

Hearing sets new stage in Marroquín fight

BY SELVA NEBBIA
AND ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO, Canada — On July 6, Héctor Marroquín took a step forward in his 11-year fight to obtain a permanent residence visa — or “green card” — in the United States. And on the same day he encountered a further obstacle to winning a final victory.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born member of the Socialist Workers Party who since 1977 has been fighting U.S. government efforts to deport him because of his political beliefs and associations. Under U.S. immigration law, he had to submit an application for a visa at the U.S. consulate in Toronto, Canada.

Marroquín did not go to the scheduled appointment with the State Department alone. As a result of an international support campaign on his behalf, a broad delegation accompanied him to the consulate and later attended a rally to hear the results of the interview.

Marroquín applied for a green card in 1983, based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín. His son, Andrés, is also a U.S. citizen. In 1987 he filed a second application for legal residence status under the newly adopted amnesty program. Both his wife and son accompanied Marroquín to Toronto.

After his interview at the U.S. consulate here, the State Department officials ruled that there was a remaining obstacle before they would grant him a green card — he must procure a humanitarian waiver from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

They argued that Marroquín had entered the United States in 1977 falsely claiming that he was a U.S. citizen. Under a recently passed law, this “crime” renders an applicant inadmissible for permanent residence status in the United States unless granted a waiver from the INS.

Marroquín and his lawyer, Claudia Slovinsky, immediately filed the application for the waiver with the U.S. Consul General Lyle Van Ravenswaay. Van Ravenswaay agreed to expedite the application for the waiver and told Marroquín it would take from one to six months to obtain a ruling.

The interview process took several hours. It began with a pre-interview, during which a consular officer reviewed Marroquín's application and attempted, without success, to exclude Slovinsky. Marroquín was informed by the officer that he

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U.S. gov't cover-up on Iran airliner unravels

BY FRED FELDMAN

The cover story issued by the Pentagon and the Reagan administration to justify the July 3 shooting down of Iran Air Flight 655 is coming apart. What were initially presented as facts are now being contradicted as more of the truth comes out.

The Airbus plane was destroyed over Iranian waters by missiles fired from the USS *Vincennes*, one of the 27 warships that the U.S. government has stationed in the region.

The 290 people killed included 66 children. The victims included people from India, Pakistan, and other countries in addition to Iran.

The Iran Air flight was a regularly scheduled civilian shuttle from the Iranian coastal city of Bandar Abbas to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates, across the Persian Gulf.

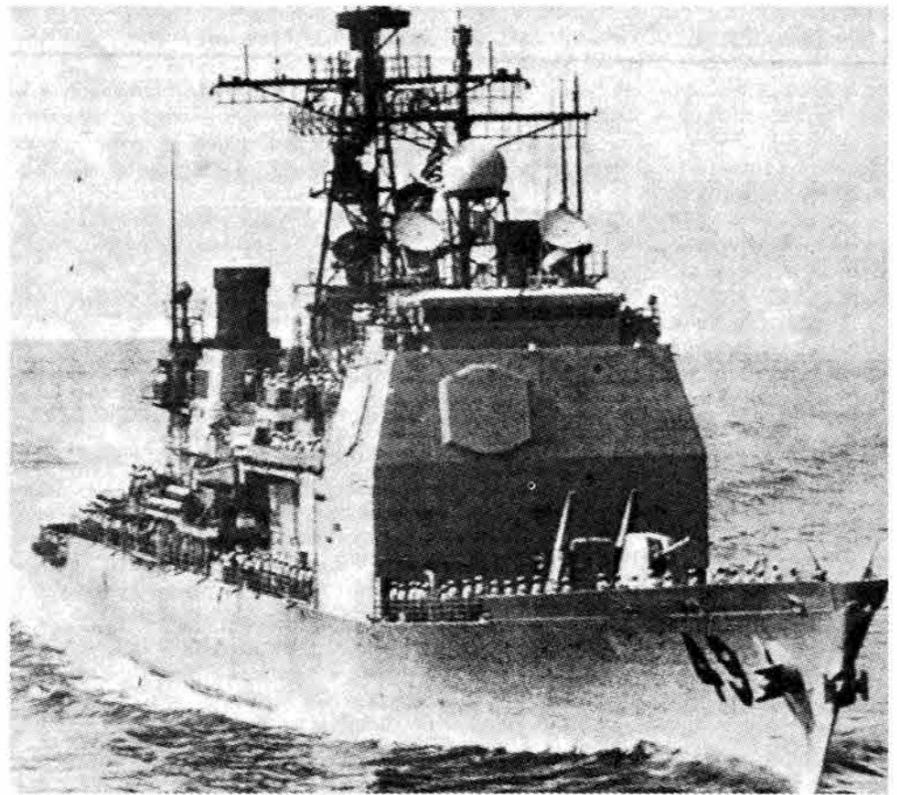
Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati denounced “the barbaric massacre of innocent passengers.”

While expressing “regret” for the loss of life and terming it a “tragedy,” President Ronald Reagan described the firing of a missile at the civilian airliner as “a proper defensive action.” He later expressed “deep regret” in a letter sent to the Iranian government.

Will Rogers III, commander of the *Vincennes*, claimed that the Airbus, which he said had been identified as an Iranian F-14 jet, appeared to represent a “definite threat” to the *Vincennes*.

In backing up Rogers, Adm. William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, summarized the official U.S. version of the events at a July 3 news conference:

“The suspect aircraft was outside the prescribed commercial air corridor,” Crowe said. “More importantly, the aircraft headed



Missile that downed Iran airliner, killing 290, came from USS *Vincennes*.

directly for *Vincennes* on a constant bearing at high speed, approximately 450 knots [520 miles per hour]. . . .

“There were electronic indications on *Vincennes* that led it to believe that the aircraft was an [Iranian military] F-14.” (Two days later, Pentagon spokesman Dan Howard backed up Crowe on this point, claiming that the airliner's transponder — which sends identifying signals for radar recep-

tion — had identified the plane as military.)

“Given the threatening flight profile and the decreasing range, the aircraft was declared ‘hostile,’” Crowe said.

The admiral stated that the plane was descending from an altitude of 7,800 feet as it approached the *Vincennes*.

He said the Iran Air crew had repeatedly

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Iowa rally boosts defense effort for cop frame-up victim Mark Curtis

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Two hundred fifty people packed a room in the Des Moines Convention Center July 3 for an international rally in support of political activist Mark Curtis.

In addition to residents from this area, participants came from as far away as Montreal and Toronto, Canada, and Miami, Houston, Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Seattle. Many were members of trade unions, including several workers

from factories in the Des Moines area.

Among those in the crowd who said that they had recently learned about the Curtis case were two limestone miners from Weeping Water, Nebraska; 10 students and political activists from Iowa City; and two students from Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington.

Curtis, 29, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He was arrested and beaten by the Des Moines cops on March 4, 1988, a few hours after he had left a meeting to protest the arrest of a Salvadoran and 16 Mexican immigrant coworkers of his at the Swift/Monfort packinghouse here. The cops claim they interrupted him trying to rape a 15-year-old Black woman after being tipped off by her 11-year-old brother.

He is charged with first-degree burglary and third-degree sexual assault. If convicted, Curtis faces a mandatory 25-year jail sentence. Curtis' trial on the rape and burglary charges had been scheduled to begin on July 6.

On June 30, Polk County District Judge Anthony Critelli ruled in favor of a motion by Curtis' attorney Mark Pennington to postpone the trial so the defense could continue its investigation. The trial is now set for September 7.

In the days leading up to the postponement, Curtis' supporters conducted an emergency international campaign to demand that the charges be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted. Hundreds of protests poured into this city from

throughout the United States and from other countries.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee representatives here say that this clearly contributed to Critelli's postponement.

The Curtis' defense committee took out an ad in the *Des Moines Register* publicizing the rally. It appeared in the paper July 3 two pages after an article quoting Keith Morris, the father of Demetria Morris, the young woman Curtis is accused of trying to rape.

Morris denounced the political campaign

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Nicaragua gov't extends cease-fire

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has unilaterally extended its cease-fire with the contras until July 31. The temporary truce had been scheduled to expire June 30. The Sandinistas have also called on contra leaders to meet in Managua July 26 to continue negotiations for a permanent cease-fire.

President Daniel Ortega made the announcement while addressing a national assembly of 1,200 officers of the Sandinista People's Army held here June 30.

Ortega spoke a few hours after returning from a four-day official visit to Cuba. He announced that the Cuban government had decided to give Nicaragua a \$150 million economic aid package. Some of this continues the aid given in earlier years, including a pledge to donate 90,000 tons of pe-

troleum each year through 1990. Other aid is new, and includes a promise of Cuban financing for a major logging and lumber complex on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, Ortega said.

In his speech to the army officers, Ortega contrasted Cuba's aid to U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

Referring to Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Central America, Ortega said, “What proposal could Shultz bring to Central America? The U.S. government is seeking ways to find resources in the Congress to continue waging war against Nicaragua. It is even seeking agreement from the Central American governments for an invasion of Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers are not interested in negotiating with Nicaragua.”

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Socialists open N.Y. ballot drive July 12

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party's 1988 campaign will begin a three-week petitioning effort on July 12 to place the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells and senatorial candidate James Harris on the New York State ballot. A minimum of 20,000 signatures are required. Campaign supporters have set a goal of collecting 40,000 signatures.

Volunteers are needed. To find out how you can help call (212) 941-1174 or come by the campaign headquarters in Manhattan at 79 Leonard Street, New York, N.Y. 10013.

New stage in Marroquín residency fight

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had not answered one of the questions in his application form.

The interviewer directed him to question 40-C.

Question 40-C states: "Except as otherwise provided by law, aliens within any of the following classes are ineligible to receive an immigrant visa: Aliens who are, or at any time have been, anarchists, or members of or affiliated with any Communist or other totalitarian party . . . or who have advocated or taught, either by personal utterance, or by means of any written or printed matter . . . , (1) opposition to organized government, (2) the overthrow of government by force and violence . . . doctrines of world communism, or the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States. . . ."

This section comes from the McCarran-Walter Act, a bill adopted in the 1950s during the anticommunist witch-hunt.

Marroquín told the officer that he had given the question a lot of thought and had truthfully answered no.

The officer told Marroquín the consul general would have to review this question and sent him back to the waiting room for an hour and a half.

At 4:30 p.m. Marroquín, accompanied by his lawyer, began his interview with the consul general and a second U.S. consul. They also argued that because he is an admitted member of the SWP he should change his answer to question 40-C to a "yes." They pointed to a government report in his file that stated that Marroquín was a self-proclaimed Marxist.

Marroquín explained he had given the right answer to the question — that his party is a legal party and is not proscribed. Slovisky added that this question was improper because of the congressional suspension of political provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act.

Finally, the consulate officials backed off and informed Marroquín there was no political barrier to granting him a green card.

Slovisky told supporters gathered outside the consulate, "I think what happened was a subtle but very important thing. What the consul was looking for was an admission by a member of the Socialist Workers Party that membership in that party is membership in a proscribed organization. This could make it easier in the future to deny an immigrant visa to other members of the SWP or similar organizations."

"We walked out of that interview today," Slovisky added, "with a concession that this question was not an obstacle. So I think in that way it is an enormous victory."

After conceding defeat on these political grounds, Van Ravenswaay turned to technical grounds to postpone action on Marroquín's application. After a number of phone consultations with Cornelius Scully, a prominent figure in the State Department

in Washington, Van Ravenswaay ruled that Marroquín's 1977 conviction for entering the United States from Mexico without documents — when he was fleeing death threats for his political activities — now requires Marroquín to obtain a waiver from the INS.

The INS must decide whether humanitarian considerations should, after 11 years, outweigh the court conviction.

Later that evening Marroquín addressed his supporters at a rally in downtown Toronto.

"The U.S. government was looking for a political reason to exclude me. That is why question 40-C was at the heart of this," he told the gathering.

"What they were trying to do was to get me to condemn the Socialist Workers Party as proscribed," Marroquín said. "And they did not succeed. The U.S. State Department did not refuse me permanent residence. They have postponed it, and they did so on weak technical grounds."

"There is no question as to who has humanitarian considerations on their side — me or the U.S. government," he concluded.

Many of the speakers at the rally were also present earlier that day at a press conference before the consulate interview. A

number of them also spent more than four hours waiting with other supporters outside the U.S. consulate.

Among these were Abby Pollonesky of the Ontario New Democratic Party; Stewart Istanffy of the League for Human Rights of Quebec; Geraldine Sadoway of the Law Union of Canada and a well-known immigration lawyer; Mark Curtis, a member of the SWP who is currently fighting a police frame-up in Des Moines, Iowa; Megalí Crespín from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and a representative of the Turkish-Canadian Democratic Society.

John Studer, director of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee based in New York, and Gary Kettner, a Marroquín supporter who helped organize the delegation in Toronto, chaired the rally.

Other prominent supporters of Marroquín's fight participated in the delegation, including Sean O'Flynn of the Ontario Federation of Labor, and Tom Bribriesco, representing the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State, made a special trip to Toronto to join the delegation.

Marroquín's visa "was not granted, but neither was it denied," Villanueva's message to the rally stated. "We believe that he is a step closer in reaching his goal to obtain legal residency," the farm workers' leader said. "So we should look at this minor setback not as one more step, but rather as one step less," in Hector's battle for residency.

Studer concluded the rally by noting that at every turning point in the case it has been public awareness of the case and pressure on the government that has been decisive.

"We can force the INS to grant Marroquín a waiver and win his green card if we work over the coming months to let them know millions of people want to see a victory. The members of today's delegation represented organizations with more than 1 million members. We need to organize everyone we can to send telegrams and letters demanding justice for Marroquín to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson," he said.

Such messages can be sent to Alan Nelson at the INS, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Marroquín returned to the United States on the morning of July 7 to begin the next, and what he hopes will be the final, stage of his long fight.

U.S.-Nicaragua Sister City project meets

BY THERESA DELGADILLO

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Two hundred delegates attended the Third Nicaragua-U.S. Sister City Conference held here June 19-21. The delegates included mayors from Nicaraguan cities and sister city activists from the United States.

The sister city program links U.S. cities with Nicaraguan cities to promote material assistance for Nicaragua, as well as educational and cultural exchanges.

In the opening address to the conference Mónica Baltodano, deputy minister of the presidency, pointed out that since last year's conference, held in Seattle, the number of cities in the United States linked with Nicaraguan counterparts has grown from 60 to 90. Twenty-five more are in the process of getting set up.

Baltodano said that one of the most important aspects of the sister city program has been the exchanges between Nicaraguans and people in the United States. In the past year, 60 U.S. sister city delegations have visited Nicaragua. Several dozen Nicaraguans visited the United States through sister city programs, despite difficulties in getting a U.S. visa.

"We believe that the sister city movement must oppose the official policies of the developed countries, which are increasingly indifferent to the problems of the Third World, and continue to reduce investment and support to our countries," Baltodano said. "Today, the movement

must direct its main efforts to the most urgent and necessary task, which is the struggle for peace. But it is also important to reorient its work to the vital struggle for equitable and just economic relations."

Michael Shuman, from the Center for Innovative Diplomacy in San Francisco, addressed the conference on behalf of the U.S. delegation. He said that as the contra war comes to an end, sister cities need to work on long-term development assistance

for Nicaragua. Shuman reported that some U.S. and European cities currently provide funds to their Nicaraguan sister cities from municipal budgets

There was a question and answer period between conference delegates and the Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, as well as meetings with Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry Alejandro Bendaña and Planning and Budget Minister Alejandro Martínez Cuenca.

Nicaragua gov't extends cease-fire

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gua. They want to eliminate Nicaragua."

However, Nicaragua "will not be the one to declare war," Ortega said, as he announced the decision to extend the cease-fire. "We do not want to give up on the possibility of a negotiated solution."

He urged the army to be on the alert "since many dramatic things could occur in the next days or weeks. Something has to come out of Shultz's visit. We're optimistic that it will be a serious proposal for negotiations. But, since we are realists, [we know] it could be a military escalation."

Ortega also addressed the violation of the truce by some contra forces. While the overall level of fighting has decreased dramatically since the Sapoá accords were signed last March, some contra bands have attacked farms and small settlements and

ambushed travelers. The Nicaraguan government reports 1,000 civilians kidnapped by the contras since the truce began.

"This outrages us," Ortega said. "Under the circumstances, it would be fitting to make them pay for their crimes. But we are not going to. We say that the Sapoá agreements are not dead."

Ortega told the officers it was important "to be very clear on the immediate tasks: how to continue maintaining good relations with contras who accept the cease-fire, and how to get tough with those who don't."

"We must be ready to confront the mercenaries when they violate the truce," he continued. "No unit of the Sandinista army can stand by while the contras are attacking a cooperative, killing women and children. But there is no reason for conflicts with contras who respect the truce and who we can be talking to and persuading."

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Cotton growers, union debate Nicaragua's new economic measures

BY LARRY SEIGLE

LEÓN, Nicaragua — "We're not going to let the cotton growers keep the land idle," insisted Salvador Ramírez, a leader of the Rural Workers Association (ATC).

Ramírez spoke quietly but firmly as he addressed about 25 local union leaders and management representatives at a recent meeting held on a cotton plantation known as San José de Estelí, just outside of León. Ramírez is the regional director of the ATC in this part of the country, the heart of Nicaragua's cotton-producing land. The meeting, one of a series to be held in the region, drew representatives from the major privately owned cotton farms in the area.

The stated purpose of the session was to have a discussion between the cotton growers, union leaders, and officials from the Ministry of Labor in order to work out how to implement the recently announced economic measures of the Sandinista government.

