances on the part of Cuba's workers and farmers.

In the wake of these advances, U.S. President George Bush has attacked the Cuban revolution for its domestic

and foreign policies and has placed unacceptable conditions on Cuba as prerequisites for normalizing Cuban-U.S. relations.

Washington is also moving ahead with plans to launch "TV Martí," which will broadcast anti-Cuba propaganda and other lies into the island.

In addition, the U.S. military has recently conducted threatening exercises close to Cuba's borders and has increased the frequency of spy flights in Cuban airspace.

The most recent visa denials are part of this picture. They are also a reminder that Washington not only prohibits certain Cubans from visiting the United States — denying our right to meet, discuss with, and listen to them — but continues to uphold a generalized ban on travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba.

Now is a good time for unionists, political activists, and other supporters of democratic rights to step up demands for an end to U.S. military, economic and propaganda aggression against Cuba. We should also demand the immediate lifting of the travel ban and an end to visa denials. Any Cubans wishing to visit the United States should be allowed to do so. Let Grupo Proyeecto in!

# Defending affirmative action

Protests like the August 26 march on Washington, D.C., called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, are a needed response in defense of affirmative action.

A \$2.7 million study by the National Research Council, financed by the foundations of billionaire families in the United States — the Rockefellers, Mellons, and others — found what many working people already know. "Racial segregation is deeper and more profound" than expected. The study found that while Blacks made gains in the 1960s and early '70s, those trends reversed in the 1980s.

The Supreme Court's recent decisions attacking affirmative action codify the progress made over years of chipping away at affirmative action gains. The court's actions also reveal that those who run this country seem to think that since they have been able to get this far, they might as well make it legal.

The Supreme Court is not just turning the clock back on civil rights. Its actions reflect the class interests of the

capitalist billionaire families they serve. They are part of, along with other branches of government run by the two capitalist parties, preparing the future they must confront — greater economic and social crisis, and massive struggles by working people to defend their basic right to make a living.

As the economic and social crisis gets worse, hundreds of divisions among working people will be reinforced and intensified, sapping the ability of working people to unite in a common fight to improve overall conditions and to change this society.

Defending affirmative action, including quotas, is necessary for advancing the struggle of Blacks, Latinos, and women for full equality. It is a fight for all working people because it is essential to cutting across divisions and building working-class unity.

Advancing this perspective, especially in the labor movement, will be critical to the next stages of the battle to defend affirmative action measures.

# 'Operation Bootstrap' vs. socialism

BY DOUG JENNESS

Should Puerto Rico become independent? Many argue no, because they fear the country would end up as poor as the Dominican Republic, Haiti, or many other independent Caribbean nations. It's true that by many measures — literacy, per capita income, government relief, industrial development, and so on — conditions are better on Puerto Rico than most other Caribbean islands.

In fact, Puerto Rico has been presented as a model by the U.S. capitalist rulers to show how an underdeveloped

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

country, with an economy based primarily on agriculture as Puerto Rico's was before World War II, can become industrialized and increase national income.

Beginning in the late 1940s, the colonial government in Puerto Rico launched "Operation Bootstrap," which was designed to industrialize the country. U.S. corporations were offered tax exemptions and cheap labor, and environmental regulations were tailored to their profit needs. Federal grants, loans, credits, and services were extended to U.S. businesses setting up shop in Puerto Rico.

Capitalists poured billions of dollars into Puerto Rico to build plants. Hundreds of thousands of peasants left the countryside to work in factories. By 1957 manufacturing had surpassed agriculture as the main export-producing industry. Per capita income rose dramatically. Washington organized special tours for officials from Third World countries to see this showcase that proved what capitalism could do.

Yet, for working people on the island things have been far from peaches and cream. There's an old adage — "Figures don't lie, but liars figure." That's the case with the statistics cited by government experts about Puerto Rico. As national income has grown, social inequality has increased. The top 20 percent of families in Puerto Rico receive as much of the total income as the other 80 percent.

Even under the best of times unemployment rates are considerably higher than in any state in the United States. One million people in a country of 3.5 million live on government assistance. Some 2.5 million Puerto Ricans live in the United States, most of them driven here under the lash of needing jobs.

Tens of thousands in Puerto Rico have no homes, but live as squatters in shacks pieced together with tin, cardboard, and plywood.

