

Vets' peace convoy greeted in Nicaragua

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "The Veterans Peace Convoy truly represents the U.S. people, who want peace and not war with Nicaragua," declared Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega July 29. "These veterans are fighters for peace," he said. "Despite the risks, they brought humanitarian aid to Nicaraguan children, in a true act of solidarity and fraternity."

Ortega spoke at the rally here where the participants in the convoy presented their donations, which are being channeled through private relief organizations. The aid, gathered in dozens of cities throughout the United States, consisted of 17 pickup trucks, a school bus, and several tons of food, clothing, and medicine for children. An additional several hundred tons of relief supplies collected by the veterans are being shipped to Nicaragua separately.

The Veterans Peace Convoy had first tried to leave the United States on June 7 but was stopped by U.S. customs officials at the Laredo, Texas, border crossing. The U.S. government claimed the veterans were violating the trade embargo Washington has imposed on Nicaragua since 1985. The embargo prohibits most trade, but the sending of humanitarian supplies is explicitly permitted.

The veterans tried for weeks to obtain permission to leave the United States, while protests were held in both the United States and Mexico. Several attempts to cross the border into Mexico were turned back by U.S. police. On June 9 the cops maced and arrested eight veterans as they staged a protest in their vehicles at the Laredo crossing. On June 15 U.S. agents seized four of the convoy vehicles as they approached the border checkpoint.

By mid-July, however, 44 veterans had managed to cross the border with some 20 pickups and two buses. The vehicles, crossing individually, were not challenged at the border. The convoy drove through Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras, and arrived in Nicaragua July 27.

As they crossed into Nicaragua, the veterans were greeted by thousands of residents of the town of Somoto, who turned out to cheer their efforts. Reports on the

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Sept. 4 defense rally set for Iowa frame-up victim Curtis

BY KATE KAKU

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has announced that it will host an international rally for the framed-up political activist on September 4.

The rally will be held at the Des Moines Convention Center three days before Curtis is scheduled to go on trial for felony charges. A July 3 rally in Des Moines in support of Curtis drew 250.

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker at the Swift/Monfort plant here and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local 431. The Des Moines cops arrested Curtis, beat him, and framed him up on rape and burglary charges on March 4, a few hours after he left a meeting to protest an immigration raid at the Swift plant.

"A real mobilization is needed for the September 4 rally and to attend the trial," Curtis Defense Committee coordinator Stu Singer said. "This is a political case. A big

Jordan's King Hussein: a friend of Palestinians?

BY HARRY RING

When Jordan's King Hussein announced that he was severing his government's legal and administrative ties with the West Bank, he presented his decision as a contribution toward advancing the uprising of the Palestinian people.

He asserted he was acting in response to the wishes of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The PLO said August 2 that it was convening the Palestine National Council to assess the Hussein move. The council is the Palestinian movement's top policy-making body.

In Washington, a Reagan aide said the White House had been given advance notice of the decision. Officials emphasized that they still looked to Hussein as a bargaining partner in their moves to cut an Arab-Israeli deal to bring an end to the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israeli officials publicly shrugged off the Hussein declaration.

In his July 31 speech, Hussein stated that Jordan was giving up its claim to the West Bank, which it annexed in 1950 and ruled until 1967. Israel seized the territory in 1967 and has held it under military rule since. Jordan, however, continued to be involved in financial and administrative aspects of West Bank life.

Jordanian currency circulates in the area. The Israeli military administration continues to use Jordanian textbooks in the schools. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other professionals obtain their licenses from Jordan.

The Jordanian government supports some medical and social welfare projects.

An estimated 24,000 of the West Bank's civil servants are paid by Jordan. These include teachers, medical workers, clerics,



Israeli troops maul Palestinian women. Jordan's king, fearful of repercussions of Palestinian uprising on his subjects, cut ties with West Bank.

and others. August 1 it was reported that the Jordanian regime is cutting off the funds for this payroll.

Earlier, Hussein said Jordan was scrapping a U.S.-backed development project for the West Bank. Initiated two years ago, it aimed at building a political machine that could be counterposed to the PLO.

The cutoff of Jordanian funds will add to the material difficulties of the embattled Palestinians. Israel extracts substantial taxes from the West Bank but returns little by

way of social services.