Little or nothing was settled at the meeting. Nonetheless, participants felt it served a function.

The encounter allowed union leaders from different farms in the zone to size up how the capitalist cotton growers are going to respond to the new economic measures. It also gave the growers' representatives a chance to gauge the degree of unity and militancy of the union.

Both sides paid close attention, much like prizefighters taking the measure of an opponent before a bout.

The heart of the struggle now under way between the farm workers' union and the big private cotton growers is the extent to which the union should have a say over decisions on what and how much to plant, what the conditions of work will be, and what is to be done with the profits from the sale of the crop the workers produce.

New economic measures

The economic measures announced by the government in June included abandoning the previous policy of an official government-set wage and productivity scale. Previously, wages and production norms were not directly negotiated between the ATC and the capitalist growers, because they were supposed to be uniformly established by the Department of Labor. Now, however, wages, including incentive pay for surpassing production norms, are to be negotiated on each farm.

The new measures also introduced for the first time "indexing" of interest rates on bank loans. Interest will now be increased to keep pace with inflation.

Given Nicaragua's very high rate of inflation (1,300 percent in 1987), bank loans in the past amounted to a form of subsidy, because they could be repaid in sharply devalued currency. This form of subsidy has now been ended.

A second hidden form of subsidy, of great importance to capitalist farmers, was the maintenance of a favorable, but artificial, exchange rate for the import of farm machinery, spare parts, fertilizers, and other necessary supplies. The subsidized exchange rate has now been eliminated, making such imports much more expensive.

In response, the cotton growers are trying to force new concessions from the government on pricing and subsidies. Their main leverage is the threat to reduce production if they don't get what they are demanding.

Some cotton growers are switching to other crops. The union has no objection to this, provided the work force isn't slashed when crops are switched.

But the union will fight to prevent growers from taking land out of production altogether, both because it means eliminating union jobs and because it amounts to sabotage of the country's economic resources.

At the meeting on the San José de Estelí farm, one foreman reported that his boss, José Velásquez, has decided on a big reduction in planting this season. Although he had 700 acres in cotton last year, only 215 acres will be planted this year.

Velásquez claims, the foreman explained,

that he can't afford to plant as much cotton as last year because of the reductions in subsidies. Instead he will plant rice and corn on 50 acres and leave the remainder idle. This information was received in silence.

The ATC is taking the position that the end of various forms of government subsidies to big growers is a positive step.

Ramírez responded to complaints by management spokesmen at the meeting by saying, "Those who will survive now are those who are really efficient, really productive. The time when those tractors were practically given to you is over. The time when the government guaranteed your price is over. The time when you could go to the bank for more and more loans, never investing your own money in production, is over."

One of the union's major goals is to have land on big farms set aside for growing food to feed the farm workers and their families. Given the high price or unavailability of many basic foods in the markets, the workers place a high priority on receiving a living wage in the form of allotments of beans, rice, corn, and vegetables, as well as company-financed meals.

The bosses are resisting this demand. They want to be free to use their land as they see fit.

"We keep asking the foreman about this problem, and all he says is 'tomorrow,'" reported one union leader. "Well, that's not an answer, is it?"

One of the owners' men took the floor to respond. "I've never tried to avoid giving them land to plant. They have two acres behind the farm for a collective plot. There isn't enough land for more."

Then, going over to the offensive, he added, "If you want to ask for something, you have to give something. I want to see the drops of sweat from that man when he's working. We find guys sleeping on the job at 10:00 a.m. You know, there are limitations on resources in the country, which we shouldn't forget."

If the counterrattack was intended to provoke the workers, it succeeded. Several started answering at once, but one older worker was the most insistent: "I don't want to keep hearing all the time about the limitations! That's not my problem. That's the bosses' problem. I am a worker. I work and I expect to be paid and to be fed."

Throughout the meeting, the discussion kept circling around one issue: if wages



and benefits are now to be negotiated on the basis of "profitability," how is the union going to know if there is a profit?

The issue was finally posed directly, not by a union representative but by one of the foremen, who seemed to be searching for some way to ease the conflicts. If wages are going to depend on how well the company is doing, he said, then the workers are going to have to be able to see the real costs incurred. "Otherwise, maybe everyone will work harder and increase production, but the owner will say, 'I don't have enough to pay you more this year. Maybe next year.'"

"Financial accountability is the question. How are we going to maintain a control over it? This isn't an easy question to figure out."

Keeping track of production

Several of the union members responded incredulously. "Access to their books? What owner is going to accept that?" asked one. But others expressed a little more confidence.

"Well, of course they're not going to show us their accounts," said one. "But we can nonetheless keep track of production. We know what is being produced, and we can figure out the costs."

Another union representative offered the suggestion that the government-owned bank would give the unions access to financial information about those companies it loaned money to. "The bank has to know his costs and income. We can go to the bank."

An administrator on one of the area's largest cotton plantations then took the floor in response. The owners are willing to go along with wage increases based on increased production, he said, "even

though wage increases only add to inflation.

"But this thing about access to the books is another question altogether." He turned to Ramírez and asked, "What are you saying? Who is going to have economic control over the company, after all?"

Ramírez offered the union's response. "Every worker in cotton knows about the crop, from the least skilled to the most skilled. Everyone knows how to plant. Everyone knows the reasons why a crop goes bad.

"But under Somoza nobody cared if we knew how to read, if we knew how to write, if we could add and subtract." (Somoza was the U.S.-backed dictator overthrown by the 1979 Sandinista people's revolution.)

"Now we're learning all these things," Ramírez continued. "We're teaching ourselves. And it's a good thing for us to have a command of how the company is doing, how production is going, and what the costs are."

The ATC, Ramírez said, will work together with the owners to increase production because the country needs more farm products. At the same time, the union is going to continue fighting for wage increases, for land on which to plant crops for the workers and their families, and for an increase in the supplies available through company-subsidized stores.

As for the news that Señor Velásquez was taking some of his land out of production this year, Ramírez vowed, "We're not going to let that happen. We're not going to let that land lie idle."

"We're not going to confiscate that land, but we are going to plant it. The boss can own the land, but we farm workers are going to work it."

Nicaragua's 1986 agrarian reform

Due to a technical error, six paragraphs were dropped from the article "The fight for land in cattle-raising region of Nicaragua" in the July 8 *Militant*.

The omitted section belongs following the first paragraph of the third column on page 9. The omitted part of the article, provided below, discusses the agrarian reform law enacted in 1986, which was stronger than the law that had been in effect since 1981. The expropriation of the ranch that had belonged to Don Demetrio Duarte, the subject of last week's article, was carried out under the provisions of the 1986 law, not its 1981 forerunner.

Any reader who would like to obtain a copy of the corrected article, free of charge, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the *Militant*, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

* * *

In Region V the limit was 1,000 manzanas. "As we were 'reforming' under the law, the big landowners were 'reforming' their properties," Pereira adds with a laugh. "Since the law said '1,000,' they all had less than 1,000."

The revolution's second agrarian reform law, enacted in January 1986, removed all size restrictions on land expropriations. It gave MIDINRA power to take over any farm that was abandoned, underutilized, rented out, or whose owner exploited peasants through forms of

sharecropping and tenancy such as *colonato*. The new law affirmed the policy of guaranteeing continued private ownership of land that was being worked "efficiently." But it added a new provision: even efficiently worked lands, of any size, could be nationalized "for reasons of public necessity or the interests of society."

The 1986 law allowed the government to take land that under the earlier law had been untouchable, often as a result of maneuvers with property titles. Another new procedure, put into effect around the same time, requires all land sales to be approved by MIDINRA. This helps the government keep track of who really owns which properties. "The only trouble is we took that step very late, after they had five years to carry out all these maneuvers with the land titles," Pereira adds.

In discussing the overall results thus far of the land reform in Region V, Pereira explains that in the first years of the revolution, many land titles were distributed in this area. In the main, however, these benefited peasants who already had possession of land, though without legal title. These were usually squatters on state lands who had cleared forest land on their own. But overall, distribution of land to poor peasants in Region V has lagged behind what has been done in many other parts of Nicaragua.

More latifundios survive here than in any other region. And the proportion of landless peasants is higher than in the country as a whole.

Why is this the case? Pereira begins to answer this question by citing the extensive nature of cattle ranching and the fact that the region is a large and relatively thinly populated area. But then he pauses for a moment, and adds: "To be really frank with you, the development of the agrarian reform in Nicaragua has been quite uneven. In this region the policy was that there was enough land, that there wasn't pressure for land, and that cattle-raising wasn't suitable for cooperatives."

Pereira moved into his current assignment shortly after the second agrarian reform law was enacted. From 1979 to 1986 he had worked with MIDINRA in Region I, in the north of the country. "So I can't tell you too much about the history here, because other compañeros were responsible. But the policy then was not to carry out a violent agrarian reform, as was done in the First Region, or the Fourth and Sixth regions, where there was a peasant movement that descended on the latifundios. In addition, the war had intervened here. The policy was more than anything to seek stability in order to avoid breaking relations with the middle-sized producers."

Montreal artists group helps paint Pathfinder mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — A dozen volunteers were scattered along the scaffolding next to the south wall of the Pathfinder Building on July 1. They were painting parts of the six-story mural being created there.

The mural project, designed and directed by Mike Alewitz, depicts the role of Pathfinder, the publishing house that has offices in the building, in making available the ideas and experiences of revolutionary leaders, past and present.

The south wall is becoming a blaze of color, as the painting of the centerpiece of the mural — the image of a press being run by two press operators — advances. Near the bottom of the wall, the figure of union organizer, musician, and songwriter Joe Hill is taking shape.

A majority of the team painting the mural that day came from Canada. Six were young women who are members of Artifacts (Artists For Action), a multimedia collective of Québécois and English-Canadian artists based in Montreal, Quebec.

One of the group, Lynne Pelletier, was completing a portrait of Thomas Sankara on the west end of the mural. Sankara was the leader of the revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso and the country's president until the military coup that led to his murder and that of other leaders last October.

At the other end, other Artifacts volunteers were painting a group of North American Indians in traditional dress. They form part of the scenes depicting fighters against oppression from around the world, which

surround the printing press in the mural.

Among the three Indian figures was Leonard Peltier. Peltier, an activist in the American Indian Movement, is serving two life sentences on charges of having murdered two FBI agents during a 1975 federal police attack on protesters at the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota.

After discussing the matter among themselves, the volunteers proposed to paint the Indian group, Pelletier said, "because we have done some work with Indian communities and because of the importance of the oppression of native people in Canada."

The Artifacts group spent a week here painting this and other parts of the mural.

Artifacts volunteers Pelletier, Maral Sarafian, Kim Nadine Sutherland, and Louise Dubreuil explained the origins of Artifacts. It grew out of an initiative in 1984 by art students at Concordia University in Montreal who wanted to go to Nicaragua to engage in mural painting, filmmaking, and other artistic activities.

Dubreuil remembered being attracted by posters at the university calling for volunteers to paint in Nicaragua.

At the end of a year of arduous fund-raising and other preparations, 10 women set off for Nicaragua. After participating in a work brigade, they divided their forces to do art work in different parts of Nicaragua.

Pelletier went to Diriamba, where she and others painted a mural on the rights of women and the role women have played in the Nicaraguan revolution. She said Artifacts members who had returned to the village recently found that some individu-



Militant/Bob Cantrick

Artifacts, a multimedia artists' collective from Canada, worked on mural.

als they had known and worked with had been killed in the contra war.

Sarafian went to Matagalpa, in the heart of the coffee-growing district, where she and others painted a mural on the coffee harvest. It stressed the role of working people in making social change, and the shift in relations between city and countryside since the revolution. This, she said, is symbolized by the participation in the harvests of large numbers of workers and others from the cities.

A third group went to Loma Alta, a few miles from the Honduran border, where a resettlement camp was being built for peasants driven out of their villages by the contra war. Although the settlement came under attack by the contras while they were there, the volunteers and their Nicaraguan coworkers completed a mural.

The Artifacts group is preparing a film on their experience in Nicaragua.

Returning to Montreal, the group began organizing a range of artistic activities. A mural painted on an inside wall in a milk

factory focuses on the lives of the workers there. "We got to meet them, ask them what they wanted to see on the wall," Pelletier said.

Another mural painted on the wall facing the parking lot of the Alternative Bookstore in Montreal focuses on gentrification there — the forcing out of working-class families in favor of development oriented toward attracting businesses and upper-class tenants.

Pelletier said the group now includes muralists, filmmakers, painters, and dancers. One of its activities is holding workshops in which people with no prior art experience can participate in art-making. "Part of our aim is the demystification of art, opening it up, and also utilizing art to raise political consciousness," Pelletier said.

The Pathfinder Mural Project recently received a \$1,200 grant from the New York State Council on the Arts Decentralization Program. Thus far, \$2,755 has been raised toward the goal of \$30,000 to meet all expenses involved in completing the project.

To make a contribution or obtain more information about the Pathfinder Mural Project, fill out the coupon below.

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Freed from Mexico jail, Puerto Rico independence fighter goes to Cuba

BY SELVA NEBBIA

On June 24, Puerto Rican independence fighter William Morales was released from a prison in Mexico and immediately left for Cuba.

The U.S. State Department expressed outrage at the decision by the Mexican government to release the Puerto Rican fighter, and in protest recalled its ambassador to Mexico. Washington had been seeking Morales' extradition to the United States for the past five years.

In 1979, Morales was sentenced to 89 years in prison in New York on charges of illegal possession of explosives. The government sought to link him to the Armed Forces of National Liberation, a clandestine organization.

Morales lost both hands and an eye in the accidental explosion that led to his arrest. He escaped from custody while receiving medical care, eventually making his way to Mexico.

He was arrested in Mexico on May 27, 1983, by Mexican police acting on a tip from the FBI. Originally charged with the killing of a Mexican policeman, Morales was sentenced to eight years in prison on charges of illegally entering the country.

The Puerto Rican independence fighter's arrest provoked broad protests in the United States and Puerto Rico, as well as in Mexico. An international campaign against his extradition to the United States was launched.

The National Lawyers Guild, United Committee Against Repression (CUCRE) of Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Mexican National Front Against Repression, and National Front of Democratic Lawyers of Mexico were among the groups that fought for his release and to get a third country to grant him asylum.

Earlier this year, the Council of Cooperation with Culture and the Sciences, a human rights organization in El Salvador, granted Morales the Roque Dalton Award for his "contributions to humanity."

"The decision of the Mexican government is a recognition of the fight for the independence of Puerto Rico and of the persecution of Puerto Rican proindependence activists by the U.S. government," Carlos Gallisá, general secretary of the PSP, told *Claridad*, the party's weekly newspaper.

Rita Zengotita, a leader of CUCRE, announced that the governments of Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Algeria had agreed to grant Morales political asylum.

Several Mexican newspapers praised the

government's decision to release Morales.

The Mexican daily *Uno más Uno* stated, "The Mexican government refused to extradite William Morales and that is a decision that deserves the support of all citizens, because it strengthens our national sovereignty in light of foreign pressures."

In a telephone interview to the Associated Press granted shortly before his release, Morales said that the Mexican government's decision had been "very positive. Its respect for international and Mexican law is a political recognition of our struggle."

Cuba hosts international ecology conference

BY OMARI MUSA

HAVANA, Cuba — More than 500 ecologists, botanists, and zoologists gathered here June 14-17 under the banner of Integrated Ecology in Defense of Nature. Participants came from Cuba and other Latin American countries, Europe, and the United States. Specialists in these fields attended from the Soviet Union, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua, the Netherlands, and the United States.

The conference was sponsored by the Institute of Ecology and Systematics, Cuban Academy of Sciences, National Botanical Gardens, Ministry of Higher Education, Cuban Society of Biological Sciences, and the Latin American Society of Microzoologists.

The gathering included workshops on specialized problems in botany and zoology. Two sessions were also held on the need for the two fields to work together to produce an integrated approach to defending the environment.

This was the first conference of this type organized under Cuban auspices. In his opening speech to the gathering Carlos Gómez of the Academy of Sciences noted that "Cuban ecology is just beginning. We have just published *Flora of Cuba* and

Fauna of Cuba," he said.

"Cuba," Gómez explained, "has limited resources. We don't and can't have the level and technology of research as in the Soviet Union and United States.

"But we are making progress. We have made lots of progress in understanding the ecosystems in the mountainous areas of Cuba."

Dr. Richard Levins, an ecologist from the Boston area, told the *Militant* between sessions that the Cubans "have made big advances in preservation." Levins, who has worked in Cuba for more than two decades, said, "One of the biggest discussions Cubans are having is about the size of their reserves. Should they be large or small? How do you integrate small reserves in or near urban areas to provide both recreation and places for scientific study?"

Levins also noted that the Department of Agriculture has been on the offensive against insecticides. "There's a lot of work going on here to get away from pesticides," he said. "We're doing this by investigating the use of ants, which are predators for many pests. Insecticides are no longer used in sugarcane fields."

One difficulty Cuba faces is that many ecologists have been trained in systematizing their subjects. This can sometimes lead

to narrowing the scope of studies and their application. Levins said what is needed is "to figure out how to integrate knowledge of flora and fauna with that of the farmer, who has to deal with both preservation and production every day."

This seems to be the direction of Cuban ecologists. More collaboration between the Academy of Sciences and other government agencies and agricultural cooperatives is projected.

Cuba is striving to involve broader layers of the population in discussion and action on the environment. One indication of this is the spread in the last few years of amateur ecologists, called *aficionados*. I met Enrique Francisco and Rodolfo Martínez, who are part of such a group. The group began in 1979 and has grown to about 80 members. It works with the National Botanical Gardens. Its members collect plants, have discussions, and try to involve others, especially youth, Martínez said.