Moreover, as shown by the devastating effects of the 1974-75 and 1981-82 recessions, the people of Puerto Rico have few safeguards against the consequences of the coming downturn.

The fact is that "Operation Bootstrap" has brought a profit bonanza to a handful of U.S. businesses. U.S. capital controls more than 80 percent of Puerto Rico's manufacturing, 60 percent of its banks, and 90 percent of its industrial imports. Some 40 percent of U.S. investments in Latin America are in Puerto Rico, and the profit returns from Puerto Rico are 34 percent of what U.S. profiteers rake in from all of Latin America.

Puerto Rico may be the best that capitalism can offer the Third World, but it isn't the only road open. There's also the example of socialist Cuba.

Cuba has demonstrated how a country can break from the domination of foreign business interests, set its own course, and at the same time make gigantic strides in industrial development that can benefit working people. The huge sums that used to flow to the United States to line the pockets of capitalist profiteers are now available for development in Cuba. Unemployment is insignificant, large-scale poverty and slums don't exist, and production is no longer disrupted by the capitalist business cycle.

Large parts of the budget are spent on education and health care. As a result, since the revolution in 1959, illiteracy has gone from 24 percent, probably closer to 60 or 70 percent by today's standards, to 1.5 percent today. Infant mortality went from 60 deaths per 1,000 live births to 11.9 in the same period, which is lower than many U.S. cities. Cuba's tuberculosis rate is lower than that of Canada and the United States.

In spite of the difficulties imposed by the imperialist blockade, electrical generating capacity has grown more than eightfold, cement production fivefold, steel production 16-fold, and fertilizer production fivefold. Similar figures can be cited for other areas of the economy.

Cuban President Fidel Castro told a crowd in Camagüey on July 26 that the people in that province are creating "a model of development in food production as well as social development for the Third World." The project includes building the largest dairy complex in the world, with new housing projects, child-care centers, schools, and family-doctor clinics. There is nothing remotely comparable in any part of Puerto Rico.

The fight for an independent Puerto Rico where working people can win social emancipation means taking the Cuban road — the socialist road. Cuba is proving that a people living on an island in the Caribbean can do it.



## Eastern

Rod Barber was fired from his job after confronting Frank Lorenzo on a downtown Atlanta street July 19. A member of the Machinists' union, Barber is on strike against Eastern Airlines. Lorenzo is chairman of Texas Air Corp., which owns both Eastern and Continental airlines.

Barber — who worked in ramp service at Eastern for eight years before the strike started — was working for Canuck Industries, a trucking company contracted by Airborne Express.

He spotted Lorenzo walking in downtown Atlanta. He parked his truck, got out, and went up to Lorenzo, who had a crowd of Eastern security personnel around him.

After Barber gave Lorenzo a good idea of how he felt, an Eastern security agent pointed his finger in Barber's face and told him he had no right to talk to Lorenzo like that. He threatened him, saying he knew where Barber worked.

The Eastern regional security manager went to Barber's truck, got the license plate number, and called an Airborne supervisor, the *Clayton News Daily* reported. The Airborne supervisor then called Canuck.

When he finished his deliveries, Barber found a letter terminating his employment from Canuck. His supervisor said the decision to fire him came from the top, Barber said. Lorenzo was actually behind the firing, regardless of who made the call, the striker added.

After his union local meeting, Barber was cheered by several fellow strikers who said they wished they'd had a little of Lorenzo's time.

Miesa Patterson-Zarate  
Atlanta, Georgia

## 'Kufur Shamma'

We were disturbed to read in the July 28 *Militant* of the banning of the El-Hakawati Palestinian Theater Company's play *The Story of Kufur Shamma* from performance at the Public Theater in New York City.

When this highly reputed company performed its play here in London, we organized a theater trip for our members, and it proved a rewarding evening. What impressed us, besides fine, entertaining acting and imaginative production, was the depiction of a group of human beings — who happened to be Palestinians — struggling to confront and overcome their particular historic tragedy.

We found ourselves relating to the characters, empathizing with their laughter and tears, and dilemmas, and continuing their arguments among ourselves over a meal after the show. Not bad theater!

*The Story of Kufur Shamma* is not some mere propaganda piece (though the Palestinians are entitled to make propaganda for their cause), but a genuine, moving, human, and creative work of art.