The PLO has won some funding from various Arab governments but reports indicate that the purse strings are being drawn tight.

So far, Hussein refused to say if Jordanian passports will be canceled. About three-quarters of a million Palestinians in the West Bank and Jerusalem continue to hold Jordanian passports to travel abroad. Nor is it yet known if Hussein will order

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Activists launch emergency appeal in Héctor Marroquín residency fight

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK — The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee has begun to circulate an emergency appeal on behalf of Marroquín to gather signatures from a wide range of unionists, immigrants rights activists, and supporters of political freedom.

"In 1983 Mr. Marroquín filed for a permanent residence visa, or green card as it is called, based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín," the appeal explains. "His son, Andrés, is also a U.S. citizen. On July 6 the State Department finally granted him an interview for a ruling on this application."

At that meeting the Mexican-born socialist was informed that the next step was to apply for a waiver from the Immigration and Naturalization Service. According to a new federal law, the waiver is necessary to forgive his 1977 conviction for entering the United States without all the necessary papers. At the time, Marroquín was fleeing political repression in Mexico. The State Department officials told Marroquín, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, that if the waiver is denied, he can be excluded from the United States.

The appeal points out that "the ruling on this application is in the hands of the very government agency which has striven to deport him" for more than a decade because of his political views.

The appeal concludes "We ask you to put aside what you are doing and to send a letter or a telegram today to Mr. Alan Nelson, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20536, urging him to grant Mr. Marroquín the waiver he deserves and remove this obstacle to his receiving a green card."

Initial signers of the appeal include Angela Sanbrano, director, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

(CISPES); Kathy Andrade, education director, Local 23-25, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, director, Mexican Committee to Defend the Political Prisoners, the Persecuted, the Disappeared, and the Exiled; Alfredo Montoya, executive director, Labor Council on Latin American Advancement, AFL-CIO; Dan Kesselbrennen, director, National Immigration Project of the National Lawyers Guild; Rep. Ron Dellums of California; Alfredo Alvarez, chairman, Des Moines Human Rights Commission; Piri Thomas, author, *Down These Mean Streets*; Darlene Kalke, director, Center for Immigrants Rights; Medea Benjamin, of Food First and editor, *Don't Be Afraid Gringo*; Juan Laboriel, international representative, United Food and Commercial Workers union; and John Studer, director of the Marroquín Defense Committee.

The defense committee plans to print thousands of copies of this appeal for use in an emergency campaign to press the INS to grant Marroquín's waiver application. This would put an end to the threat of exclusion and take him a step closer to winning permanent residence.

The committee has prepared some new materials. A basic flyer describing the history of Marroquín's case and the need to campaign for a waiver is now available. A petition for use on the job and among political activists has been prepared. All of these materials are being sent to supporters around the country to get the campaign going.

Messages are beginning to descend on

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8 Puerto Rico Nat'l Guardsmen win victory

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — A major victory for soldiers' rights was won here when the Puerto Rican National Guard agreed in court not to send eight guardsmen to Panama against their will. The eight had contracted a rare tropical disease when they trained in Panama in 1984. The central issue of the court case was the right of members of the U.S. military to refuse orders that are unsafe.

The National Guard, consisting of part-time soldiers, is organized in the 50 states and in U.S. colonies such as Puerto Rico. The military obligation of members of the guard is one weekend per month and two weeks in the summer. In the case of a major war the guard would also be mobilized and become a part of the U.S. army. Most members of the guard have

Des Moines prosecutor claims Curtis defense effort has no impact

The August 3 *Des Moines Register* ran an article headlined, "Prosecutor criticizes Curtis 'propaganda.'"

Featuring pictures of political activist Mark Curtis and Polk County Attorney James Smith, the article quotes Smith as saying the campaign in support of Curtis is having no impact on him.

At the same time, the prosecutor is forced to acknowledge that he and the Des Moines cops continue to receive letters "from people in the United States and overseas" demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped.

Smith said the letters indicate "a blind faith" in Curtis "without asking questions," and he accuses Curtis' supporters of believing "the allegation of police brutality," and excusing "the crime he [Curtis] has been accused of."

The prosecutor claims "both sides of the story" will come out when the case comes to court in September.