"The more youth we involve the better," Francisco added. "Part of what we do is help youth develop an understanding of nature. Understanding nature and the environment is part of the revolution," he explained. "If we get more youth, they won't make the mistakes earlier generations did."

Reagan, Pentagon cover-up of airliner downing unravels

Continued from front page

failed to respond to warnings on the civilian channel.

Within one or two days, every one of Crowe's "facts" had been discredited or contradicted by other evidence.

On July 5 the Pentagon conceded that the plane had been flying within its assigned air corridor when it was fired on. Far from descending, a neighboring U.S. ship, the *John H. Sides*, recorded the Airbus as beginning to ascend. It placed the aircraft at 12,000 feet — in contrast to Crowe's claim that it was at 7,800 feet and descending toward the *Vincennes*.

On July 5 Pentagon officials privately told a group of congressmen that the alleged military signal received by the *Vincennes* radar may have come from another plane far from the area.

Officials of the International Civil Aviation Organization pointed out that airline pilots are not required to monitor the civilian channel, on which Crowe claimed the warnings were sent, during short flights like the one from Bandar Abbas to Dubai.

No attempt made

Pentagon officials conceded that no attempt was made to contact the pilot over the air traffic control channel, which the *Vincennes* is equipped to do. Nor is there any evidence that Rogers made an effort to monitor the channel, which would have made it possible to pick up communications between the civilian pilot and air controllers.

Pilots challenged Crowe's assertion that the aircraft was moving at 450 knots per hour, pointing out that the Airbus would be unsafe at the alleged speed and altitude. A speed of 300 knots, a *New York Times* reporter wrote, "seems consistent with preliminary estimates that it had traveled 40 miles from Bandar Abbas when it was shot down."

Pentagon official Mike Stepp claimed July 3 that "the suspect aircraft did not correlate with any scheduled flight" and that Rogers had consulted airline schedules before shooting it down.

Flight 655 was a regularly scheduled, three-times-a-week flight out of Bandar Abbas. On Sundays, it was the only scheduled international flight from there that passed over the gulf. Moreover, the flight is listed, in the *International Official Airline Guide*.

The Iranian plane was an Airbus A300-B2, with a wing span of 147 feet, and a 176-foot body length. The F-14 has a 64-foot span unswept back (38 feet swept), and is only 63 feet long.

"There's no way the radar could have mistaken an Airbus for an F-14," one aviation expert told the *New York Times*.

"The wide-body Airbus could be seen even with the naked eye at the altitude it was flying," a senior officer at Iran's Civil Aviation Organization told Iranian television.

"The F-14 has a distinctive shape and is not comparable with an Airbus in terms of maneuverability. It is just not acceptable that the two are similar in any way."

Reagan's decision to express "regrets" for the slaughter, back the F-14 cover story, and support the decision to fire on the airliner was made in a conference phone call he held with other top officials July 3. This discussion took place when it became clear that the very first response from Washington — denying Iranian charges of having downed an airliner and boasting instead of having

destroyed an Iranian F-14 — could not be sustained.

U.S. buildup in the gulf

The current stage of the U.S. buildup in the gulf began in May 1987 when the administration announced the decision to place 11 Kuwaiti oil tankers under the U.S. flag and military protection. The Kuwaiti regime is a close ally of Iraq in its eight-year war against Iran.

Since 1981 the Iraqi military has been striking at ships heading to and from Iran. The Iranian forces have retaliated since 1984 by striking at ships headed to or from countries such as Kuwait whose governments are allied to Iraq. (Iraq has no operating ports and uses Kuwait's.)

The U.S. armada, which has been reinforced by ships from several of Washington's European allies, was initially authorized to protect U.S.-flagged shipping. Since April, however, the U.S. Navy is committed to protecting virtually all ships in the gulf except those bound to or from Iran. By the same token, Washington has given the Iraqi military a green light to step

up attacks on Iranian shipping.

Washington has seized on the clashes with Iran that inevitably result to justify attacks on Iranian forces, claiming "self-defense" or the right to "retaliate."

This posture has been heightened by "rules of engagement," which authorize commanders to attack "hostile" ships and aircraft even if U.S. forces have not come under fire.

The rules of engagement were set after the May 1987 attack by an Iraqi plane on the USS *Stark*, in which 37 U.S. sailors died. The commander of the *Stark*, who had held fire because Iraqi aircraft had been regarded as "friendly," was threatened with court-martial and reprimanded.

This sent a signal to career officers participating in the tightening military squeeze against Iran: when it comes to Iranian ships and planes, they are to shoot first and ask questions later.

The shooting down of the airliner was the sixth and bloodiest U.S. strike at Iran since the U.S. buildup of naval and air power in the region began. Scores of Iranians were killed in the earlier clashes.



Palestinian resists U.S. deportation

BY HARRY RING

Fouad Rafeedie is waging a stubborn fight to prevent the government from deporting him. In April he won a temporary injunction barring deportation. A further hearing in federal court was slated for July 7.

A Palestinian by birth, Rafeedie has been a legal U.S. resident since 1975. Now the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is trying to get rid of him — without charges or a hearing — under a section of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act that permits arbitrary exclusion of those deemed "subversive."

Rafeedie is the first U.S. permanent resident to be targeted by the INS under this section of the law.

A well-known political activist in the Cleveland area, Rafeedie is an avowed partisan of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

His present difficulties with the INS began in 1986 when he returned from a two-week visit to Syria. At Kennedy Airport in New York, he was strip-searched and interrogated by immigration cops and then "paroled" back into the country.

A year later, he was notified that the government intended to "exclude" him from the United States.

According to Rafeedie, an exclusion order is usually acted on by an immigration judge. But in this case, the INS decided, the decision would be made by its regional commissioner, with no hearing and no appeal.

This April, Rafeedie's lawyer went into federal court in Washington, D.C., to get an injunction barring Rafeedie's deportation. The American Civil Liberties Union and the Association of Immigration Attorneys filed friend-of-the-court briefs in support.

At the hearing, Judge Joyce Green issued a temporary injunction, and told the INS to return to court July 7 with evidence to justify its proposed deportation.

Rafeedie said Judge Green observed that the government has been keeping tabs on him since 1975. Over that time, she asked, did it find that he had engaged in any illegal activity?

No, INS lawyers answered, but that's no guarantee that he would not do so in the future.

The INS then indicated it had "confidential" information that Rafeedie is a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). Rafeedie says this is not so and challenges the INS to produce its evidence.

The DFLP is an affiliate of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The U.S. and Israeli governments brand the PLO and its affiliates as "terrorist."

The government also indicated Rafeedie was a "supporter" of the PLO.

"If that's a basis to deport me," Rafeedie observed, "they'll have to get rid of a lot of

people. Ninety-nine percent of the Palestinians in this country support the PLO."

Judge Green asked the INS why it permitted Rafeedie back into the country if it believed he had links with a terrorist organization.

Because, the government responded, the evidence did not become available until a year later.

Rafeedie said that when he won the temporary injunction, the INS regional commissioner in Cleveland told reporters that if need be, the government would appeal the case to the Supreme Court. The issue, he insisted, is not Rafeedie, but the right of the INS to exclude those it deems undesirable. "They want a precedent," he said, "for deporting other Palestinians who are politically active, and activists of other nationalities too."

Rafeedie applied for U.S. citizenship in 1981. After a period of no response, he inquired and was told there was no record of an application.

He then obtained his INS file under the Freedom of Information Act. The application was in the file.

After that, he had two interviews with INS examiners. The second one told him bluntly that even though there was no legal blemish on his record, he would not get

citizenship because of his political activism.

Where would Washington deport him to?

"That's a question," Rafeedie replied. "I was born in Ramallah in the West Bank. I don't think the Israelis would let me come back. And there aren't too many other governments that will accept a Palestinian activist."

He pointed out that his mother, four of his brothers, and two sisters are all legal U.S. residents. His wife and four-month-old son are citizens. And he has 27 nieces and nephews who are citizens.

"So I have some roots here," he said.

A Committee for Justice has been formed to defend Rafeedie. Chapters have been organized, so far, in Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Both the National Lawyers Guild and the Center for Constitutional Rights have agreed to provide legal assistance.

"I need all the support I can get," Rafeedie said. "The outcome of my case will affect a lot of people. We should all stand together."

He urged that statements of solidarity, and financial contributions, be sent to: Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 11367, Cleveland, Ohio 44111.

ACTION PROGRAM AVAILABLE IN PAMPHLET

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

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Labor news in the Militant

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Sales drive: an international success

BY NORTON SANDLER

An important victory was scored during the recently completed circulation drive by our distributors here and around the world. Together, they contributed to winning 9,756 new readers to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

That's 108 percent of the goal of 9,000 set at the beginning of the drive! The breakdown was 6,265 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,617 to *PM*, and 1,874 individual copies of *New International*.

Distributors in Australia, Britain, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, and the United States all exceeded the combined goals they set. In addition, readers in Puerto Rico sold 19 subscriptions and *New Internationals*.

The last 10 days of the drive were boosted by an international effort to circulate the Socialist Workers Party National Committee's "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." This "Action Program" was carried in the June 24 issue of the *Militant* and the July-August issue of *PM*.

In the United States, supporters of the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells made a special push to get this program into the hands of workers through sales at plant gates and on the job.

Industrial workers in Canada, New Zealand, Britain, and other countries also sold the "Action Program" to their coworkers.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* in steel plants and garment factories in Canada report interest in the "Action Program" among their coworkers. This, and consistent work throughout the drive, they reported, helped win a number of new subscribers.

In Britain, a sales team to the industrialized northeast sold eight *Militant* subscriptions and 47 individual copies with the "Action Program" to participants in anti-apartheid activities demanding the release of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress of South Africa.

A few days earlier, five immigrant workers from Chile, who were attending a Yorkshire coal miners' gala, bought subscriptions to *PM*.

Supporters in New Zealand had good discussions with participants in an anti-imports demonstration sponsored by the textile union. "Some people just turned away from us when we explained that protectionism plays into the hands of the employers and their government," Janet Warman reported from Auckland. "But others listened to what we had to say, and some purchased copies of the paper."

The "Action Program" will be available soon as Pathfinder pamphlets in both English and Spanish. It will sell for \$1.

In the United States, a big mobilization during the final weeks resulted in 21 areas going over their combined goals. And 15 of those areas surpassed the goals set for all three publications.

This success was based on having political discussions with workers, farmers, and students about the October stock market crash and what it shows about the mount-



In June, south Texas sales team set up literature table at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, rally for Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua. Team also sold to farm workers.

ing economic crisis. Supporters also discussed the proposals the Warren-Mickells campaign is putting forward to unify working people internationally as they resist mounting employer and government attacks.

Warren-Mickells campaigners introduced the publications to working people and students both in the cities where they live and in surrounding areas. In the last weeks of the drive many supporters organized regional teams. This added to the number of farm workers, paperworkers, coal miners, meat-packers, garment workers, and other unionists who purchased *PM* or *Militant* subscriptions or copies of *New International*.

In Florida, as in many areas in the United States, success was based on a combination of approaches. Thabo Ntweng reported that a sales team to Homestead, Florida, where there are many migrant farm workers, found a receptive audience for the proposals in the "Action Program."

Ntweng noted that new political openings in Miami were also important for the drive. "Unlike previous drives, we sold most of our *PM* subs in Miami, because of the changing political climate here. The large immigrant population here is also important. In the last week of the drive, we sold eight copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* at a meeting in defense of Héctor Marroquín at a Haitian refugee center," he said.

Although spring terms at many colleges ended during the early part of the drive, a substantial number of students are among the new *PM* and *Militant* readers. Several areas reported success campaigning in cities such as Iowa City, Iowa, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, where large concentrations of students live year round.

'New International'

Important strides forward were registered in the distribution of *New International*, especially in sales of the magazine

to industrial workers. Airline, chemical, garment, rail, and electrical workers in New Jersey and New York sold nearly three dozen copies of the magazine to their coworkers.

Many copies of *New International* were also sold from campaign tables set up in working-class areas and on campuses. New York distributors sold 15 or more copies of *New International* from tables on most Saturdays during the drive.

Supporters also concentrated on getting the magazines placed in bookstores, magazine stands, and other locations. In some areas plans are being made to follow up on these placements as part of continuing to expand the distribution of the magazine.

Sales of *New International* were combined with *Nouvelle Internationale*, its French-language counterpart, in several cities. In New Jersey, for example more than 40 copies were sold, mainly in communities with large concentrations of workers from Haiti.

Perspective for continuing sales

Militant and *PM* distributors in the United States carry out weekly plant-gate sales at factories, mines, mills, and rail yards.

These sales enable team members to discuss politics with workers they wouldn't ordinarily meet. Concentrating on discussing the proposals being put forward by the SWP candidates and those contained in the "Action Program" will help win more long-term *Militant* and *PM* readers.

During the coming weeks, Warren-Mickells backers will be petitioning to get the SWP presidential campaign on the ballot in Nebraska, New York, Minnesota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Washington, D.C. This type of outreach effort will provide an opportunity for expanded distribution of the *Militant*, *PM*, and the "Action Program."

Thousands of workers, farmers, and activists around the world have been introduced during this drive to working-class publications that have factual coverage and a stance in defense of the interests of working people. We welcome our new readers, and we're confident that many more can be won as our distributors continue to reach out.

Union wins ruling against Hormel

BY GAIL SMITH

AUSTIN, Minn. — An arbitrator has ruled that George A. Hormel & Co.'s attempt to lease part of the plant here to a nonunion contractor violated a union contract.

Arbitrator Marvin Feldman stated June 6 that work in the Austin cut-and-kill operation must be carried out by union members covered by the contract Hormel signed in September 1987 with Local 9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW).

Hormel has been slaughtering hogs in Austin since the company was founded in 1891. But management halted the slaugh-

ter operation at its flagship plant here in January, saying it could not afford to pay unionized wages in excess of \$10 an hour. Three hundred cut-and-kill workers were transferred into the plant's processing departments.

In March Hormel announced that the slaughtering operation would be leased to Quality Pork Processors, Inc. — a Dallas-based company. "Down the road, the company expects to look into other areas, such as co-packing operations with other meat-packers," Quality Pork's (QPP) President Richard Knight told *Agri News*. "But before going that route, we are going to do this one right, and we are confident we will be able to run this plant," he said.

On May 1 the *Austin Daily Herald* wrote, "A union grievance filed in connection with the current Hormel contract could have an impact on Quality's future here. That has yet to be resolved."

"At this point," the article continued, "the issue is jobs — and that's all the applicants will be dealing with Monday. For a number of interested individuals, it could turn out to be the opportunity of a lifetime."

QPP hired 250 workers at pay rates of between \$5.50 and \$8 an hour. The arbitrator's ruling came down a few days after they started working.

It stated that "once the company agreed to recognize the union on its premises," the contract then covers all work done on the premises. "The company does not have a right to man the Austin facility with a nonunion subcontractor."

1985-86 strike

Some 1,500 meat-packers at the Austin plant went on strike in August 1985 trying to defend their wages and benefits, and to demand improved safety conditions.

The strike ended in September 1986 after the company negotiated a contract

with the top officials of the UFCW.

Hormel did not let 800 union members return to their jobs. Instead, those who had refused to cross the picket line during the strike were put on a "preferential hiring list." No one on that list was rehired.

In its grievance, Local 9 demanded that if a "third party" was allowed to lease the Austin cut-and-kill operation, the third party was obligated to hire workers on the "preferential hiring list."

Some of the 250 workers hired by Quality Pork were former strikers. Many had quit jobs so they could work for the company. Others had been unemployed or underemployed for a long time. Some returned to Austin from other states.

The closing of QPP four days after it had opened brought more hardship to these workers. But most interviewed by the media do not blame the union for their problems. Several stated that the arbitrator made the right decision.

One employee said he had worked at Hormel before the strike. Afterward he got a job at a turkey-processing plant in nearby Albert Lea. "I was one of the people who didn't go back during the strike," he said, "I really don't blame the union for doing what they did. But I do think Hormel should have waited to lease anything until they had this all settled."

One couple explained that they had both quit jobs to come to QPP. "Hormel counts on winning everything. The union kept telling the company it should wait until the ruling came back. I'm tickled to death that the union won... because it's about time that something goes the way of the workers," the woman stated.

Hormel says it will appeal the arbitrator's ruling in federal court. "If we cannot subcontract those operations, they won't be done in Austin," Hormel Senior Vice-president Charles Nyberg stated.

New International
A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop
BY STEVE CLARK

Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution
BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation
BY LARRY SEIGLE

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Socialists push to complete Alabama ballot effort

BY ANDY COATES

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, joined the campaign mobilization under way here as the second week of a statewide drive to win a spot on the Alabama ballot drew to a close. Mickells addressed a spirited rally on July 2.

"We present a perspective to fight," Mickells said, "an action program to confront the coming economic crisis. It is a fight to save our very lives from the economic and social devastation the October 1987 stock market crash signaled."

Other speakers at the rally included John Hawkins, SWP candidate for the 6th C.D. in Alabama; Bryce Hoffman of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Benedict Hanyane, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Some 30 supporters of Warren and Mickells turned out July 2 to collect 900 signatures on petitions to put the SWP presidential ticket on the Alabama ballot. This makes the total number of signatures collected so far 5,900 — just surpassing the minimum requirement of 5,000. The campaign supporters have set a goal of collecting 9,000. More than 400 single copies and 22 subscriptions to the *Militant* have been sold.

The next morning, Mickells and Hawkins traveled to Epes, where they met with George Paris, a leader of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an organization of farmers. They discussed the crisis facing thousands of farmers, which has been worsened by the current drought.