Joseph Papp says he did not want "to make a statement at this particular moment" by presenting a Palestinian play. But by barring a play simply because of the subject and the actors' nationality, he has made a statement — one that ill accords with his liberal reputation. We hope others see and enjoy the play.

Charlie Pottins  
Jewish Socialists' Group  
London, England

## Exxon

Under the protection of U.S. Coast Guard boats and helicopters, the *Exxon Valdez* was escorted through San Diego Bay July 30 for repairs at Nassco shipyard.

Destruction of the environment caused by the oil tanker did not stop with the spill off the Alaskan coast.

It also was responsible for an 18-mile oil spill off the coast of California, which Exxon continues to deny.

A demonstration of 250 met the *Valdez* in San Diego, protesting offshore oil drilling and production and Exxon's disregard for the environment. Others at different points along the bay carried signs condemning the contamination of the Alaskan and California coast lines. "Change the course — steer toward sane energy" was one of the banners that Greenpeace and private boats displayed.

Sylvia Hansen  
Gary Willhite  
La Mesa, California

## 'Militant' editorials

The August 4 *Militant* editorial "Gorbachev and the miners' strike" was right on target in its assessment of the Soviet bureaucracy's attempt to deal with internal problems and in particular, on its policy of *perestroika*. Even though you did not say it, this stands in stark contrast to the rectification process going on in Cuba and the Cuban Communist Party's political approach to dealing with economic problems.

In a recent letter to the editor, Craig McKissic criticizes the July 7 *Militant* editorial "Significance of the gay rights fight" as the "expected obligatory piece to coincide with the annual gay pride marches." Does he expect that you wouldn't editorialize on the significance of the gay rights struggle at that time each year?

It is true that "thousands of young gays have been galvanized into political action" around the question of governmental and societal responses to AIDS, as McKissic states. However, few AIDS activists have moved beyond viewing the issue as anything more than an example of the inequality of the health-care system in our society and corresponding demands to reform that system.

A lack of working-class leadership in the gay community has resulted in few activists concluding that this is a class issue rather than primarily a medical one or a question of discriminatory attitudes in society as a whole.

Only a government of the working class and its allies could be expected to respond humanely and decisively to a crisis such as AIDS. McKissic has doubts regarding "Cuba's controversial AIDS policies." But Cuba has implemented humane, decisive, and largely successful policies to both contain the spread of the disease and treat those who have become ill.

Glen Munroe  
New Orleans, Louisiana

## Use recycled paper

I would like to express my concern about the *Militant* printing on paper from virgin pulp. The slightly whiter paper obtained as compared to paper from recycled pulp in no way justifies the consequent damage to our priceless environment.

If your newspaper were to use recycled paper, fewer trees would need to be cut, more newsprint would be diverted from our overfull landfills, and the *Militant* would demonstrate its commitment to preserving our world.

I hope you will take action on this.  
Denise Larson  
St. James, New York

## Editor's reply:

The *Militant* strongly favors protecting the environment, including forests. Recycling wastes is one method that should be promoted to conserve resources and cope with the growing problem of waste disposal.

However, we are not opposed to using trees for the production of lumber and paper. Even recycled



Wright

pulp originally comes from trees. With massive reforestation and the use of proper conservation measures, the forests can be preserved for recreational purposes as well as for other needs, including production of paper.

## 'Any Means Necessary'

Can you send the book *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X? It will be my vade mecum while residing in solitary confinement — a place where even Comrade Malcolm spent a large portion of his life.

I hope you can send it soon so I can really dig into its contents and get something constructive out of it. When you're excavating for knowledge, truth is the richest resource — even gold is not more precious. This is why Fidel Castro said he has always told the people the truth.

A prisoner  
Lawrenceville, Virginia

## Eastern strike

I've received the *Militant* beginning this spring at the annual conference in Ottawa, Canada of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

I am an airline employee and hungrily digest any and all news you offer of the Eastern strike. Their fight is a battle that cannot be lost.

I particularly appreciated the articles on actions by and for non-contract workers as I am a ticket agent and would be in that group were I a "former" Eastern employee. (I'm sure Frank Lorenzo would have had me fired by now!)

My employer, Canadian Airlines International, has recently signed alliances with Midway Airlines from Chicago. I'm interested in the developments in Midway's proposed purchase of some Eastern routes and aircraft.