Curtis has explained since the beginning that his case is political and that he did not attempt to rape anyone. The article notes that Curtis' defense committee has raised "\$49,000 for legal costs, held a rally in support of Curtis, and prompted a steady stream of letters from various organizations and hundreds of people, including three U.S. Congressmen."

In an attempt to injure Curtis, Keith Morris kicked in the windows of the bookstore where the defense committee office is located on July 15, causing \$2,000 damage. He is the father of Demetria Morris, the young woman Curtis is accused of trying to rape.

Curtis was able to get out of the bookstore through another exit.

As of August 3, prosecutor Smith was still refusing to file charges against Keith Morris.

full-time jobs. The Puerto Ricans involved in this case include three factory workers and two maintenance workers at housing projects.

Bitten by sandflies

In 1984 they were part of a group of Puerto Ricans who trained at Fort Sherman in the Canal Zone in Panama. They were bitten by sandflies that were infected with cutaneous leishmaniasis (a disease caused by protozoans). After they returned to Puerto Rico, about 20 men developed open sores on various parts of their bodies.

Today these workers-in-uniform are bitter about the treatment they have received from the Pentagon. They have suffered physically, emotionally, and economically both from the disease and from the way that the government handled their case.

It took military doctors several months to correctly identify the disease. In the meantime one man was shunned by his neighbors because they thought that he had leprosy. Another soldier had marital problems because his wife thought that it was a venereal disease.

Eventually the men received treatment for 43 days at Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C., during the winter of 1984-85. But their problems were not over. The Pentagon was reluctant to admit that the disease was military-related. The men received no pay until several months

after they had left the hospital. They had no winter clothing, and the hospital staff had to find them winter jackets. When it came time to return to Puerto Rico, the staff had to drive them to the airport because none of them had the \$7 for bus fare.

While at Walter Reed the soldiers volunteered to become part of a research project to determine the correct dosage of medicine to use against this disease.

After the suffering they had been through the men were determined never to go back to Panama where they could be reinfected. They fought back on a number of fronts, including the National Guard's administrative channels, the Puerto Rican legislature, and the federal courts.

In 1985 the Labor and Veteran's Affairs Committee of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives held hearings on the case. The two legislators who were the strongest supporters of the soldiers were Carlos Luis Torres of the procolonial Popular Democratic Party and David Noriega of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. The House issued a report that called for closing sections of Fort Sherman and said that the infected guardsman should never again be sent to Panama.

\$1 million lawsuit

The soldiers filed a \$1 million lawsuit against the National Guard that is still

pending. In court they have been represented by Charles Maestre and Judith Berkan of the Puerto Rican Institute for Civil Rights.

Earlier this year the soldiers received orders to go to Panama with their units on July 9. Failure to follow the order would subject the men to dishonorable discharge and loss of benefits. The eight were ready to accept this rather than return to Panama. Their lawyers went to court and received a temporary court order barring the National Guard from ordering the men to Panama.

The temporary order was good for only 10 days. On July 8, the day before the National Guard left for Central America, the soldiers were still in court trying to get a permanent court order. That evening the Puerto Rican National Guard gave in and agreed not to send them to Panama. This settlement does not affect the \$1 million in damages sought by the guardsmen.

"This settlement is exceptional but not unique," said Maestre in a telephone interview with the *Militant*. He explained that on three occasions during the Vietnam War one Supreme Court justice had issued similar temporary orders.

There has never been a permanent injunction against the military covering questions of troop deployment. Indeed the military does not recognize the right of the courts to issue such an order.

Sept. 4 defense rally set for Curtis

Continued from front page

Thomas became a new endorser of his case.

Sixty people attended a defense committee rally in San Francisco. Also speaking was Héctor Marroquín — a Mexican-born socialist fighting to win permanent residency in the United States. Messages were read at the rally from Minn Chung from Young Koreans United; Jerry Nelson, president of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 178; and Bill Luemer, president of IAM Local Lodge 565. More than \$1,600 was raised for Curtis' legal expenses.

Curtis and Marroquín will also be participating in the conventions of the United Steelworkers of America in Las Vegas and the American Postal Workers union in Chicago.