Paris noted that new Farmers Home Administration regulations for loans, coupled with the drought, means that as many as "40,000 to 50,000 indebted farmers may not be able to make their notes." The smaller farmer, he said, tends to be the one who is hurting.

Mickells explained that the socialist campaign proposes an emergency moratorium on debt payments and farm foreclosures as a first measure of government relief for farmers suffering from the drought. The socialist vice-presidential candidate

was invited back to meet with Paris and other farmers in the region in August.

Paris also told Mickells that he was sending a message of protest to the Des Moines, Iowa, police chief demanding that frame-up charges against political activist Mark Curtis be dropped.

Curtis, who lived in Birmingham a few years ago, is well known among antiwar and trade union activists in this area. The *Southsider*, a free-distribution Birmingham newspaper, carried a full-page story on Curtis in its current issue. In addition to collecting signatures for the socialist campaign, activists here have also talked about and collected signatures on petitions in Curtis' defense.

So far 205 people have signed petitions in two weeks demanding that the charges against the political activist be dropped.

One of them, Samuel Jones, works at Hayes Aircraft where Curtis worked when he lived here. "I know Mark Curtis," he told the *Militant*. "We worked side by side." The bosses at Hayes didn't like Curtis, Jones said, "because he was in the Socialist Workers Party." Since the company couldn't openly fire him for his political views, he added, they used the pretext that he falsified his job application.

During the second week of the drive teams of volunteers went to Tuskegee, Auburn, Opelika, Phenix City, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingham.

In Opelika, a three-person team campaigned at the early morning shift change at a textile mill organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Workers at the mill told the campaigners about the fight they have had over the past three years to keep their union. The textile mill half a mile down the road pays more than a dollar an hour more to the workers there, with no union, one worker explained.

Another team sold the *Militant* at a Fieldcrest-Cannon textile mill in Phenix City the day before. Fieldcrest-Cannon has three big mills in the adjacent cities of Phenix City and Columbus, across the border in Georgia.



Militant/Steve Marshall

Campaign supporters collecting signatures on petitions to place the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot in Omaha, Nebraska. Just over 2,500 signatures have been collected. Campaign supporters are aiming to collect 4,000, double the legally required minimum. In July the SWP is petitioning to get on the ballot in Minnesota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, New York, and Washington, D.C.

Big effort needed in final weeks of campaign fund drive

BY KATHY WHEELER

The Socialist Workers 1988 election campaign is entering the final weeks of its national drive to collect \$50,000 by July 23. The fund, launched May 21, is expected to help cover the costs of touring the socialist candidates, distributing tens of thousands of pieces of literature, and winning a place for the campaign on the ballot in 18 states and Washington, D.C.

The Socialist Workers Party is running James Warren for U.S. president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

Recently the fund has gained some momentum. Campaign supporters around the country have sent in an average of \$6,000 each week for the past three weeks. As the scoreboard this week notes, four areas have already met or gone over the goals they adopted for the drive. They are Minneapolis-St. Paul and Austin, Minnesota; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Kansas City, Missouri.

But the drive is still behind where it should be. To be on schedule 67 percent of the goal should have been collected. Currently a little less than 50 percent has been received. A big effort will be required to meet the goal on time.

Argiris Malapanis, chairperson of the SWP in Minneapolis-St. Paul, described some of the campaign events held in Minnesota that have helped generate funds for the drive: "In May we organized an educational conference to coincide with the tour of James Warren. More than 50 people attended the classes, dinner, and rally.

"We also drew up a list of names of people who first heard about the campaign through their introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*. We just called everybody to talk more about the campaign, invite them to the conference, and invite them to make

a donation to the fund."

He said Warren-Mickells supporters will begin a petitioning campaign this week to place the names of the candidates on the ballot in that state. "We held a news conference to announce the petitioning drive and sent out a release that was picked up by the major dailies. We printed 5,000 leaflets inviting people to come to two events, one in Minneapolis-St. Paul and one in Austin, that will top off the petitioning. We expect to raise more money for the campaign at these activities."

In Detroit and New York, campaign events organized around the July 4 holiday together netted close to \$1,000 for the fund. The New York campaign, which is gearing into a major effort to collect 40,000 signatures to place the SWP candidates' names on the ballot there, recently sent out a 400-piece mailing encouraging supporters to donate both their time and money. According to Dick Geyer, New York campaign director, the contributions that were received less than a week later are just "the tip of the iceberg."

"We plan to follow this mailing with phone calls and expect to get a lot of contributions from these supporters," Geyer explained.

To make the national goal on time the average collected each week will have to jump to \$9,000 from \$6,000. This is possible if a premium is put on organizing discussions with supporters, working out payment schedules on pledges already made to the campaign, and viewing all our campaign activities as potential fund-raising opportunities.

Kathy Wheeler is the treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee.

Your help is needed . . .

1988 Socialist Workers Party \$50,000 campaign fund drive

May 21 - July 23

Supporters of the socialist ticket in 32 cities have set goals to make the fund a success. Below are the figures for each area.

	Goal	Collected
Atlanta	1,450	850
Austin, Minn.	500	500
Baltimore	1,150	0
Birmingham, Ala.	950	0
Boston	1,750	250
Charleston, W.V.	1,000	300
Chicago	2,200	635
Cleveland	1,150	550
Des Moines, Iowa	750	505
Detroit	1,350	775
Greensboro, N.C.	800	395
Houston	1,150	930
Kansas City	750	790
Los Angeles	3,250	1,839
Miami	1,450	0
Milwaukee	950	445
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	970
New York	7,000	2,927
Newark, N.J.	3,000	1,735
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	854
Omaha, Neb.	1,100	830
Philadelphia	1,650	100
Phoenix	1,150	260
Pittsburgh	1,600	50

	Goal	Collected
Portland, Ore.	900	600
Price, Utah	600	310
Salt Lake City	800	873
San Francisco	2,000	905
Seattle	1,250	910
St. Louis	1,600	1,100
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,900
Washington, D.C.	1,750	390
Other	-	975
Total	50,000	24,453

To make a contribution, please fill out the coupon below, and mail to Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Enclosed is a check or money order for: \$200 \$100 \$50 \$10 other

I endorse the Warren-Mickells ticket.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

School/Organization _____

This ad has been paid for by the Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign Committee, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

Cops harass Texas auto strikers

BY SUE ADLEY

CLINT, Texas — Striking auto workers at a trailer plant here near El Paso, Texas, have been harassed by police and accused of violence by the *El Paso Herald-Post*.

Members of United Auto Workers Local 1465 struck Utility Trailer Co. May 23. Management had proposed to cut wages by 75 cents an hour and to increase workers' insurance premium contributions from 15 to 25 percent, according to Jorge Lopez, vice-president of the local. The company also refused to restore a cost-of-living clause that had been "frozen" three years ago.

More than 200 workers walked out. Only three union members had crossed the picket line as of June 23. About 70 people have been hired as scabs. But, the pickets

report, they haven't produced any trailers.

For the first few weeks, seven or eight cop cars regularly menaced the picket lines, with as many as 20 on Fridays. The cops ticketed the strikers on any pretext: jaywalking, unfastened seat belts. Several were arrested on criminal mischief charges.

In contrast, the cops ignore scab vehicles with expired license plates or unfastened seat belts. "We already had two accidents where scabs knocked down strikers," Lopez said. "We made reports, and when we got to the sheriff's office, no one knew anything about the reports."

An arbitrator has emphasized to the strikers that if they are too vigilant on the picket line they can be charged with a federal offense and jailed for five years.

The struggle for land and labor rights

Since 1986 overthrow of Marcos' dictatorship, Aquino consolidates



January 1987 20,000-strong peasant march for land reform. Army massacred 19 peaceful demonstrators. Aquino criticized slaughter, but took no action against army.

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

The author has visited the Philippines as a reporter for the *Militant* on a number of occasions since March 1986. He most recently spent a month in the country during February and March of this year.

In February 1986 the tyranny of Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown, ending almost 14 years of martial rule in the Philippines. Marcos' efforts to steal the presidential election of February 7 from Corazon Aquino had spurred a massive protest movement that split his army and forced the dictator to flee to Hawaii on February 25.

The February 1986 outpouring was the culmination of several years of expanding mobilizations against the dictator that had begun to draw millions of workers and peasants into the political arena.

Inspired by their victory over Marcos, the Filipino working people continued mobilizing. They demanded the ouster of corrupt Marcos officials from national and local government, the dismantling of landlord-controlled private armies that terrorized the countryside, the bringing of the military under the control of the new civilian authorities, and the rapid implementation of Aquino's promises of comprehensive land reform and extension of labor rights.

During 1986, major cities such as Manila became a virtual sea of picket lines as factory, shop, and hotel workers seized the democratic opening to organize themselves into unions that would fight to raise their starvation wages.

On May 1 of that year, for example, 150,000 workers attended a united union rally in Manila.

In the countryside, occupations by landless peasants of idle and abandoned estates belonging to Marcos cronies and other big landlords began to spread. Muslim and tribal minorities were inspired to press forward their demands for self-determination.

Trade union and peasant organizations

Among the trade union and peasant organizations, the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation and the Peasant Movement of the Philippines (KMP), in particular, began to expand rapidly. They had won wide respect among working people for standing up to Marcos and fighting for the basic rights of working people under the dictatorship.

The closely allied KMU and KMP became a major pole of attraction among those workers and peasants who were opening up to politics and who wanted to take action to defend and extend their newly won democratic rights and demand government action to meet their pressing social needs.

The political aspirations of the vast majority of the millions of Filipino workers and farmers were focused on the immensely popular Corazon Aquino. Aquino had become the symbol of the mass movement against the dictatorship, which had erupted after Marcos had his main political rival — Aquino's husband, Benigno — gunned down at Manila Airport in August 1983. Her prestige was enhanced by releasing most of Marcos' political prisoners and pledging to bring peace to the Philippine countryside through seeking reconciliation with the forces waging rural guerrilla warfare against the landlords and the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Thousands of working people and student youth were able for the first time to at-

tend broad political meetings and discussions and hear former leaders of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines and its guerrilla movement, who were released from prison after Marcos' ouster. Such meetings were being organized throughout the country to discuss how best to advance the struggle for land and labor rights in the wake of Marcos' overthrow. The atmosphere, especially in the capital, was euphoric.

From the moment she assumed the presidency, however, Aquino — herself a member of one of the wealthiest and most powerful of the landed families of the Philippines — moved to use this personal prestige to contain the popular struggle. She sought to buy time in which to refurbish the military and political institutions of landlord-capitalist rule that Marcos' reign had largely discredited.

To this end she appointed many prominent liberal and left-wing figures to her administration, alongside central military figures such as Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and army Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos, who had only broken with Marcos at the 11th hour. She also blocked demands for a popularly elected assembly to draft a new democratic constitution, instead stacking an appointed constitutional commission with representatives of landlord and big capitalist interests.

Cease-fires signed

Under these conflicting pressures Aquino signed a cease-fire agreement in September 1986 with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the main organization leading the struggle for self-determination of the Muslim minority in the southern Philippines. And in November 1986, a 60-day nationwide cease-fire was signed with the New People's Army. The NPA, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, headed a peasant insurgency against Marcos and his landlord backers that had mushroomed during the 1980s to become a significant factor undermining the stability of the regime.

These cease-fires were widely welcomed by the workers and peasants. They provided the opportunity to force the military back into its barracks in many rural areas and thus extend the space for the toilers to organize and begin to act politically on their own behalf. This made possible the emergence of representatives of the NPA and MNLF from the underground, for the first time in more than a decade, to openly participate in this process of political organization, discussion, and debate.

Throughout 1986, factions within the military that supported either Marcos or Enrile tried to destabilize the Aquino gov-

ernment and pave the way for a rightist military takeover.

In November 1986, for example, KMU Chairman Rolando Olalia and his driver were kidnapped, tortured, and murdered. This crime was widely attributed to military aides of Enrile led by Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan. In response, hundreds of thousands lined the streets of the capital for the labor leader's funeral cortege. Enrile was fired from the cabinet.

Army massacre

In January 1987 the military engineered the blowing up of the cease-fire with the NPA by firing on a 20,000-strong peasant march for land reform in Manila, massacring 19 peaceful demonstrators. The government criticized the massacre, but took no action against its military perpetrators.

Following the end of the cease-fire, the largely spontaneous mass political ferment that had driven the events of 1986 lost momentum. At the same time, Aquino herself began to take the initiative in trying to narrow down the political space the workers and peasants had won through the ouster of Marcos.

After the January massacre the NPA broke off negotiations with the government. Aquino, who had distanced herself from the massacre, accused the guerrillas of not wanting peace and called for a renewed military offensive against the NPA.

This was the signal for a crackdown on the KMU, KMP, and other militant workers' and peasants' organizations, utilizing the military, landlord private armies, and right-wing vigilante groups.

For instance, figures compiled by the church-based Task Force Detainees of the Philippines show that in 1987 there were more political arrests and more peasants forced to flee government military operations in the countryside than during the last year of Marcos' rule.

Bayan, the main umbrella group of organizations that have opposed the anti-democratic and proimperialist course of the Aquino government, reported that by February of this year, 43 of its officials had been assassinated since the Marcos overthrow, including Secretary-general Lean Alejandro. After Alejandro was gunned down outside his office in September 1987, many prominent Bayan, KMU, and other left-wing spokespeople were forced to virtually drop from public political activity in a fear of their lives.

At the same time, Aquino was able to marginalize left-wing opposition to the institutionalization of her antilabor and anti-peasant regime. The new constitution, drafted by Aquino appointees, was adopted overwhelmingly in a Feb. 2, 1987, national plebiscite. Her handpicked candidates swept congressional elections the following May.

As the government moved rightward, military and other rightist opponents of Aquino became more muted, either through their being incorporated into her administration or through being pushed aside by General Ramos, who backed Aquino.

Ramos' crushing of the bloody Aug. 1, 1987, military putsch led by Colonel Honasan was a major turning point.

'Indonesia scenario'

According to the *Manila Chronicle*, in discussions among themselves several months prior to the coup attempt, "Some members of the [Honasan] group floated horrible scenarios — including the so-called Indonesia scenario. Under this scenario, it was argued it was in the interests of saving the nation from communist takeover by mounting a bloodbath against leftists, regardless of the cost in lives.

"The model," the *Chronicle* reported, "was the bloodbath in Indonesia which followed the October 1965 coup, believed to have been inspired by the Indonesian Communist Party. In the [right-wing military] backlash of the coup, more than 500,000 people were believed to have perished."

Neither Aquino nor forces to her left



Philippine Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos and President Corazon Aquino.

Politics in the Philippines today

On an antidemocratic, proimperialist course

called for mass mobilizations against the putsch. The president urged reliance on her armed forces chief, thereby strengthening the weight of the military high command, and Ramos in particular, within her government.

The CPP, through its journal *Ang Bayan* ("The People"), described the coup attempt as "open war among the reactionaries" and called on the Filipino people "not to be trapped into supporting either of the warring factions of their class enemies."

In the aftermath of the coup attempt, Aquino submitted to demands from the right and fired the remaining liberals in the cabinet while appointing several retired generals to top positions in her administration.

But in contrast to the previous kid-glove treatment of Enrile's faction, Honasan was arrested, jailed, and removed from the army last December, although sympathetic soldiers helped him to subsequently escape. In February 1988, all of Enrile's previous top military aides were charged by the government with the murder of labor leader Olalia. Today, all of them are either in jail, under house arrest, or in hiding. With pro-Marcos officers already forced out of the army, this has left Ramos with a firmer grip over the military high command as a whole.

Provincial and municipal elections during January and February 1988 saw the traditional political machines of locally dominant business and landlord families, including former Marcos henchmen, regain control in many areas.

'Counterinsurgency operations'

Ramos, who was appointed defense secretary in January 1988, described the government's military strategy as follows: "The current thrust of our counterinsurgency operations, as embodied in the AFP Action Program for 1988, is the destruction of the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines] political structure at the grassroots." In plain language, this means driving workers and peasants out of politics through a terror campaign that targets the leaders and militant activists of organizations such as the KMU and the KMP that are attempting to lead a popular struggle against the landlord-capitalist regime.

The March 30, 1988, *Workers Voice*, the newspaper of the National Federation of Sugar Workers — Food and General Trades (NFSW-FGT), the largest union in the KMU, based in the sugar-producing province of Negros, wrote: "As the counterinsurgency took center stage, it wrought havoc among the organized sectors. Throughout the country and [in] particular in Negros, legitimate grassroots organizations were outrightly branded by the military as subversive fronts.

"Thus, open people's organizations like NFSW-FGT became veritable targets of repression. In 1987 alone, several union members were killed, more than a hundred were imprisoned and physically maltreated.

"Two months into 1988, the human rights desk of the union reported already more than 30 cases of arrests and arbitrary detentions. Almost all of the worker-victims have been released without charges [being] filed against them."

Beginning last October, on Aquino's orders, the military began systematically dispersing union picket lines.

In Valenzuela, an industrial town on the northern outskirts of Manila, according to KMU Assistant Secretary-general Elmer Labog, the army has been organizing sessions inside factories organized by the KMU at which the movie *Killing Fields* is shown. The film, depicting the massacres in Kampuchea in the mid-1970s under Pol Pot, is presented by the military as an example of what "Communist" union organizers would like to do in the Philippines.

While I was in the Philippines earlier this year there were many reports of working-class barrios and squatter settlements

in big cities such as Manila being subjected to door-to-door searches by the military. The army claimed to be hunting for NPA "Sparrow" urban guerrilla units. Most of those rounded up in these sweeps would later be released, but community organizers and others with a history of political activity might be detained on firearms or other frame-up charges.