What can I do to help? Would Midway Airlines be next on the boycott list, if this purchase is approved? Perhaps another of your readers has some thoughts on this twist?

I also commend your recent coverage on the issue of choice for women.

S.B.  
New Brunswick, Canada

## 'Socialism' column

I must thank the *Militant* for the "Learning About Socialism" column — particularly for the piece on Beijing, which, with its recap of background on the People's Republic of China, clarified for me the confused picture given by the capitalist press.

It was also gratifying to read in "Learning About Socialism" of the role of the French revolution and its contributions to modern socialism.

I would like to see more coverage on Palestine and Northern Ireland. The media gives the public little

fragments once in a while, as if to make us think we're really learning something. When the *Militant* speaks of Palestine and Ireland, it really speaks, so I wish you would do so more often.

It's frustrating to realize that despite Chairman Yasser Arafat's victory in getting the United Nations session moved to Geneva, hundreds of Palestinians have been murdered and imprisoned. For these people, nothing has changed, except, possibly, spiritually, because this moral victory did occur, reflecting the feelings of most of the world.

Patricia Maynard  
New Hope, Minnesota

## Cardiff Red Choir

The Côr Cochion Caerdydd (Cardiff Red Choir), which sings international labor and socialist songs, performed in a main shopping precinct July 8 in Cardiff, Wales, in support of the Pittston miners' strike. Many stopped to listen and read the boards they carried.

One choir member, Ray Davies, a steelworker and county councillor, said, "Those of us from the mining communities of Wales understand the struggle taking place in U.S. coalfields. We've also felt the oppression of anti-trade union legislation and the wrath of the courts."

"But last week in one coal-mining valley," Davies added, "when we sang and showed solidarity for U.S. miners, we collected £120 from a community devastated by pit closures. We also raised £80 in the Welsh capital [Cardiff] and showed the international dimension of the strike."

The money collected will be handed to a singing group from Kentucky to take back. The U.S. group will be playing in Cardiff and the Welsh valleys, doing a session called "Leaving Egypt." It is about emigration, and draws on industrial and social similarities between Kentucky and Wales.

Anne Howie  
Cardiff, Wales

## Brazil

Your coverage of news from Cuba and Nicaragua is excellent, and the column dedicated to the environment was a welcome addition.

Could you offer some coverage of Brazil — in particular the growing struggle of the Black majority there for equality? It is impossible to find anything about the Brazilian civil rights movement in any newspaper in this country.

Bonnie Lyle  
Chicago, Illinois

## Stephen Crespo

In the early morning hours of July 5 Stephen Crespo, a 15-year-old Puerto Rican, died in surgery at Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia, the victim of a brutal assault that fractured his skull.

Police found his assailant, Francis "Buzz" Scullin, standing over the dying youth in an alley in the Feltonville neighborhood of the city. Scullin, a white youth, had blood on his arms up to the elbows and there was a bloodstained shirt in his hand.

For a week no warrant for Scullin's arrest was issued. Instead, police at the scene drew their nightsticks on two of the witnesses, Crespo's brothers.

It took the medical examiner's office four days to rule the death a homicide. Police did not interview witnesses until 24 hours after the death, when family members drove to the Police Administration Building themselves.

One witness knew Scullin's name. Someone said Scullin had sipped beer over Crespo's body. Someone reported hearing, "This is what you get for stealing a car, you spic!"

Police say Scullin picked up a lug wrench and threw it 15 feet, hitting Crespo in the head. They say that Crespo fell and hit his head on the concrete, dying hours later.

The next day, the cover-up began. Detective Capt. Lawton Connelly of the homicide unit said Crespo might have been punched but that there was no other indication of violence.

Two days later the death was officially ruled a homicide but Lt. James Henwood announced that the police investigation had ruled out racism as a factor.

On July 9 an unidentified police source told the *Philadelphia Daily News* that the white men "could have been heroes. It just went a little too far. Now somebody's got to pay for it."

Claire Moriarty  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Malcolm X Book

I received *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, published by Pathfinder. Let me congratulate those responsible for this assistance and say that you people are on time with and supporters of Malcolm X.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

**The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.**

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.