An article describing Curtis' case appeared in the July 20 issue of the Icelandic daily *Thjóðviljinn*. It said, "A decision [in the case] will be made in September. It's urgent to drown the Chief of Police in Des Moines with letters from all over the world, including from Iceland." Police Chief Moulder's address was included at the end of the article.

American Indian activist Eddie Hatcher has written Moulder demanding that the

charges against Curtis be dropped. Hatcher also faces trial in September. Earlier this year he and another Tuscarora Indian briefly took over a newspaper office in Robeson County, North Carolina, to protest racism and government corruption there.

Anna Lucia Gelabert, member of Prisoners United For Revolutionary Education (PURE), has also written to Curtis offering him support in his fight against the frame-

up. She keeps track of political prisoners in the United States.

The convention of the National Lawyers Guild in June adopted a resolution in support of Curtis.

Robert Crandall, pastor of the Fort Des Moines United Methodist Church, recently wrote prosecutor James Smith expressing concern about the Curtis case and calling for an independent investigation into the Des Moines police department.

New Marroquín appeal launched

Continued from front page

INS headquarters in Washington. The defense committee office has received copies of 31 letters sent in by Montreal supporters of Marroquín's right to a green card. A number of new supporters were won by Marroquín and supporters who attended the national convention of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in San Francisco July 25-29.

Marroquín will also be at the national conventions of the Steelworkers, the Postal Workers and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers over the next three weeks. He will then begin a national speaking tour.

Marroquín and some of his supporters

attended a social event July 23 in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution held at the hall of Local 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Employees union in New York. They collected two dozen signatures on the petition demanding a waiver, including from Magalí Crespín of CISPES, who helped to gather the signatures, and Augustin Lao of the Latino Immigration Network.

Copies of all messages sent to the INS, as well as contributions to help with the campaign, should be mailed to the Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 761, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10007.

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SPECIAL
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New Pathfinder book presents legacy of Thomas Sankara

Speeches on Burkina Faso revolution

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — "This book's purpose is to make Sankara's political legacy available in English for the first time; his ideas can now be read and studied. It is a contribution to all those in Africa and around the world who, inspired by Sankara's example, need to know the revolutionary course he fought and died for."

These words are from the preface to *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87*, published by Pathfinder. The book rolled off the press on August 1.

Burkina Faso is a country in West Africa. As a result of modern imperialist domination imposed upon precapitalist forms of exploitation, it is one of the poorest countries on earth. On Aug. 4, 1983, Thomas Sankara became president as a result of protest actions by soldiers and youth. The country was still called Upper Volta at the time.

The government led by Sankara began to lead a deep-going democratic and anti-imperialist revolution, one that inspired millions of African youth and other revolutionary-minded forces that paid attention to what was happening in Burkina.

"The tasks posed by Burkina Faso's backward class structure made the character of its revolution different from many other democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions," explains Doug Cooper in the book's preface. "At the same time, it faced a fundamental challenge common to all revolutions today: drawing the working people into political activity in their own interests. Sankara sought to lead the Burkinabè masses toward becoming the initiators of social and political change, not the objects of a government bureaucracy and officer caste alien to their lives and concerns. Despite the difficulties, real progress was made."

On Oct. 15, 1987, Sankara was assassinated in a counterrevolutionary military coup by troops loyal to Capt. Blaise Compaoré. Twelve of Sankara's aides were also murdered. The revolutionary government was destroyed.

In October 1983, in the face of threats against the Burkina revolution, Sankara predicted, "If you kill Sankara, tomorrow there will be 20 more Sankaras." Pathfinder's editors hope that this book will help make that prediction come true.

Step forward for Pathfinder

Thomas Sankara Speaks is the only collection in the world of his works. It includes 25 speeches and interviews with Sankara. All but one have been newly translated by Samantha Anderson, the book's editor. There are 32 pages of photos, and an extensive chronology.

On the cover of the collection is a sharp color photo of Thomas Sankara. It is quite different than the cover of any other Path-

finder book or pamphlet. Two of the workers involved in producing it explained what's new about this book cover. The book was printed at Photo Comp Press, a print shop that shares a building with Pathfinder on the west side of lower Manhattan.