Peasants flee military terror

Further into the countryside and away from the spotlight of the Manila and international press, military repression and vigilante terror has been even more intense. In February 1988 I was able to spend four days in the remote Luzon province of Aurora and confirm that hundreds of peasant families had had to flee their farms in the north of the province as a result of military terror, including murder and arson.

Hundreds of soldiers had been mobilized in one municipality for what the army was reporting as a battle with the NPA, but which in fact turned out to be systematic intimidation of peasant activists. The KMP had been strongly established in the peasants' neighborhoods. NPA guerrillas functioned in the surrounding mountains.

This repression is not yet generalized. It is directed against the more politicized minority of workers and peasants who are organized by the KMU and KMP and allied organizations, and against those areas where the peasant insurgency has been strong.

Vigilante and military harassment has also been used to undercut land occupations by landless peasants. For instance, the January 1988 *Peasant Update International* of the KMP reported that 700 farmers were finally evicted by the landowner's armed thugs from the Aquafil estate in the province of Mindoro Occidental last November 19. They had occupied idle parts of the estate for a year. "Company guards led by a policeman destroyed and burned down houses of the occupants. The eviction was accompanied by indiscriminate firing," wrote *Update*.

On top of this, those occupying idle private estates were disqualified from eligibility for land reform under a law Aquino submitted to congress in July 1987. The focus of the peasant organizations shifted to lobbying congress, where the debate dragged on into 1988. Finally, on June 6, the landlord-dominated congress enacted a sham land reform law that is supposed to be implemented over the next 10 years. The law has so many loopholes that even the *Wall Street Journal's* Manila correspondent commented that the "compromise land reform package may be a case of accommodation superceding substance."

The ruling oligarchy and its imperialist backers have been able to confuse and intimidate many working people and discourage them from direct political activity, and to narrow democratic rights. They have thereby been able to contain and push back the struggle for land and labor rights, in comparison to the high point of 1986.

Protests continue

Political space for the toilers has been narrowed, but not closed off. Demonstrations continue, such as the 20,000-strong action in Manila on February 24 to mark the second anniversary of the overthrow of Marcos and protest the Aquino regime's course. A similar size march was organized on April 21 by a coalition of peasant and farm worker groups to demand that congress enact a genuine land reform.

Strikes continue. Recent examples have included prolonged struggles by garment workers in the Bataan Export Processing Zone, northwest of Manila, and by Nestlé workers to the south. Manila schoolteachers held a militant strike in March. Tens of thousands of workers rallied across the Philippines to mark May Day.

The militants of the KMU, steered by many years of organizing under the Marcos tyranny, remain the central pillar of these

political and industrial actions, supported by the KMP, the League of Filipino Students, and other organizations allied in Bayan.

These important struggles demonstrate the continuing combativity of significant sections of the Filipino workers and farmers despite the repression. But by 1988 it had become clear that the acute political crisis for the landlord-capitalist rulers has been overcome for the time being. A repressive landlord-capitalist regime, utilizing parliamentary forms rather than the outright dictatorial methods pursued by Marcos, has been stabilized around Aquino and Ramos. The struggle to free the Philippines from imperialist and landlord-capitalist domination has entered a more difficult stage.

Underlying the political crisis of the Marcos regime was a profound economic and social crisis. Not only did the overthrow of Marcos not overcome this more fundamental crisis, it actually worsened during 1986, the first year of Aquino's presidency.

Since 1984 the Philippine economy had been in a deep depression. This was triggered by a slump in the world market for the Philippines' major agricultural exports, such as sugar and copra (dried coconut meat). It was compounded by imperialist disinvestment and capital flight as the mounting anti-Marcos protests deepened political instability and the Marcos regime began to falter in payments on its \$28 billion foreign debt.

The overthrow of Marcos initially deepened the economic crisis as pro-Marcos landlords and capitalists abandoned their farms and factories and fled with the dictator. Others refused to reinvest in face of the growing clamor for union rights and wage increases.

By 1986 a majority of Filipinos were

either unemployed or underemployed, and subsisting in a pauperized, semistarved state. At least 7 million were homeless, squatting in shanties around Manila and other urban areas, or sleeping in the streets. Recent reports have estimated that 20,000 homeless children live on the streets of the Ermita tourist belt of Manila alone.

At least 300,000 and perhaps as many as 500,000 women had been driven into prostitution.

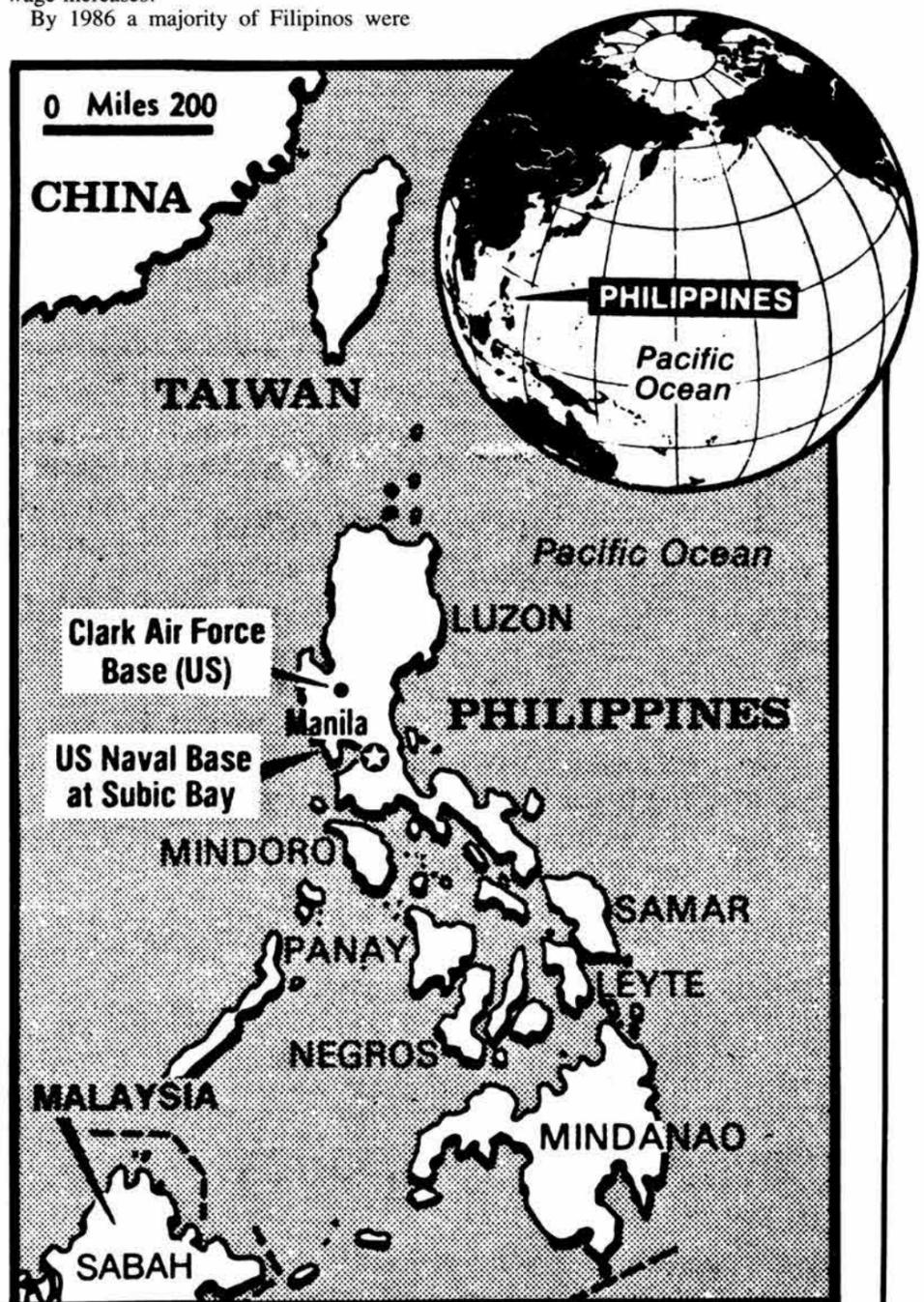
By 1987 Filipino and foreign capitalists were increasing investment, and economic activity had recovered a little, with unemployment falling slightly.

IMF demands austerity

At the same time, however, the International Monetary Fund and other agencies of imperialist finance capital have tightened their grip over government economic policy. As conditions for further loans, they have insisted that the economy be opened up to more direct foreign investment and imports, and that austerity measures be imposed that prioritize payments on the \$28 billion debt to the imperialist banks. Under this pressure, 40 percent of the 1988 government budget has been earmarked for servicing this debt. The Philippine government has instituted a "debt reduction" program, in which foreign banks will be given shareholdings in the vast business empire left behind by Marcos and his cronies. This was taken over by the Aquino government after Marcos fled — in exchange for writing off the banks' loans.

The effect of this, at a time of the deepening crisis of world capitalism signaled by the October 1987 stock market crash, can only be to exacerbate the social crisis in the Philippines and make new eco-

Continued on next page



Philippines: fight for land, labor rights

Continued from previous page
 nomic catastrophes inevitable.

Such a catastrophe could spur massive new social explosions, and a new political crisis. This was illustrated last August when, in response to the demands of the international oil companies, Aquino raised fuel prices by 20 percent, precipitating the first truly mass protests against her government. The angry protests culminated in an August 26, 4-million-strong "people's strike," the largest in Philippine history, in which the KMU played a pivotal role. The government was thrown into crisis, and forced to partially reduce the price increase.

It was in the midst of this crisis that the rightists led by Honasan launched the bloody military putsch, coming the closest yet to actually toppling Aquino.

Then, in October, the country's major union federations carried out a coordinated national strike, which succeeded in winning a 10 peso increase from the government in the minimum wage. But this was taken away, in effect, in January when the government under IMF pressure introduced a 10 percent value-added tax. This tax jacked up the prices of basic goods and services while lowering taxes on imports from abroad.

The economy of the Philippines is also vulnerable to the increasing tariffs, quotas, and other measures that restrict agricultural imports from being sold in the more economically developed capitalist countries.

Sugar workers

For instance, the sugar-producing province of Negros Occidental has been devastated by being steadily shut out of the United States market by U.S. corn syrup and sugar interests. Since 1984, Washington has cut the Philippine sugar quota by 75 percent. As a result, 250,000 out of 400,000 Negros sugar workers lost their jobs, leading to mass hunger. In 1986, some 160,000 Negros children under the age of five were being fed by relief agencies.

In this context, the National Federation of Sugar Workers grew rapidly, to emerge at the center of a powerful struggle for idle plantation land to be distributed to the landless sugar workers. This has thrust it into the center of political life on the island of Negros despite landlord and military harassment. Negros has become one of the strongholds of the peasant insurgency.

Pressures similar to those of the sugar interests have been mounted by the vegeta-



Sugar workers on Negros. Devastated by U.S. cut in Philippine sugar quota, these workers are waging fight for land to be distributed to landless sugar workers.

ble-oil industry in Europe and the United States. It has demanded a cutback of imports of coconut oil, derived from the Philippines' major agricultural export, copra. Losing these markets would devastate the Philippines as a whole, generalizing the conditions of Negros across the country.

Imperialist-dominated export agriculture has created shortages of rice and sugar, which have had to be imported this year. In this context, speculators have driven the prices of these basic necessities upward.

The only road along which to overcome the profound economic and social crisis that engulfs the Philippines today would require breaking from the dictates of the IMF and joining in a worldwide struggle to demand that the massive Third World debt to the imperialist banks be canceled. It would mean undermining the wealth and power of the Philippine landlords and capitalists through a radical agrarian reform that places the land in the hands of the landless peasants and farm workers.

Such measures could only be carried through by a government that reasserted

Philippine sovereignty by ordering the U.S. government to dismantle its huge military bases in the Philippines. The record of the Aquino government has demonstrated that it is neither willing nor able to take this road.

Hunt for buried treasure

This is symbolized today by the government's sponsorship of a feverish hunt for billions of dollars in buried treasure allegedly left behind by the retreating Japanese army at the end of World War II. During February, two Filipino workers died while tunneling under an old Spanish fort in Manila on behalf of North American treasure hunters. Finding buried gold, the government was seriously assuring the public, would enable the country's foreign debt to be paid off and investments to be made in new industries and services.

Another proposal that has been raised is to persuade the U.S. government to assume responsibility for the foreign debt in exchange for allowing Washington to maintain its military bases in the Philippines. The current agreement on the bases is set to expire in 1991. Negotiations with the U.S. government over the future of the bases began April 5.

A broad spectrum of political forces have joined together to demand that the bases agreement with Washington be ended and that the U.S. military installations be dismantled.

This broad sentiment against the massive U.S. military presence was reflected in the June 6 passage of a bill in the Philippine Senate that would ban nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered ships from the country. There were only three dissenting votes. It is an open secret that Washington stockpiles nuclear weapons at its Philippine bases.

As well as being the principal staging post for U.S. military intervention in Asia and the Middle East, the bases are the major means through which Washington funds, equips, and trains the Philippine armed forces as the chief defender of imperialist and landlord interests in the country. In this way, Washington has a pivotal role in the shaping of Manila's "counterinsurgency" campaign in the countryside.

A major thorn in the side of the Aquino government is the struggle for self-determination by the 5 million Moros in southern Mindanao. The Moros have been winning wider international political and military support, especially in the Mideast. During March, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to which 47 countries belong, voted to extend interim membership to the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), in protest of the Philippine government's denial of Moro rights.

At the same time, the military high command has been threatening to renew the war against the MNLF and other armed organizations leading the struggle unless they capitulate to Manila. During the 1970s as many as 100,000 people died, and 200,000

fled to the neighboring Malaysian state of Sabah, in a full-scale civil war on Mindanao.

Example of Palestinian youth

The MNLF retains wide support among Muslim peasants. Since 1986, it has regained effective control over parts of the southern Philippines. And with the inspiring example before them of the Palestinian youth who are struggling against Israeli domination, the Moro struggle could explode again if the military breaks the cease-fire.

Peasant-based guerrilla warfare led by the CPP has intensified again since February 1987, with significant clashes between the NPA and the army and paramilitary groups being reported from most regions of the countryside. The guerrillas usually come out on top in these encounters.

Very often, military victories over the guerrillas claimed by the armed forces turn out to be massacres of unarmed peasants, as in the Aurora example cited earlier. Sometimes such massacres are retaliation for defeats that have been inflicted by the NPA nearby.

This year, however, the military dealt the guerrilla movement a significant blow through capturing a number of its prominent leaders. This included a section of the leadership from the Visayas region of the central Philippines in February, and several national leaders, including CPP General-Secretary Rafael Baylosis and NPA chief Romulo Kintanar, in March.

While the activity of the CPP has remained focused on the guerrilla war — with 85 percent of its membership based in the countryside, according to *Ang Bayan* — NPA units have also begun operating in major cities. The government claims that as many as 150 of its military and civilian officials have been shot by these urban units during this period, mostly in Manila.

Last year two U.S. servicemen and one retired GI were shot down in Angeles City outside Clark Air Base. The NPA claimed responsibility, stating that they now considered U.S. military personnel to be a legitimate target in their struggle.

The NPA clearly retains significant support, especially among impoverished peasants in the more remote rural areas such as Samar Island and the mountains of northern Luzon, and where landlord repression and the crisis on the land has been the most intense, as in Negros. According to both the guerrillas and the Philippine military, the NPA has grown over the past year, especially among landless peasant youth.

National Democratic Front

In those rural areas where their influence is greatest, the guerrillas' political arm, the National Democratic Front (NDF), has established clandestine "provisional revolutionary governments," which collect taxes, run educational programs, and administer their own form of justice against landlords, government informers, and other perceived wrongdoers. But these are still localized and don't yet touch the lives of the great majority of Philippine workers and farmers today.

The NDF has also been on a campaign to gain greater international recognition and support.

Despite the rightward evolution of her government, Aquino retains significant, if diminished, political support among working people, as well as the upper classes.

Nationwide popular sympathy for the New People's Army since their resumption of the guerrilla war in a major way last year has not reached the level that accompanied their armed struggle against the hated Marcos tyranny. At that time they were cheered by millions of workers and peasants, and their support extended into substantial sections of the urban middle classes.

The Philippines' ruling landlords and capitalists appear today to have successfully ridden out the overthrow of Marcos and rolled back the volatile threat of millions of Filipino toilers in political motion, for the time being. But it is unlikely that they have gained a prolonged period of stability. The depth of the social crisis wracking Philippine society, the slide of world capitalism toward a massive economic depression, and the fighting experience and tradition of the Philippine workers and farmers should see to that.

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The July/August issue of *PM* features an "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis." This document, adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, takes up the political consequences for working people of the October 1987 stock market crash.

Also featured, is an interview with Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America and general secretary of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.



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How U.S. gov't drove Indians onto reservations

BY HARRY RING

During his recent visit to Moscow, President Ronald Reagan was asked by Soviet students about the treatment of U.S. Indians.

The president responded, "We've done everything we can to meet their demands on how they want to live." This, he said, included providing "millions of acres of land for what are called reservations — or reservations."

Some of the Indians, Reagan added, "became very wealthy because some of those reservations were overlaying great pools of oil. And you can get very rich pumping oil."

"Maybe," he speculated, "we should not have humored them . . . wanting to stay in that kind of primitive life-style. Maybe we should have said, 'No, come join us. Be citizens along with the rest of us.'" (Actually all Indians in the United States were made citizens by an act of Congress in 1924.)

The International Indian Treaty Council/American Indian Movement issued a statement calling Reagan's remarks "racist and completely false."

Many books have been written that document how Indians were forcibly relocated on reservations that comprise but a tiny fraction of the land from which they were driven. And others detail their plight today.