## UN committee reaffirms support for Puerto Rican independence

BY SELVA NEBBIA

UNITED NATIONS, New York — On August 17, after two full days of hearings, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization approved a resolution in favor of self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico.

The resolution was presented to the committee by Oscar Oramas-Oliva, the Cuban representative to the UN.

"Whether the multinational corporations who want to break her identity will it or not, Puerto Rico is a Latin American nation," said Oramas-Oliva, motivating the resolution.

While, since the end of World War II, more than 80 colonies have been decolonized, explained the Cuban representative, no matter how much imperialism attempts to hide it, colonialism still remains a scourge for humanity. He singled out the case of Namibia, occupied illegally for decades by South Africa.

The UN Decolonization Committee first approved a similar resolution in 1972 and has approved such resolutions continuously since 1978.

This year's Decolonization Committee, also known as the Committee of 24 after the number of member countries, invited the UN representatives of Nicaragua, Panama, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the African National Congress of South Africa to be part of the committee hearings, at their request. They all spoke in favor of the resolution.

Nine countries voted in favor of the resolution, two voted against and 11 abstained. The representatives from Chile and Norway cast the votes against.

More than 60 organizations had representatives either testify before the committee or submit written contributions.

There is a growing debate on Puerto Rico's political status, stimulated by the proposed plebiscite being discussed in the U.S. Congress. As a result, the hearings this year attracted the participation of more groups representing the position in favor of Puerto Rico becoming the 51st state of the United States.

Representatives of three main parties in the Venezuelan parliament, the Social Christian Party, Movement for Socialism, and the governing party, Democratic Action, voiced their support for Puerto Rico's independence.

Despite this, the Venezuelan representative to the Committee of 24 abstained from the vote for the third consecutive year.

Many prominent leaders of the Puerto Rican proindependence movement spoke at the hearings. Most of them shortened their remarks during the second day of hearings to facilitate the proceedings and submitted in written form the full text of their prepared contributions for the committee's consideration.

"This year the session of this committee on the colonial case of Puerto Rico," explained the general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) Carlos Gallisá, "takes on a greater meaning than in recent years."

### Plebiscite on political status

Gallisá placed the proceedings in the context of the discussion taking place on the proposed plebiscite on the island's political status. The U.S. Congress is currently working up the details for the plebiscite, which is scheduled for 1991.

"The United States plans to carry out a plebiscitary consultation through legislation in which the U.S. Congress unilaterally defines the various political formulas that Puerto Ricans will choose from," explained the PSP leader.

"It is clear that the U.S. legislation is once again attempting to confuse the international

community, presenting this plebiscitary farce as an exercise in the free self-determination of the people of Puerto Rico, just as they have done in the plebiscites in 1952 and 1967," Gallisá pointed out.

"The U.S. government cannot be allowed one more swindle," continued Gallisá, "in its stubborn attempt to maintain the colonial regime over Puerto Rico, which today represents the most important colony in the world. Its more than 3 million inhabitants constitute approximately 80 percent of the human beings who still live under colonial rule."

### Files on 100,000 activists

Juan Mari Bras, president of the organization Common Cause for Independence, denounced the presence of U.S. police agencies in Puerto Rico. He pointed to the complicity of the Puerto Rican police with the FBI, CIA, and other such agencies in keeping active files for decades "on more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans simply because they support the independence of our country."

"The right of privacy of these Puerto Ricans has been trampled on in many ways," Mari Bras explained. "They have been systematically persecuted, and they have been subject to various types of harassment in violation of their exercise of free expression and association."

"During the past year, the persecution by the U.S. government of patriots has increased," added Mari Bras. "Right now the patriot Filiberto Ojeda Ríos is being tried in a U.S. court in San Juan under conditions similar or worse than those imposed by the apartheid regime in South Africa against those who fight for the human and civil rights of the great majority of those in that country."

Rafael Cancel Miranda, a Puerto Rican patriot who spent 25 years in a U.S. prison, read a statement on behalf of a "group of clandestine organizations engaged in armed struggle" in Puerto Rico.

As a prerequisite for a decolonization process in Puerto Rico a common set of demands was put forward by those who spoke in favor of the UN resolution, both by those at the public hearing as well as by the UN representatives. These included:

- That any process such as the proposed plebiscite be supervised by the UN and carried out according to international law.
- That prior to such a process, all sovereign powers be granted to Puerto Rico.
- The removal of all U.S. government police agencies, such as the FBI and CIA.
- Amnesty and freedom for all Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war held in U.S. prisons.
- The dismantling of U.S. military bases on the island.