"This is the first time that we've reproduced a photo in full color on the front cover of a Pathfinder book," said Kathy Wheeler, one of the press operators who printed the cover. In what is called four-color processing, red, black, yellow, and blue inks are used to create every color and shade necessary to reproduce an exact replica of a photo, she explained.

Doing such a job is much more demanding on the press and the operator than simply printing a couple of solid blocks of color, said Wheeler. The cover has to be passed through the press several times and great care has to be taken so that the final product looks like the photo that is being reproduced. It is also more expensive.

"This is another step toward making Pathfinder books among the highest quality on the market," said Brian Williams, who works in the strip-up department where the design for the book was put on film, made into plates, and prepared to be put on the press.

Both Wheeler and Williams are readers and distributors of the revolutionary literature Pathfinder publishes. While every new book cover from Pathfinder might not use this four-color process, what Wheeler, Williams, and their coworkers have learned in the process of producing the cover of *Thomas Sankara Speaks* will help increase the quality of all Pathfinder products.

Pathfinder Mural Project

As one of the authors published by Pathfinder, Sankara's portrait appears on the six-story mural that's being painted on the



Portrait of Sankara on Pathfinder mural in New York

G.M. Cookson

side of the Pathfinder Building. It was painted by Lynne Pelletier, a member of a Canadian artists' collective called Artifact. Members of Artifact were among the dozens of artists from around the world who are participating in the mural project.

In the portrait, Sankara is wearing his red beret with a yellow star and military uniform. He is painted against a flag of Burkina Faso. Behind his head are painted colorful impressions of batik fabric imprinted with the design that was the symbol of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. These were formed under Sankara's regime to mobilize the population to solve the enormous economic and social problems they faced.

Sankara is on one of the sheets of paper coming off the huge printing press run by two press operators, which is the centerpiece of the mural. The sheets of paper bear portraits of revolutionary leaders

whose writings and speeches are published by Pathfinder. Completed so far are Sankara, Carlos Fonseca, Augusto César Sandino, Maurice Bishop, and Mother Jones. The portrait of Nelson Mandela is still in progress.

The others who will be added over the course of the next couple of months are: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Eugene Debs, Rosa Luxemburg, Farabundo Martí, a group portrait of V.I. Lenin and other central leaders of the Communist International in its early days, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Che Guevara, Malcolm X, and Fidel Castro.

Around the press are scenes depicting struggling workers and farmers of the world, including some smaller portraits of individual working-class leaders and victims of repression.

Mural celebration

Militant staff writer Sam Manuel will be giving a class on *Thomas Sankara Speaks* at an international educational and active workers conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party in Oberlin, Ohio, August 6-11. Manuel went to Burkina Faso on a reporting trip for the *Militant* in October 1987, and left the country just 16 hours before the coup that overthrew Sankara.

Manuel has just become the new director of the Pathfinder Mural Project. Previous project director Mike Alewitz, who designed the mural, will be painting full time on the wall.

After the conference, Manuel intends to begin painting Patrice Lumumba, leader of the struggle in the Congo against Belgian colonial rule. Lumumba was assassinated in 1961 at the behest of the Belgian colonialists.

The Sunday evening of the conference will be devoted to a celebration of the Pathfinder Mural Project. Manuel will narrate a slide show telling the history of Pathfinder and the story of the mural. He will describe the broad support it has received from artists and revolutionaries around the country and the world, and the political campaign to defend it against harassment by city officials. Several international artists and supporters will also participate in the evening.

N. Carolina Indian activists win postponement of trial

BY YVONNE HAYES

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C. — A victory was scored in federal court here August 1 with the postponement of the trial of Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs until late September. The two Tuscarora Indians are charged with "hostage taking" for trying to expose racism and government corruption in Robeson County, North Carolina. The charges stem from an incident in February when the two Indians took over a newspaper office in the county.

The U.S. attorney argued the trial should begin immediately, even though Hatcher and Jacob's chief attorney William Kuntsler is in New York defending another

client. The prosecutor argued that the defendants' constitutional right to the attorney of their choice has to be balanced against "society's right to a speedy trial, to heal the wounds to the public caused by this crime."

The judge agreed that the public has an interest in the "prompt administration of justice." He demanded guarantees that the lawyers will be available by September 19 and threatened to deny one of Kuntsler's assistants the right to practice law in this district for not having replaced Kuntsler in court.