The principal facts in that story are summarized in a report issued in 1981 by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, entitled, "Indian Tribes — A Continuing Quest for Survival."

According to a spokesperson at the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, the current Indian population is 1.7 million. Of these, 892,000 are enrolled as members of tribes. About 340,000 of these live on reservations.

The Civil Rights Commission report tells something of how they got there.

In the early 1800s, a drive was opened to push the Indian population out of the southeastern part of the country. They were to be forced into western areas then considered uninhabitable by whites.

The commission's report states: "The ideal of 'progress' was invoked to rationalize the forced migrations as inevitable and to obscure the material greed of American expansionism. This period has been described as 'one of the blackest chapters in American history.'"

The report adds: "It is clear that in the taking of Indian lands any device that was deemed effective was used, including theft, fraud, deceit, and military force."

Protests hit cutbacks in Australia

BY KATE BLAKENEY

SYDNEY, Australia — More than 3,000 students from about 120 schools marched through the streets here June 26, protesting against changes in the educational system introduced by the state government of New South Wales.

The protest was the latest in a wave of strikes and other actions directed against the recently elected Liberal-National Coalition government's antiunion measures and social service cutbacks. About 30,000 workers had walked off the job at building sites, factories, dockyards, and breweries June 15. They marched to the offices of the arbitration commission to support their demand for a 6 percent wage increase and oppose antiunion legislation.

On the next day, 75,000 New South Wales schoolteachers struck in opposition to the new education program.

The teachers were protesting a budget plan that is expected to eliminate 2,000 teaching positions, increase classroom hours, eliminate additional funding for schools in poorer or outlying areas, and abolish other programs.

In the wake of these actions, which came as 140,000 Australian public service workers were staging the longest strike their

Nor was Washington content to herd the victims onto western reservations, usually within former Indian landholdings.

Toward the end of the 1800s, the government declared that the Indian tradition of communally owned land was not "civilized" and for the sake of the "savages" themselves, private ownership had to be established.

Each family was allotted a parcel of land. The surplus was bought by the government and opened up for white homesteading.

Many of the individual parcels were lost. Some families, desperate for cash, were compelled to sell. Others were victims of debt foreclosures. Many who didn't read English were swindled into selling their land with the understanding that they were only selling mineral or timber rights.

In 40 years, 90 million acres of Indian land was lost to the whites.

On what land remains to them, the Indians have been systematically ripped off.

The report explains: "Although Indians possess substantial resource wealth — coal, gas, uranium, water — this potential wealth has not been translated into permanent economic or political power."

"In fact wealth or the potential for wealth has often made the Indians the victims of more powerful interests greedy for the assets under Indian control."

The ripoff process was accompanied by a drive to stamp out Indian culture.

Thousands of Indian children were taken off to boarding schools where they were cut off from an Indian environment and subjected to learning "white ways."

Along with this came a systematic drive to suppress Indian religion. Christian missionaries were subsidized by Congress. One Bureau of Indian Affairs regulation made it a criminal offense to engage in such Indian ceremonies as the sun dance.

The Civil Rights Commission report details the jailing and fines imposed on Indians today for engaging in hunting and fishing practices guaranteed by treaties.

The report presents facts on the abuse of Indians not living on reservations — police brutality, a loaded "justice" system, and job and housing discrimination.

Indian women of childbearing age have been the victims of forced sterilization.

At four Indian Health Service hospitals, in a three-year period, more than 3,000 sterilizations were performed.

Bitter poverty prevails on the reservations.

On the largest, the Navajo reservation in Arizona and New Mexico, 40 percent of

union had waged, students at many high schools in the state went on strike.

In the mining town of Broken Hill, students at Willyama High protested the elimination of elective courses, such as industrial arts. They fear this will make it even harder to find jobs in the area, where unemployment is high.

The students protested the cutback in teachers. They denounced plans to cut back programs for disabled students; introduce fees for students attending Tertiary and Further Education Colleges (TAFE), who include unemployed youth, single mothers, and immigrants; cut salaries of TAFE college teachers by 10 percent; and alter the marking system of the Higher School Certificate obtained on graduating. They also protested plans to enforce the wearing of school uniforms, require saluting the flag at weekly assemblies, and impose fines — and even possible arrest — for swearing.

On July 1, the scheduled last day of the term, students across New South Wales went on strike in response to a call by the School Students Union. Their demands included support for the teachers, no fees for TAFE college students, and no corporal punishment of students.



the people are jobless.

On the Rosebud Sioux reservation in South Dakota, the unemployment rate is 82 percent. On the Crow reservation in Montana, it's 56 percent.

Since the reservations were created, suicide has been one of the leading causes of death. In Alaska today, the suicide rate among Indian youth is 10 times the average for people their age.

Even while Reagan was in Moscow a delegation of Indians was there also to get support for the case of Leonard Peltier. Peltier is serving two life sentences for the deaths of two FBI agents killed during a shoot-out in 1975 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. White House officials said the press of summit business did not leave the president time to meet with the delegation.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Hungarians march on Romanian embassy

Thousands of Hungarians marched on the Romanian embassy in Hungary June 28. The march of 30,000 to 50,000 protested the Romanian government's plan to eliminate nearly 8,000 villages in Romania. Many of the villages slated to be leveled are located in Transylvania and populated by the country's Hungarian minority. Transylvania was part of Hungary before World War I.

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu charged that Hungary had backed the protest and ordered the Hungarian consulate, in the city of Cluj-Napoca, to close. He gave the consulate staff 48 hours in which to leave Romania.

The Hungarian government has formally complained to Romania about the plan to level the villages, charging that it is aimed at weakening the identity of national minorities.

In April of this year Romanian officials announced plans to eliminate half of the country's 13,000 villages and form big agricultural-industrial centers by the year 2000. The plan also bans the construction of single-family homes. Thousands of apartments are being built to accommodate the families.

Report hits British violence in Ireland

A report by the human rights group Amnesty International states that permissive use of lethal force in Northern Ireland by the British government lends credibility to charges of official involvement in deliberate police killings of unarmed Irish civilians.

The group called on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to appoint an independent judicial inquiry to investigate killings in Northern Ireland.

The report cites a special police inquiry conducted by John Stalker, a former deputy inspector with the Manchester police. That report concluded that a series of six shootings in 1982 suggested that police were inclined to shoot suspects to death, without warning, rather than arrest them.

Amnesty's report also challenged the British government's version of the shooting deaths of three suspected Irish Republican Army members by British security agents in Gibraltar in March. All three were killed without warning or any attempt to arrest them.

Officials of the British government's Northern Ireland Ministry declined to comment on the report but defended existing procedures for investigating such shootings. But the Amnesty report noted that in most cases British officials in Northern Ireland refused to prosecute policemen or soldiers involved in questionable shootings of Irish civilians.

The report listed 49 killings by police and security forces between November 1982 and April 1988. Most of the victims were from the Catholic minority, and 19 were unarmed.

China offers asylum for Pol Pot, aides

The Chinese government has informed Washington that it is willing to give asylum to Pol Pot and his top aides when a political settlement of the war in Kampuchea is reached. The Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot, was responsible for the deaths of millions of Kampuchians during its 1975-78 rule in Phnom Penh.

The Pol Pot regime was overthrown by opponents within the country with the aid of thousands of Vietnamese troops in December 1978 and January 1979. Vietnamese troops have remained in Kampuchea ever since, helping to defend the current government against attacks by forces of the Khmer Rouge. The Chinese government has backed the Khmer Rouge.

The Peking regime's offer of asylum for Pol Pot comes amid moves to begin negotiations for a settlement of the war. According to the June 18 *Washington Post*, Thailand's Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila told reporters that plans are proceeding for a no-conditions diplomatic meeting on July 25 in Indonesia.

Vietnam has announced that it will withdraw 50,000 of its 120,000 troops from Kampuchea by the end of this year.

Happy days — "It's the kind of market we've been waiting for for eight years," exulted a Chicago



Harry Ring

trader in soybean futures, busily cashing in on drought-induced scarcity.

They know something? — We reported that the army has sufficient confidence in the post office to ship by mail such deadly biological warfare weapons as live viruses of anthrax, botulism, and

dengue fever. But the P.O. apparently doesn't have the same confidence. It's proposing a ban on the practice.

With equality for all — The Supreme Court ruled June 24 that an impoverished North Dakota child living 16 miles from the nearest school does not have the constitutional right to use the state school bus without paying.

And justice too — The high court also ruled that state and federal officials cannot be sued for cutting off peoples' Social Security disability benefits illegally.

Royal grasp — Members of the British royal family journeyed to Australia for the opening of the new Parliament House. On being intro-

duced to the minister for Aboriginal affairs, Prince Philip boomed, "Ah, brickbats. . . . Boomerangs!" It was deduced that he assumed the minister was involved in the Aboriginal rights protest in front of the Parliament.

Unlike self-supporting royalty — When Australia's minister for social security was introduced to Queen Elizabeth, it was indicated that his concerns include poverty. "Yes," Her Majesty responded, "It's such a drain on the taxpayers."

Reasonable chap — A fire at a Springfield, Massachusetts, chloride plant spewed a poison gas cloud over the city and drove 25,000 people from their homes. The city attorney said the com-

pany was not to blame. "Maybe there was too much of that chemical in that building at that time," he opined. "But I don't think there's anything on the books that told the company not to do that."

Petty larceny — Mexican stocks dived when the two top execs at Mexico City's stock exchange quit, with a reported \$7 million missing from the till. For Wall St. ripoff artists, \$7 million would be lunch money.

Semantics, Tory style — In Britain, the number of homeless families has nearly doubled in a decade. In response, the Tory government proposes to redefine homelessness as "rooflessness." That is, you have to be in the street, not in any temporary shel-

ter. This would slash the number qualified for priority in public housing.

The wheels of justice — Columnist Carl Rowan won't be prosecuted for taking a shot at a youth who took a predawn dip in Rowan's backyard pool. Instead, they'll prosecute the wounded youth and a companion.

Hurt him more than them — The Scottish Business Achievement Award was conferred on David Erdal, an ex-member of Britain's Worker's Revolutionary Party. He took over the family paper mill and in three years increased profits 10-fold. Still socially concerned, he's strong on employee stock-sharing. And when he sacked 160 workers, it was, for him, "painful."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Revolutionary Cuba Today. Speaker: Rena Cacoullos, National Chairperson Young Socialist Alliance. Attended 1987 Young Communists conference in Cuba. Sat., July 9, 6 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Stand Up! With the People of El Salvador. An evening of stand-up comedy featuring Paula Poundstone, Jim Samuels, Marga Gomez, others. Tue., July 12, 8 p.m. Great American Music Hall, 859 O'Farrell. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (415) 648-8222.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

An Action Program for Workers and Farmers to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president. Sun., July 10, 5 p.m., Open house, 3 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

IOWA

Des Moines

Art and Revolution: the Pathfinder Mural Project. Speaker: Linda Marcus, Socialist Workers Party, participant in the project. Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. Speakers: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Rashaad Ali, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., July 10. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign '88. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Sat., July 23. Class 1. "The Legacy of Che Guevara." 1 p.m. Class 2. "The Rectifica-

tion Campaign in Cuba." 3:30 p.m. Cuban-style dinner at 6 p.m. Celebration of the Cuban Revolution, 7 p.m. Speaker: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently visited Cuba. 7:30 p.m. All events at 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2 for each class and forum. Dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Crisis in the Caribbean: Report Back from the Dominican Republic. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Young Socialist Alliance representative to founding convention of Union of Young Dominicans. Sun., July 10, 7 p.m. Forum in Spanish, translation to English. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Learning About Socialism. A three-part series held on Saturdays at 12:30 p.m. Class 1. "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," July 16. Class 2. "The Fight for Black Liberation," July 23. Class 3. "The Palestinian Struggle Today," July 30. All classes translated to Spanish and held at 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Cuba: an Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Joan Campana, Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, participated in Cuban minibrigade. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 23. Cuban dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

Austin

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 1st C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 9. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Minneapolis

Nicaragua Lives! Celebrate nine years of the

Nicaraguan revolution. Dance to "Salsa Blanca." Sat., July 23, 8-12 p.m. Holy Rosary Church Hall, 2424 18th Ave. S. Donation: \$5. Benefit for Pledge of Resistance, Stop the Lies Campaign, Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, Oats for Peace. For more information call (612) 644-8050.

St. Paul

An Action Program to Defend the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Food and Commercial Workers union. Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

The End of the Contra War: Building the New Nicaragua. Speaker: Ramona Olson, Socialist Workers Party, recent brigade worker in Nicaragua. Sat., July 16, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Che's Cuba Lives On. Speaker: Tom Jaax, Socialist Workers Party. Video of Guevara participating in volunteer youth work brigades. Sat., July 23, 6 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Pathfinder Bookstore Sale. Celebrate July 19 Nicaraguan revolution and Cuba's July 26 with our July sale. 10% off books and pamphlets on revolutions in Cuba and Central America. Hours: 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Mon. through Fri. 10 a.m.-9 p.m. Sat. 508 N. Snelling Ave. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Public Art and the Mural Movement. Speaker: Eva Cockcroft, award-winning muralist, author of *Toward a People's Art: the Contemporary Mural Movement*, founder and director of Artmakers, painter of Mother Jones portrait in Pathfinder Building mural. Sat., July 9. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Music and social to follow. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Crisis Facing Working People: a Program to Fight Back. Speakers: Kathleen Mick-

ells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., July 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Grand Celebration Party Honoring Ninth Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution.

Featuring "Son Primero" live with Charlie Santiago; also a Nicaraguan DJ. Sat., July 23, 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. Local 1199, 310 W 43rd St. (between 8th and 9th avenues). Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Socialist Campaign Rally: An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Jim Gotesky, SWP candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D. Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Nicaragua: The End of the Contra War. An eyewitness account. Speaker: Matt Munro, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua. Fri., July 15, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Cuba: Our Power Is the Power of the Working People. The Cuban Revolution Today. Speaker: Mary Imo, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 598. Sat., July 23, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Cuba: A Firsthand Account. Slideshow and presentation by Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., July 9, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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Rally boosts Mark Curtis defense effort

Continued from front page

to defend Curtis. "We came forward because we want people to be rational and stop following him [Curtis] like blind, lost sheep," he stated. "I am not going to stand still and let these people make an international attack on my children and my family."

In his remarks to the Convention Center gathering, Curtis explained that he is "completely innocent of all the charges." He said the postponement of the trial gives him and his supporters "two more precious months to mobilize support for having the charges dropped."

"An article appeared in the *Des Moines Register* today, not surprisingly on the day of the rally, quoting a Mr. Morris who says that I and my supporters are attacking his family," Curtis said. "That's not the case. We are fighting the Des Moines police — they are the ones pushing this frame-up."

Curtis became active in politics as a student at the University of New Mexico. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance 11 years ago. After moving to Birmingham, Alabama, he was active as a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with Central America. "We were part of a national group, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)," he said. "This activity brought me under the watchful eye of the FBI."

In 1985 Curtis moved to New York where he was national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, helping to organize the YSA's participation in anti-apartheid and abortion rights marches.

After moving to Des Moines in 1986, Curtis got a job at the Swift plant and became a member of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431.

"On March 1," continued Curtis, "immigration cops came to Iowa, invaded Swift, arresting 16 Mexican and a Salvadoran worker. They dragged them right off the line and charged them with felonies under the government's new immigration law."

"Because I speak Spanish, because I hold my political views, I was able, along with others, to play an important role in the fight against the raid," he said.

On March 4 Curtis attended a meeting to protest the arrest of the Swift 17. "A few hours later I was arrested myself."

Rally speakers

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who has been struggling for 11 years to live, work, and be politically active in the United States, spoke at the rally. Marroquín said he will be traveling to Toronto, Canada, on July 6 for an interview with U.S. State Department officials.

"In this interview, a formal decision is going to be made by the U.S. government on whether to grant me permanent residence," Marroquín said.

Marroquín emphasized that Curtis' case is taking place after the October 1987 stock market crash, which "showed that a depression is coming, and working people and farmers in this country are going to face more attacks like the one Mark is facing."

Youth activists circulate appeal to defend Mark Curtis

"An Appeal to Student and Youth Activists," signed by five young political leaders, is being circulated nationally on behalf of Mark Curtis.

The appeal describes the frame-up and Curtis' background, including his longtime membership in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). It urges young people to get involved in the defense effort.

The signers are Julie Shayne, national student organizer, CISPES; Pat Kearns, Progressive Student Network; Rena Cacoullis, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance; Rob Jones, anti-apartheid activist; and Matthew Countryman, member, Democratic Socialists of America's Youth Section and Third World Caucus.

New York youth leaders Danisa Baloyi, South African student activist, and Chris Amato, Bronx High School of Science Students for International Awareness, have added their names to the appeal.

The current issue of *Progressive Student News* also carried an article on the Mark Curtis case.

Solly Simelane, deputy representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, told the rally that the rape and burglary charges against Curtis were designed by the cops to arouse "emotional undertones" and to portray Curtis "as a 'criminal,' not as a person fighting unemployment and the injustice going on in this country."

"When you are involved with politics," Simelane said, "your enemy will look around to try to find something to pin you down."

He noted that South African freedom fighters have had much experience with people being victimized, including being executed for "keeping bad company or being near the scene where an incident took place." As an example, Simelane pointed to the case of the Sharpeville Six who are scheduled to be hanged in South Africa on July 19.

Albert Sankey, president of the Montgomery, Alabama, chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the crowd police beatings like the one Curtis suffered "are common for Blacks in Alabama."

"I don't think the police are really concerned about the young lady and the kid who called," Sankey said. "They beat up Mark Curtis. To justify their act they framed him up and tried to discredit his name so others who don't know what the real story is wouldn't support him. But we're not going to let that happen, we're going to get behind him."