"U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico reinforces racism in the United States," said James Harris, representing the Socialist Workers Party of the United States at the UN hearings. "The oppression and discrimination directed at Puerto Ricans strengthens the hand of all those who oppose equality and social justice for Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asians in the United States."

"Because of their language and skin color," Harris pointed out, Puerto Ricans "face the same second-class treatment as other immigrants to the United States from throughout the Third World. Constant pressure on the language and cultural integrity of Puerto Ricans encourages all those in the United States who seek to deny equal rights to immigrants whose first language is Spanish."

Harris, who is the SWP's candidate for mayor of New York, described the disastrous effects of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico and pointed to Cuba as an example of what can be achieved when a people conquer their national sovereignty and carry out a social revolution.

Several others representing organizations



Militant/Robin Mace

Several days before opening of UN hearings on decolonization of Puerto Rico, supporters of independence for the U.S. colony marched through Manhattan to the UN.

in the United States spoke, including the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, National Lawyers Guild, and Center for Constitutional Rights. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers also made a presentation, as well as the Brehon Law Society of New York, an organization of Irish-American attorneys.

"We have repeatedly voiced our concern with the situation in Puerto Rico, where the government and military forces of the United States have, for almost a century, denied the people of Puerto Rico their natural and lawful rights to self-determination and indepen-

dence, and the peaceful enjoyment of their homeland, free from foreign intervention," said Cody McCone, president of the Brehon Law Society.

"We Irish know well the disastrous consequences that result from enemy occupation — we have struggled for 800 years against the British empire," added McCone.

The approval by the UN Committee on Decolonization of the resolution reaffirming Puerto Rico's right to self-determination was seen by those who support independence as a victory against Washington's attempts to cover up Puerto Rico's colonial status.

## Protest marks 20th year of British troops in N. Ireland

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

BELFAST, Ireland — The 20th anniversary of the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland was marked August 13 here by a spirited march down the Falls Road, followed by a rally at Sinn Féin headquarters in Andersontown, a nationalist neighborhood in West Belfast. The march also marked 18 years of the British government's internment-without-trial policy in the north of Ireland.

A total of 2,753 people have died in the conflict since the British troops came.

Some 8,000 participated in the demonstration. Contingents from local organizations of the Irish republican party Sinn Féin marched with banners. The British Troops Out Movement sent a contingent from England, and a group of Basque nationalists came from Spain. The Irish American Unity Conference and Irish Northern Aid (Noraid) from the United States participated, as well as several left political parties.

As the Noraid delegation marched, rows of people lining the Falls Road, a nationalist neighborhood, burst into applause.

Republican bands from all six counties of Northern Ireland and from Scotland were interspersed throughout the march, playing rebel songs.

Units of the Royal Ulster Constabulary displayed their presence on the streets and rooftops along the march route. RUC armored Landrovers rolled down the street just ahead of the demonstration. British Army troops roamed the side streets feeding into the Falls Road.

Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president and member of the British Parliament from West Belfast, commended the nationalist supporters of West Belfast, who marked the anniversary with a week-long festival of political and cultural workshops and concerts.

"On this anniversary, we show our humanity. But the terrorist wing," added Adams, "marked the 20th anniversary by killing an Irish child." Adams called for a full investigation into the death of Seamus Duffy, a Belfast youth killed August 9 by an RUC plastic bullet.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey reflected on 20 years of struggle opened by the civil rights movement that she led as a student.

"Twenty years ago, the poor had no votes," she said, "not here, not in the Shankhill [a Protestant, working-class area]. Now we can vote, but all we can determine is garbage collection dates."

"We demanded jobs. Twenty years ago we were twice as likely to be unemployed as Protestants. Today we are two and a half times as likely," Devlin McAliskey continued.

"We demanded that they take away the Special Powers Act. They replaced it with the Public Order and Emergency Provisions acts. Virtually all democratic rights are removed."

"But we have changed," she said. "We have learned hard lessons."

Joe Roach of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Mary Pearson of the British Troops Out Movement, and Gerry Coleman from an Irish People-sponsored tour of Ireland also spoke.