When asked after the hearing how he would weigh the rights of the defendants against the "rights of society," Hatcher stated, "Society isn't facing life in prison except to the extent that the public is bound by government oppression.

"Continuances of much longer than this are regularly granted," he said. "The Klansmen from Greensboro charged with killing five anti-Klan demonstrators in 1979 were allowed over a year to prepare their defense." Asked about their plans for the next two months, Jacobs said that he would be speaking out about "who I am, what I'm all about." Jacobs, 20, is an activist in the struggle for Native American rights.

"I'm not afraid to go to trial," he explained, "because I feel good about what will be shown as to the necessity of what we did. We tried other ways — petitions, marches, candlelight vigils. But we're talking about politicians who don't want to listen to Indian people, everyday people.

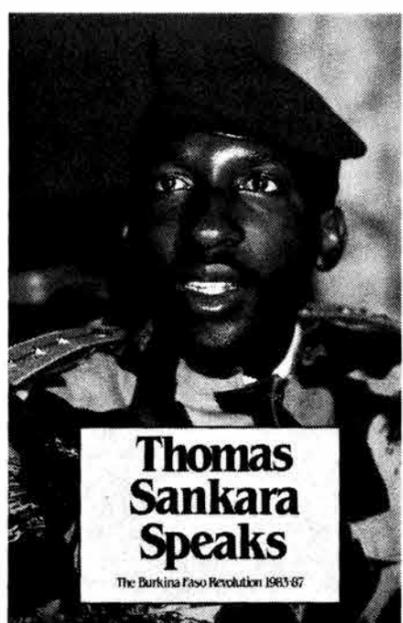
"I feel what we did," Jacobs said, "has led to more people standing up, starting to vote, and having a positive attitude that they can change things."

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No issue next week

The *Militant* will not appear next week so that our staff can participate in the International Educational and Active Workers Conference and Socialist Workers Party national convention to be held in Oberlin, Ohio.

We will resume publication with the issue dated August 26.

34,060 sign to put Warren, Mickells on New York ballot

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party campaign offices in New York, located at 79 Leonard Street in lower Manhattan, have been bustling since mid-July. That's when the petition drive to gather 35,000 signatures to put the SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells on the ballot got under way.

If you drop in at the campaign headquarters at around 5:30 p.m., it might even seem a little chaotic.

Members of the full-time petitioning team are returning — checking in petitioning boards, unpacking boxes of socialist literature, swapping stories about the day's experiences, and getting a cold drink after a day outside in New York's sweltering summer heat.

A team of volunteer cooks is putting the finishing touches on the dinner that is served each night for the team members and others who come down after work to go petitioning or help out on other campaign tasks.

At one end of the large meeting room where most of the activity takes place, a crew of volunteer painters is at work on the large banners being prepared for the five-day international socialist educational and active workers conference that starts August 6 in Oberlin, Ohio.

The Pathfinder Bookstore — which is what you step into when you open the front

door at 79 Leonard Street — is busy with working people and students browsing, talking politics, and getting introduced to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Young Socialist Alliance

The YSA is a big part of the petitioning effort in New York, as it has been in other ballot drives around the country. Many members of the full-time petitioning team are YSAers — young students and workers who decided to spend some time this summer helping get the SWP ticket on the ballot in 18 states and the District of Columbia. Some are on summer break from high school or college; others are laid off; a few are en route to a new city, and can be full-time socialist campaigners before moving.

Four young volunteers who helped campaign in South Dakota, where petitioning for the SWP candidates was recently completed, decided they wanted to keep going. So they came to New York to join the big drive here. Groups of SWP campaign supporters from Newark, New Jersey; Philadelphia; and Washington, D.C., have also come to New York to help out. Three textile workers from Greensboro, North Carolina, decided to use their plant shut-down to drive up and pitch in.

In addition to the full-time team, which has ranged in size from eight to 20, dozens of other campaign supporters in New York



Militant/Katherine Reynolds
SWP campaign supporters sold 2,041 copies of Action Program, 214 subscriptions to Militant, Perspectiva Mundial during New York petitioning effort.

are also involved in the effort. They come down after or before work to petition for several hours on weekdays, and all day Saturdays. Campaign supporters who are members of unions have also been petitioning on the job.