Elías Castro Ramos — a Puerto Rican independence activist who is himself a frame-up defendant, fingered by the FBI in the Hartford 15 case — described how political police, "trained by the FBI," participated in the murder of an independence activist and a Teamster organizer in Puerto Rico a decade ago.

Greg McCartan, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, said that as a result of the coming economic depression, more and more young people will emulate Curtis' example and decide to "take history into their own hands."

The YSA leader urged rally participants "to go back to their cities and explain what we have learned here today." He also urged supporters to step up their campaign of messages to Des Moines police chief William Moulder demanding that the charges be dropped and to help raise funds for Curtis' defense.

Other speakers were Joe Franklin, a Korean War veteran who has been participating in the Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua, and Beverley Bernardo, a Montreal garment worker who got her job back after being fired for political activity.

The rally was chaired by Curtis Defense Committee supporter Nan Bailey.

A fund appeal from Des Moines defense committee member Hazel Zimmerman raised more than \$5,000. The committee has now raised \$43,447 and expects to quickly reach the \$45,000 goal it had set earlier. A new budget and fundraising goal is now being discussed.

Dozens of messages

Many messages were sent to the rally. Angela Sanbrano, executive director of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, wrote: "CISPES has been a target of a five-year campaign of surveillance by the FBI. Mark is mentioned prominently in our FBI files. The attack against him by the Des Moines police is the latest chapter of this attempt by the government to end his effective work for immigrant rights and against U.S. intervention in El Salvador"

Twenty-nine prominent trade unionists sent messages to the rally, including Felix Jacques, executive vice-president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 in Jay, Maine; Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State; Mike Mezo, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana; Jack Foley, director of District 1 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union in Long Beach, California; and Los Angeles International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union officers Phil Russo, Rueben Vallasscal, Patricia Zamudio, Eva Addison, and Antonio Orea.

Messages were also received from Neo Mnumzana, chief ANC representative to the United Nations; Iowa farm activist George Naylor; American Indian leader



Militant/Linda Marcus
African National Congress leader Solly Simelane spoke at rally.

Vernon Bellecourt; Rena Cacoullis, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance; Colonel Stone Johnson of the Birmingham Chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; and Fred Dube, a professor and ANC member fired from his job at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York.

Curtis' parents Stan and Jane were introduced to the crowd. Also introduced were Carroll Nearmyer and Larry Ginter, president and vice-president of the Iowa Chapter of the American Agriculture Movement.

Fifteen groups or organizations staffed or sent materials for the tables that lined the room where the rally was held.

Six women wearing "Take back the night" T-shirts showed up before the rally began. After they expressed hostility to

Curtis' defense effort, his supporters began engaging them in discussions. They left the Convention Center after Curtis was introduced to the crowd and received a standing ovation.

On July 6 the *Register* reported that an "influential congressman has written to Des Moines police department officials on behalf of Mark Curtis, a Des Moines union activist who claims police wrongly charged him with sexual abuse and then beat him."

The paper quotes Michigan Congressman John Conyers' letter as stating, "The alleged physical attack upon Mr. Curtis while he was in police custody speaks to the grave necessity for an intense investigation of the conduct of the officers."

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — Striking United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 President Bill Meserve urged 500 strikers and their supporters here to sign petitions for Curtis at the June 29 union/family meeting.

"He needs our help, and he needs it bad," Meserve said. While many strikers had already given support to Curtis, 146 more signed petitions and took defense committee literature. The Jay workers, who've been on strike against International Paper Co. since June last year, donated \$110 to Curtis' defense.

Prior to Meserve's remarks, Boston Curtis Defense Committee activist Mark Emanatian received a warm response to his 10-minute plea for support from the assembled workers. Curtis, he said, "could be anyone in this room, any union fighter, anyone like you who's stood up to the war in Central America, who fights the company."

How you can help

Messages demanding the charges against Mark Curtis be dropped and the cops who beat him be prosecuted should be addressed to Chief of Police William Moulder, 25 E. 1st St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309. Copies of messages and petitions, along with contributions, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 35¢
July 14, 1978

JULY 4— The clock is running out on U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell. Barring a sudden about-face by the Carter administration, Bell will be the first attorney general ever held in contempt of court, at 5:00 p.m. on July 7.

After that date, the Socialist Workers Party will renew its motion in federal court that Bell be locked up. The party is demanding that Bell be confined to prison until he obeys a court order to turn over files on 18 FBI provocateurs and spies used against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

President Carter's Georgia buddy, a former federal appeals court judge, will thus gain the distinction of becoming the nation's number one law-breaking official.

The judgement against the attorney general came in a sweeping 64-page decision handed down June 30 by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the SWP and YSA suit against government spying and harassment.

The American people, Griesa declared in his opinion, have a right to be "protected against the illegal and unconstitutional use of informants to interfere with the exercise of basic political rights and to invade the privacy of persons and organizations."

Griesa raked Bell over the coals for creating an "unjustified delay and obstruction to the production of evidence in a case involving serious charges of illegal use of informants."

Responding to Justice Department pleas that holding Bell in contempt would be unprecedented, Griesa said, "No one can

deny that it is a grave step to enforce a court order to the extent of holding the Attorney General of the United States in contempt. However, the issues in this case are grave in the extreme, involving charges of abuse of political power of the most serious nature."



A unique incident in the current struggle for Negro equality demonstrates the power of mass action — the kind of action it is going to take to shake up the white power structure in the U.S. and get some meaningful civil rights legislation out of Congress. The incident occurred in Cambridge, Maryland, on the night of July 11. Some 300 persons had demonstrated for civil rights on the courthouse steps and had been pelted with eggs by white racists. They maintained order and were returning to the Negro section of town when one of their number, 17-year-old William Jackson, was arrested by state police for "carrying a paring knife."

As word of this spread through the Second Ward — a Negro neighborhood where the citizens are armed for defense against racist attack — a huge crowd of Negroes formed and began marching on the armory where young Jackson was being held. They marched, "shouting 'Freedom, Freedom' with the volume of a thousand drums," according to one reporter. And before they reached the armory, the police released the prisoner, who was then hoisted to the shoulders of his comrades and carried away in jubilation.

No more Flight 655s or 'Starks'!

The USS *Stark* or Flight 655? That is the grisly choice that the Reagan administration and the Pentagon offer the people of the United States and the Persian Gulf region. That is their justification for killing 290 passengers on an Iranian airliner in the gulf.

"People remember the *Stark* and they don't want a repetition of it," one administration official told the *Washington Post*. Because of this, the *Post* indicated, there was "a consensus among the president's advisers that the American people would accept [Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman] Crowe's explanation and Reagan's statement and continue to support a U.S. presence in the Gulf."

Crowe's and Reagan's cover story about why firing on the airliner was justified has now been exposed in nearly every detail. But the U.S. rulers continue to hope that working people will buy the claim that the only alternative to more killings of U.S. sailors, such as occurred on the *Stark*, is more hair-trigger massacres of hundreds traveling on "hostile" airliners.

The choice is a fraud. There is another alternative: pulling U.S. ships, planes, and troops out of the Persian Gulf region, where they have been deliberately placed in

harm's way by the U.S. government.

Moreover, their very presence there is in violation of the right of the peoples in the gulf region to determine their own affairs.

President Reagan says that U.S. troops are there to guarantee freedom of navigation and help end the war that began when Iraqi forces invaded Iran in 1980.

But the U.S. presence has nothing to do with freedom of navigation or peace. The U.S. intervention is intended to help the Iraqi rulers push back Iranian forces. The movement of a U.S. armada, backed by ships from a number of Washington's European allies, into the Persian Gulf was intended to escalate the Iraqi war against Iran, and it has done so.

Working people in the United States and in the Persian Gulf have no interest in the U.S. war moves against Iran in the gulf. Our interests lie in putting an end to the massacres brought on by the U.S. presence — whether the victims are U.S. sailors, Iranian seamen, or airline passengers.

Washington and its allies should get their warships, warplanes, and troops out of the Persian Gulf region now.

Broaden defense of Mark Curtis!

The decision by District Judge Anthony Critelli to postpone the trial of Mark Curtis to September 7 gave supporters of democratic rights nine additional weeks in which to continue and broaden the defense effort on Curtis' behalf.

As July 6 — the original date of his trial on charges of sexual assault and burglary — neared, an emergency international campaign of protests against his frame-up gathered steam. Hundreds of messages flooded the Des Moines police department. These helped to win the postponement.

A broad public rally in Des Moines on July 3, attended by 250 people, celebrated this victory and vowed to con-

tinue the fight to demand the charges against Curtis be dropped, and the cops responsible for his beating be prosecuted.

The time gained by the trial postponement offers an opportunity to systematically build on the support that has already been won in order to broaden the protests against the cops' efforts to railroad this young fighter, who faces 25 years or longer in prison.

Meetings can be organized to explain the case. More telegrams, petitions, and letters can be sent to Des Moines Chief of Police William Moulder. And thousands of dollars need to be raised to meet the many defense effort expenses, including attorney's fees.

New round in Marroquín fight

The next few months are also vital in another case of political victimization, that of Héctor Marroquín. A Mexican-born socialist, Marroquín has been fighting for 11 years for his right to live and work in the United States. His case has become a landmark in the struggle for democratic rights for immigrants.

An important gain was won in Marroquín's long battle when the State Department agreed to meet with him on his application for permanent residence. This meeting took place July 6 in Toronto with U.S. Consul General Lyle Van Ravenswaay. His application, which has been pending for five years, is based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen.

The outcome of the meeting, however, was to throw yet another obstacle in the path of Marroquín's application. A special waiver, Van Ravenswaay explained, is needed from the Immigration and Naturalization Service

in order for the State Department to take final action on his application.

A recently enacted law permits the government to request this waiver for those who have entered the United States without documents. Marroquín was convicted in 1977 of entering the United States "under false pretenses." He was fleeing for his life from a political frame-up at the hands of the Mexican police.

The public support for Marroquín, who won temporary residence in April under the government's immigrant amnesty program, has been decisive at every stage of his fight. Now, telegrams, letters, and messages to Alan Nelson, commissioner of the INS, are again needed, demanding swift action granting the waiver and his green card. This will make it possible for final action to be taken, and Marroquín's right to permanent residence at last won.

Ruling on special prosecutors

The Supreme Court's ruling upholding the law authorizing the appointment of special prosecutors was a blow to the Reagan administration. The special prosecutors investigate alleged wrongdoing by the president and top officials.

The seven-to-one decision was written by William Rehnquist, whom Reagan appointed as chief justice.

The administration held that the law passed by Congress infringed on the president's power by violating the Constitution's provision for separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. The legislation limits the president's ability to fire or restrict the prosecutors.

Overtaking the law would have helped the administration halt embarrassing inquiries and trials, including the investigation of the Iran-contra scandal. Attorney General Edwin Meese resigned July 5, following the completion of an investigation by a special prosecutor of some of his shady dealings.

The special-prosecutor law was the product of conflicts within ruling circles. These arose from the growing tendency of the executive branch to stand above the Constitution in exercising powers to wage war, carry out secret foreign and domestic policies, and violate individual rights.

Antonin Scalia, the sole dissenter from the Supreme Court ruling on special prosecutors, defended the sweeping claims of power being made by the White House.

He argued that the president must be able to quash investigations or prosecutions of himself or his aides. "Be-

sides weakening the Presidency by reducing the zeal of his staff," Scalia complained, "it must also be obvious that the institution of the independent counsel enfeebles him more directly in his constant confrontations with Congress, by eroding his public support."

In addition to implying that the president has a constitutional right to "public support," Scalia was stressing the importance of allowing the White House to exercise its "zeal" to the full, untrammelled by law.

Most of the court, like most of the U.S. ruling class, thinks it unwise today to go as far as Scalia in openly placing the presidency above the law. But the democratic forms of capitalist rule provided for in the Constitution are increasingly out of harmony with the needs of the ruling class.

The rulers must carry out unpopular wars, impose domestic policies that worsen the conditions of workers and farmers, and violate the rights of working people to organize and protest. Much of this has to be carried out both illegally and secretly.

The court ruling will not stop the unconstitutional concentration of power in the executive branch, nor is it intended to. This centralization process has taken place not primarily against the will of Congress and the courts, but with their complicity.

The Supreme Court ruling is part of an effort to control this tendency toward a "strong" presidency, and to bolster the public credibility of the government, including the White House.

What is political economy?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Since the October stock market crash, we see articles on the front page of the daily papers that used to appear only in the business section.

Mainly, this is because the editors know that their readers are more attentive to the Third World debt crisis, value of the dollar, balance of foreign trade, and other such matters than they were before. We are more concerned about broader economic issues because we sense

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

that they have more to do with our daily lives and with our future.

But when we read the evaluations and forecasts presented by the economists who write for or are interviewed by these papers, we begin to wonder what economics is. Can it, as a field of study, make any sense out of what is happening in the economy today? Is it a true science as those who make it their careers contend? Or is it simply a set of rationalizations for continued big-business rule without any lawfulness whatsoever?

Some light can be thrown on what economics is by going back to the 18th century when the investigation of the workings of the capitalist economy began. Those who studied economics then called the subject *political economy*.

This wasn't simply a terminological difference with how the academic world today describes the field of study it refers to as "economics" and gives Nobel Prizes for.

These early investigators examined the material components of capitalist production such as tools and raw materials as well as such economic categories as value, wages, profits, and rent. They found labor to be the underlying basis of all economic phenomena and the basis for the value of products exchanged in the market.

"The true fathers of modern political economy," Karl Marx wrote, were the Physiocrats, a mid-18th century French school of economic thinkers and propagandists. He said their great merit was that they conceived the components of capitalist production "as forms arising from the natural necessity of production itself, forms that are independent of anyone's will or of politics, etc."

Political economy as a science was advanced by Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who developed further the labor theory of value. "The value of a commodity . . . depends on the relative quantity of labour which is necessary for its production, and not on the greater or less compensation which is paid for that labour," Ricardo explained in his most important book, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

Smith and Ricardo also went beyond their predecessors in analyzing the origin of surplus value from which profits, rents, and interest come. Ricardo, who wrote several decades after Smith and whose thinking was shaped by the rise of the industrial revolution in the first years of the 19th century, also made advances in understanding the distribution of products between social classes and in explaining ground rent.

Smith, Ricardo, and others who helped put political economy on a scientific footing were all supporters of capitalism. One of their limitations was that they viewed the forms of production that they examined to be eternal and natural. They didn't see them as the forms of a definite historical social stage. This eventually led to an impasse for political economy.

"Classical political economy," Marx wrote, "belongs to a period in which the class struggle was as yet undeveloped. Its last great representative, Ricardo, ultimately (and consciously) made the antagonism of class interests, of wages and profits, of profits and rent, the starting-point of his investigations, naively taking this antagonism for a social law of nature. But with this contribution the bourgeois science of economics had reached the limits beyond which it could not pass."

Marx noted that after 1830 "the class struggle took on more and more explicit and threatening forms, both in practice and in theory. It sounded the knell of scientific bourgeois economics. It was thenceforth no longer a question whether this or that theorem was true, but whether it was useful to capital or harmful, expedient or inexpedient, in accordance with police regulations or contrary to them."

Marx added, "In place of disinterested inquirers there stepped hired prize-fighters; in place of genuine scientific research, the bad conscience and evil intent of apologues."

That pretty well sums up what passes for "economics" today.

But when the sharpening of the class struggle brought an end to a scientific approach to political economy within a capitalist framework, the working-class movement built on what had already been achieved in this arena. Marx, who helped put the generalized experiences of the workers' movement — that is communism — on a scientific basis, also deepened the scientific foundations of political economy. That's the legacy working people can turn to in looking for answers today to what appear to be very perplexing problems.

Textile workers

The article in the July 1 *Militant* on the British textile strikes against Courtaulds generated some interest among my coworkers. In the spinning department of Cone Mills' denim manufacturing plant here, the paper made its way from smoking booth to smoking booth.

U.S. textile workers face many of the same problems as British workers in the spinning and weaving mills. In the past several years, some 225,000 textile jobs have been eliminated in the United States, about 85 percent as a result of advances in technology. At the same time, modest increases in wages have not kept pace with inflation and many textile workers are now confronted with short time and short pay. Our hours are being cut to 36 or less per week as a result of "weakened market conditions," in the words of the employers.

So the demand for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, or alongside real increases in wages, such as those being sought by the British workers, is a demand that makes sense to us as well.

Workers interested in further reading on the impact of changes in technology in industry might check out the chapter in Volume 1 of Marx's *Capital* on "Machinery and Large-Scale Industry." Especially of interest to those of us working in textile mills are the examples he cites of changes in the British cotton industry in the early 1800s with the introduction of new spinning technology and power looms.

Yvonne Hayes
Greensboro, North Carolina

Memorial Quilt

The highlight of Gay and Lesbian Pride Week in New York City June 20-26 was the display of the National AIDS Memorial Quilt, now on a 20-city tour, and the unveiling of the New York City quilt, which will be joined to the national quilt in Washington, D.C., in October.

The idea of the quilt can be traced to a November 1985 candlelight procession in San Francisco where the cardboard placards were attached to the federal building that spelled the names of those who had died from AIDS.

The quilt weighs more than seven tons, covers the size of three football fields, and is the largest ongoing community arts project in the nation. It is an ocean of quilt patches joined together in bright splashes of color, each one telling a story and depicting a memory of a person's life.

Sorrow and anger brought tens of thousands of New Yorkers to Pier 92 on June 23 and to Central Park on June 25 to fight back against government inaction on AIDS. Gay songwriter Michael Callen summed up the feeling of 25,000 protesters at the rally in Central Park: "The AIDS crisis is passive genocide by a government that doesn't care if gay men and i.v. drug users and people of color die."

On Gay Pride Day, June 26, 100,000 marched down Fifth Avenue. At 42nd Street, the entire march sat down in the street for a moment of silence as 10,000 balloons were released to commemorate those who had died from AIDS or are carrying the virus.

George Kontanis
New York, New York

Brawley

If the government won't prosecute Tawana Brawley's attackers, then they should get off her back. The media and government hoopla has concentrated exclusively on the ludicrous antics of her ad-

visors. Why? The government and media don't attack all clowns with such venom. After all, the media present the farcical behavior of rich, white politicians and lawyers as if it were normal, healthy, and reasonable.

But Mason, Maddox, and Sharp-ton are singled out for special treatment. What motive other than revenge? Recall that Mason and Maddox were instrumental in bringing the Howard Beach murder to prosecution and in bringing to the city a congressional investigation of police brutality.

Obviously Brawley was viciously attacked by someone. Yet who is getting vilified in the press and prosecuted by the government? If the press were interested in the crime against Brawley, they would campaign for finding her attackers. And if the state wanted to catch Brawley's attackers, they wouldn't try to put her mother in jail.

Chuck Cairns
New Hyde Park, New York

Political prisoners

Recently an article appeared in the *City Sun* about the reopening of the case of the "former 'Panther 21' member," Dhoruba Al-Mujahid bin Wahad. I was reminded of the similarities between this case and that of the New York Three — Albert Washington, Herman Bell, and Anthony Bottom.

These brothers were also wrongly convicted of killing two New York City police officers in the early 1970s. And like Wahad, they have evidence of Cointelpro's involvement in their case because of their Black Panther Party affiliation.

In September the lawyers for these men will be filing a habeas corpus before the U.S. district court to reopen their case. In August they will have been imprisoned for 17 years. This appeal will be their last chance for freedom. All previous attempts to appeal have been subverted by the courts because of charges made by the New York Three of judicial misconduct. (They have clear documented evidence of this.)

Please keep abreast of developments in their case. Public awareness and support for these men may help discourage the courts from continuing this miscarriage of justice and from sweeping their very lives under the rug — again.

Vonda Marshall
Albany, New York

Los Angeles Eight

A new, 10-minute video entitled, "Arabs in America: Civil Liberties on Trial," is now available. It is about the Los Angeles Eight deportation case of Palestinian activists and supporters.

The video sums up the issues in the case and their impact for all of us through interviews of the defendants and their lawyers.

It is available for \$25 from the L.A. Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, Calif. 90051, or call (213) 413-2935.

Committee for Justice
Los Angeles, California

Shakur and Buck

We are writing to you on behalf of Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Marilyn Buck. As you may know, both of these dedicated revolutionaries were convicted of all the charges against them after a six-month, hard-fought trial. The verdict was a shock because the jury verdict did not represent the evidence as presented.

Dr. Shakur called numerous witnesses to educate the jury about the FBI's counterintelligence program (Cointelpro) intended to "disrupt and destroy" the Black liberation movement.

The government's case rested primarily on the testimony of Tyrone Rison, a man who admitted to skinning alive a Vietnamese woman, murdering an unarmed Brinks guard lying on the ground, and committing dozens of armed robberies and attempted armed robberies.

Marilyn and Mutulu were both convicted of two counts that carry a minimum sentence of 10 years and a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. Within that range, the judge has a great deal of discretion. We believe that an outpouring from the community will make a difference at sentencing.

Many people have asked what they can do to help. Come to the U.S. Courthouse at Foley Square in Manhattan for the sentencing on July 28 at 9:30 a.m., and write a letter to Judge Charles Haight expressing your opinion of the verdict and the sentencing.

Letters should be addressed to Hon. Charles S. Haight, Jr., United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N.Y. 10007. Please send your letter to one of the attorneys before July 14 so they can be submitted to the judge in a package: Michael Warren, 44 Court St., Suite 311, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201, or Jill Elijah, Judith Holmes, 120 Duane St. Suite 400, New York, N.Y. 10007.

Jill Elijah
New York, New York

New economic order

We read in your paper a call for a new international economic order. I think Fidel Castro may have said something about it. I'd like to know more about it — how it would affect the currency of the U.S. and other countries.

Also, I phoned the election board in Champaign County, Ohio, and asked them to send me information about minor, third party or independent candidates for the nation's highest offices. I've not heard anything from them yet.

I think a person should be told about all the candidates on the ballot, in order to make a wise choice, not just the twin parties of capitalism. Since I didn't hear anything from the election board, I wrote to Mike DeWine, supposedly my representative, asking him about the other candidates and their type of politics. I've yet to hear from him also.

I voted for Jesse Jackson in the Democratic primary May 3, but I have no intention of voting for either Dukakis or Bush in November. I am no supporter of the Democratic Party, but I want to exercise my right to vote, as limited as it is, and I know of no other parties on the Ohio ballot other than Democrats and Republicans.

G.M.
St. Paris, Ohio

Hellish experience

What seems to be a long stand-off has begun between 32 inmates confined to the Special Housing Unit at Eastern New York Correctional Facility and the administration in this facility.

The 32 inmates have refused to accept their meals, have not taken showers, have turned down their hour exercise, and have asked to speak with the highest-ranking officer of the day. Thus far to no avail.

The reasons for such a statement by the inmates are cumulative. They range from lack of responsiveness on the part of the administration, poor representation at quasi-judicial proceedings held in the facility by officers against inmates, threats to expose inmates to a risk of serious physical injury, arbitrary changes in the rules and



"I'm sorry, sir. We have a policy not to lend money to anyone who needs it as badly as you do."

regulations by the lowest-ranking officer, to an outright recent assault on two inmates.

Some inmates may trade in their integrity. Others will possibly be transferred to different institutions. Still more will remain here, subject to the unbroken processions of weeks, months, or years of a terribly frightening, ungodly, hellish experience.

A prisoner
Napanoch, New York

A vital link

Workers of the world unite. Reading the *Militant* is a vital link in this process. With each *Militant* socialist consciousness and unity is built. Built upon factual information.

I save every issue. I especially enjoy the column by Doug Jeness, "Learning about socialism."

G.F.
Billerica, Massachusetts

Confrontation obsolete?

In the May/June 1988 issue of *Steeltabor*, the magazine of the United Steelworkers of America, there is an article entitled, "New day seen for labor, management — USWA President Williams hails landmark advance."

A report put out by a top-level group of corporate executive officers and labor union presidents shows a "new era of cooperation between labor and management in the U.S.," the article states. "Confrontation between labor and management is essentially obsolete — rendered inappropriate by today's mutual need for better productivity and a more successful battle against foreign competition," it goes on to claim.

This forum was composed of a number of union presidents and corporate chief executives, including John Georges, president of International Paper Co.

Members of the paperworkers' union in Mobile, Alabama; De Pere, Wisconsin; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; and Jay, Maine, have been locked in a year-long struggle against International Paper just to get a just contract and to retain their jobs with dignity. They wouldn't take much encouragement from this gathering and its conclusions.

As a member of a Steelworkers' local that has given financial and moral support to the paperworkers, I wish President Williams would spend more time getting support for the strikers and helping steelworkers fight concession contracts, instead of hobnobbing with

our corporate enemies.

Paperworkers, meat-packers, and others who have been battling corporate greed do not see confrontation between labor and management as obsolete. As the social crisis deepens in this country, more and more of us will see that what will be rendered obsolete is not confrontation and fighting back for our rights but putting out reports that have no basis in reality.

Edwin Fruit
Baltimore, Maryland

Prison factories

I am a U.S. federal prisoner and have been for 37 months.

I was lucky enough to receive your enlightening paper after a fellow inmate finished reading his copy each week. However I have since been transferred and have had to get along without your paper.

While I was reading and rereading old editions I noticed your *Militant Prisoner Fund*.

I don't know whether your paper is aware of the "scab factories" set up in these federal correctional institutes, where prisoners work eight hours a day for 11 cents an hour. But I have refused to participate for the more than three years I have been incarcerated. Because of this I have had to pay the price of going without a lot of things. One of the things I regret the most is going without your great paper.

If you would consider me for your subscription list for awhile I would do what I can to repay you.

A prisoner
Anthony, Texas

Valuable

Your tabloid is valuable in that it gives views opposite to the establishment and tightly controlled press in the United States.

Unfortunately, 8,000 years of history have shown that domination-oriented systems such as socialism, communism, and democracy (as practiced in the United States) are unworkable over the long haul.

The United States is a republic whose original free choice Constitution is now 90 percent eroded.

A.F.
Morongo Valley, California

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.

Abuse of Tawana Brawley detailed

N.Y. weekly publishes medical reports from day racist attack victim was found

BY SAM MANUEL

The *City Sun*, a weekly circulated widely in New York's Black communities, has published excerpts of medical reports detailing the abused condition in which an upstate New York Black teenager, Tawana Brawley, was found on Nov. 28, 1987. Brawley has said that she was abducted, beaten, and raped by at least six white men, one of whom she said had a badge and told Brawley he was a cop.

From the start, police and government officials have attempted to downplay the attack on Brawley. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo appointed state Attorney General Robert Abrams as special prosecutor in the case only after both the Dutchess County district attorney and a court-appointed local prosecutor successively removed themselves from the case due to "conflict of interest."

Most recently, state officials in New York and many newspaper editors across the country have raised questions about whether anything happened to Brawley at all. Some have hinted this could be just a case of a bad teenager who got into trouble. Several New York papers have even de-

manded that the investigation of the case be dropped.

Medical team's report

According to the *Sun's* report, an emergency medical team of the Sloper-Willen Community Ambulance Service responded to a call from the Dutchess County sheriff's office. Summarizing the report of the medic-in-charge, Sharon Brantingham, the *Sun* reported Brawley was found "in a fetal position inside a large plastic bag. Patient's only palpable pulse was a weak carotid. Respiration very shallow and almost undetectable. Skin cool and dry. Patient's head was wrapped with a sweater-jacket and a belt around that which was in patient's mouth. . . . Legs were red, either from cold or burns. . . . Fingernail heads appeared cyanotic with no capillary refill [blood circulation]. Patient was covered, head to toe, with what appeared to be dried feces. Patient did not respond to pain, voice, or ammonia."

On a supplemental form, Brantingham wrote that Brawley was "unconscious" and "unresponsive." According to *New York News Day*, James O'Connor, executive director of the ambulance service, has de-

clined to comment on the report.

Brawley was taken to St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie, New York. The emergency-room physician Lanwehr Bernhard Pena recorded in his medical assessment form that "on admission patient was unresponsive to voice, resisting eye opening, moving all limbs spontaneously, and shivering." She was "covered with feces" and had "roughly cut hair." She had several contusions, "a small amount of white material in her tonsils" and "words written on her chest." It was later publicly reported that "Nigger" and "KKK" were written across Brawley's chest and stomach.

Within an hour of being admitted, the diagnosis by Pena was: "Possible sexual assault," reported the *Sun*.

The article excerpts the chronology of reports entered into the nurses' log over the following six hours, which were consistent with the previous reports. Brawley was released to her parents around 10:00 p.m.

Diagnosis at medical center

Unsatisfied with the treatment their daughter received, Brawley's parents ad-

mitted her to the Westchester County Medical Center four days after her release from St. Francis. Dr. John Wix of the center wrote that Brawley continued to show medical problems including: "slow in speech; headache, hip pain, inability to walk," and "pain in orbit, shoulder, side of neck, and lower back."

"Multiple contusions" was listed as the center's discharge diagnosis for Brawley on Dec. 4, 1987. But the *Sun* has learned that final diagnosis entered into the center's computer on that same date was "rape."

The *Sun* reports further that an undated case report on Brawley by Dr. Marcia Nackenson, a gynecologist at the center, was changed two and a half months later by Nackenson to show her discharge diagnosis as "alleged sexual abuse" and "conversion reaction," a syndrome common to persons suffering from a traumatic experience.

Accusations collapse

The report in the *Sun* also comes in the wake of the collapse of testimony by two other individuals that Abrams has suggested might lead to criminal charges against Brawley's legal counsels Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason, and family adviser Al Sharpton.

Perry McKinnon, a former cop and associate of Sharpton, asserted that statements about the case made by Brawley's attorneys and Sharpton were a "pack of lies." Samuel McCleave, who is described as a "surveillance expert," has also claimed that taped recordings of conversations obtained by bugging the home and offices of Mason show that her advisers knew that Brawley was at a party with a white police officer when she claimed the attack took place.

McCleave has said he bugged Mason's home and office at the request of Sharpton. Sharpton admitted earlier this year to serving as a police informant by allowing the cops to tap his telephone and by taking listening devices into meetings. He has claimed that he did so only to assist the police in arresting drug dealers.

In an interview reported in the June 22 *New York Times* McKinnon said, "I never alluded in this whole thing that I knew what happened to Tawana." And, according to federal agents, McCleave's tapes have turned out to be blank. McCleave still claims to have the taped conversations but his attorney says McCleave does not know where they are.

Britain: Mandela Freedom March

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

DURHAM, England — The 25 anti-apartheid marchers who set off June 12 on their 600-mile "Mandela Freedom March" recently spent a week in the Britain's industrialized northeast.

The march began in Glasgow following a protest action attended by 20,000. It is demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, and others jailed by the apartheid regime. Mandela has been in prison for the last 26 years. The march will culminate in a rally in London on July 17.

"People keep joining the march as we pass through towns. The reception we've been getting is fantastic," reported ANC youth leader Nadine Joseph. She is the daughter of ANC member Paul Joseph, who was on trial with Mandela in South Africa in 1956.

Also participating in the march is Indres Naidoo, ANC representative in West Germany, who was jailed for 10 years on Robben Island in South Africa with Mandela. A third marcher spent 10 years in Pollsmoor Prison, where Mandela is currently being held.

Two hundred turned out at lunchtime on June 21 as the marchers arrived at a working-class housing estate near Newcastle. Hundreds more attended an afternoon rally in the city center and an evening concert.

Here in Durham the following day, 500 crammed into the Market Place to hear speeches given from the town hall balcony. Among the crowd was a group of miners who had joined the march for the stretch leading into town.

Trade union delegations

Workplace delegations of trade unionists have been an important feature of the Mandela march. In Manchester, where the march passed on July 1, the local region of the public employees' union provided office space for the anti-apartheid youth group in the city.

Campaigners are also promoting the sale of a special "Free Nelson Mandela" badge. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has set a target of 1 million people wearing the badge on July 18, the date of Mandela's 70th birthday.

At the Glasgow send-off rally on June 13, ANC President Oliver Tambo said the

march and the concert the same day honoring Mandela was beamed to an estimated 1 billion people around the world. This, he said, showed that the censorship policies of the Pretoria regime had failed to keep the struggle against apartheid from reaching progressive people internationally.

'Zapped in America'

An article in the June 24 *New York Times* reporting on censorship of the concert by a U.S. television network quoted performer Steven Van Zandt (Little Steven): "Comments that I made calling South Africa a terrorist state and urging sanctions were heard and seen in Britain — but somehow did not get across the Atlantic."

"Harry Belafonte, Whoopi Goldberg, and Peter Gabriel, among others, made political statements that were beamed around the world, but zapped in America."

"I for one," Van Zandt emphasized, "would never knowingly have participated in an event that was to be purged of its 'politics,' especially when the man being honored is known for his political courage and principles."



Militant/Ernest Harsch
African National Congress President
Oliver Tambo.

New England rail workers win strike

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Striking rail workers in New England returned to work June 20 after winning a victory against Guilford Transportation Industries. Some 1,200 members of United Transportation Union Local 1400 had gone on strike last November to protest worsening safety conditions.

The UTU members worked for Springfield Terminal railroad, a subsidiary of Guilford. They walked out after a rail worker was accidentally killed by a new engineer who had had only 18 days of training. This death was "the last straw," a UTU representative said when the strike began. Other safety problems included serious deterioration of track, locomotives, and other equipment, and faulty safety devices.

The carrier's response to the strike was to claim that the workers quit their jobs. Hundreds of scabs were hired to replace them.

The union's victory began June 13, when arbitrators ruled that the strike was legal under federal safety standards. The panel ordered Guilford Transportation to allow the strikers back to work, with full back pay up to \$20 million.

Two days later, another arbitrator in Washington, D.C., ruled that the working conditions, seniority system, and wage rates that prevailed on the three rail lines merged by Guilford to form the Springfield Terminal railroad in 1987 must apply to workers currently working on the rail line. This order could cost Guilford \$15 million.

In addition, hundreds of workers laid off when the three lines were reorganized as Springfield Terminal may be eligible for severance pay or new jobs. About 800 of the 2,000 workers involved lost their jobs when Guilford merged the three lines.

"It's a complete sweep. It's everything we asked for and deserve," said UTU International Vice-president Eugene Leyden. The scabs hired to replace the Guilford

strikers are now out.

Company Vice-president F. Colin Pease termed the arbitration rulings "bizarre" and said Guilford would appeal.

A June 10 Interstate Commerce Commission survey found widespread complaints among the vast majority of the carrier's clients, many of whom had turned to more costly trucking. Several New England governors and the *Boston Globe* publicly chided Guilford for allowing the railroad to deteriorate, and Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry held hearings on the question.

The rail workers announced their victory at the June 15 union/family meeting of striking paperworkers, family members, and supporters in Jay, Maine. The meeting marked the first anniversary of the paperworkers' strike against International Paper Co.'s Androscoggin mill there. "I only wish," UTU Maine representative Peter Greene told the *Militant*, "that this could be the paperworkers' victory. They helped keep us going."