Action Program

Since the drive started July 13, campaign teams have petitioned in working-class neighborhoods throughout New York City. Some have traveled to Long Island and Westchester County. Others have gone to upstate New York, where campaign supporters from Albany helped petition in several towns where some of the areas' numerous paper mills are located, such as Corinth and Glens Falls.

Petitioners have gotten a good response on New York City campuses, and in the garment district in Manhattan where hundreds of thousands of workers — many of them immigrants — are employed.

Teams of campaigners gathered signatures at the Central Park concert to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday; at a daylong street fair organized by Dominican political activists in Manhattan; and at a protest by Communications Workers of America members at City Hall.

During the course of the drive, SWP petitioners have spoken with tens of thousands of working people and students. At the center of these discussions are the ideas in the "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," presented by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

The Action Program is printed in a \$1 Pathfinder pamphlet. During the New York petition drive, 2,041 have been sold, along with 214 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and single copies of *New Internationalist*. In addition, several thousand dollars of Pathfinder literature has been sold from the tables that petitioners take out every day.

Sarah Ryan, a young campaign supporter from New Orleans, described the response she has found. "The Action Program is pretty easy to sell," she said. "Most people agree there's going to be a depression. They haven't heard the ideas we're presenting from anyone else, but it's what they think themselves."

Campaigners have also met young people interested in joining the Young Socialist Alliance and becoming active in the campaign. Since the drive began, five young people have become new members of the YSA, and three others have joined the SWP.

Educational events

A series of political events and classes have been organized at the campaign headquarters throughout the drive, including public meetings featuring James Warren, Kathleen Mickells, and YSA National Secretary Rena Cacoullos.

Classes for full-time team members and others were held on the Action Program and the *Communist Manifesto*. *Militant*

staff writer Harry Ring gave a talk one evening on the history of the SWP. And Don Rojas, a leader of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of Central America and the Caribbean, spent an evening discussing the current situation in the Caribbean with team members. On another evening, Eva Cockcroft — a contributor to the Pathfinder mural — gave a talk on "Public Art and the Mural Movement."

Paperwork

With the signature-gathering completed, the task of socialist campaigners in New York now turns to "paperwork." This is the immense task of processing the petitions in order to ready them for filing by the deadline, August 23. "This is as big a job as getting the signatures themselves," says Greg McCartan, New York SWP petitioning coordinator.

In addition, this enormous effort is costing thousands of dollars, so fund-raising has had to be an important part of the petition drive throughout.

Volunteers and contributions are needed. If you would like to help, contact the New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 219-3679.

Less than one-third of jobless receive unemployment benefits

Fewer than 32 percent of jobless workers — 2.3 million of 7.4 million out of work, according to the Department of Labor — are now receiving unemployment benefits. This is the lowest level since the unemployment insurance system was created in 1935.

Two reasons for the decline are given by government officials and economists. The first is a drop in the amount held in trust funds by the 50 states, out of which unemployment benefits are paid. This has led to state governments instituting increasingly stiff eligibility requirements. These in turn make it harder and harder for workers to qualify for benefits.

States are requiring workers to have worked longer and earned more in order to qualify. This makes it very difficult for part-time workers to get unemployment compensation. In Virginia, for example, a person working 20 hours a week, at \$5 an hour, would not get unemployment if he or she were laid off.

If a worker resigns from a job, it is now almost impossible to get unemployment. Until the early 1980s, such a worker could qualify if they remained out of work 10 weeks or more.

Unemployment compensation averages one-third of a worker's most recent pay. Workers must pay taxes on this income the same way as they would on regular income.

Benefits are limited to 26 weeks, with no extensions, in every state except Alaska.

Where Socialist Workers 1988 national ballot drive stands

This year, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign are working to get the SWP presidential ticket on the ballot in 18 states and the District of Columbia. The SWP candidates are James Warren for U.S. president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president. This is where the ballot drives stand:

- The SWP ticket is certified on the ballot in Utah, New Jersey, Washington State, and South Dakota.

- Petition drives have been completed in Ohio, Nebraska, Alabama, Minnesota, Iowa, and Washington, D.C.

- Petitioning is completed in New York. Some 34,060 signatures have been gathered; the requirement is 20,000. Extensive paperwork to process the signatures is under way, and will be completed before the August 23 filing deadline.

- Petitioning is currently going on in Rhode Island, where 1,000 signatures are required.

- Campaign supporters in New Mexico held a nominating convention August 1 to qualify the SWP ticket for the November ballot.

- In Michigan, supporters of the SWP have taken legal action jointly with the Citizens Party, Workers World Party, and the Socialist Party to win places on the November ballot.

- In Wisconsin, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Pat Grogan, was certified on the ballot after supporters collected 2,450 signatures on nominating petitions. The requirement was 2,000.

- Efforts to get the Warren-Mickells ticket on the ballot in Tennessee, Vermont, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Louisiana will begin later in August.

Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign

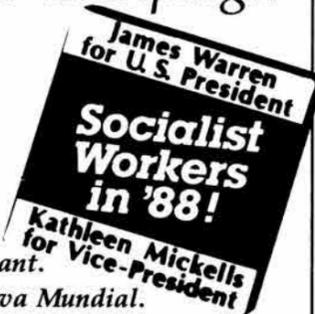
Campaign volunteers needed!

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

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

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Paid for by the 1988 Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee



Anti-Nicaragua effort set back

Costa Rica, Guatemala refuse to sign U.S. communiqué

BY MARGARET JAYKO

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was unsuccessful in persuading the governments of Costa Rica and Guatemala to sign their names to a communiqué that would condemn Nicaragua as the source of war in Central America and endorse Washington's backing for the contra mercenaries.

The statement issued at the end of the August 1 meeting between Shultz and the

Arias and Cerezo are strident opponents of the Nicaraguan government. The failure of the U.S.-organized contra aggression against Nicaragua, and the growing international resistance to any attempts to reignite the war, have made these governments wary. They don't want to be seen as simply Latin American cover for White House attempts to keep the contras alive.

The Honduran delegation to the meeting

The regimes in Honduras and El Salvador, both of which receive hundreds of millions of dollars annually in U.S. military aid, backed Shultz's proposed communiqué.

Costa Rican and Guatemalan officials indicated that they feared economic and political reprisals by Washington for their refusal to go along with Shultz.

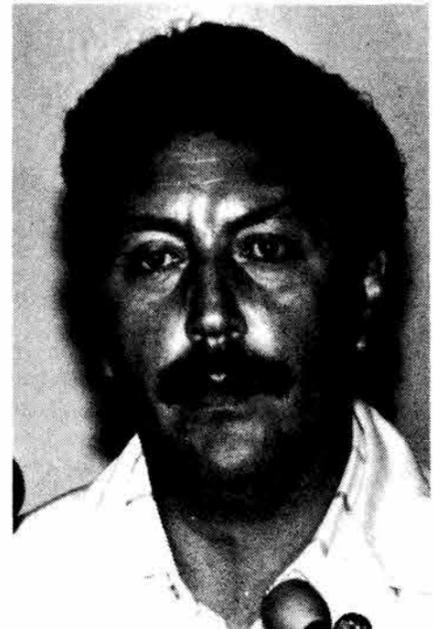
Cerezo's Christian Democratic Party published a statement on August 1 warning of "growing pressures exercised in recent days by representatives of the United States Government on the highest authorities of our Government." It said the pressures included "veiled threats of economic reprisals aimed at forcing our country to join a common front to isolate and condemn Nicaragua."

Costa Rica, too, has been subjected to a suspension of aid and other restrictions as a result of its refusal to line up totally behind Washington.

Meanwhile, Republican and Democratic leaders of both the House and Senate continue to try to come up with an aid package for the contras that Congress will ratify.

Sen. Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) is proposing a \$47 million deal, including \$27 million in "nonlethal" aid, and \$20 million for weapons and ammunition, which would be held in escrow at least until September 1. It could only be released if both houses of Congress approve. The White House backs Dole's proposal.

The contras are currently receiving money as part of an aid package adopted in March, which runs out at the end of August.



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Guatemala's president, Vinicio Cerezo

Some 20 key Senate Democrats are drafting their own proposal that would release \$18 million in previously frozen military aid to the contras.

"This is a reaction to the ill-timed and ill-fated actions on the part of the Sandinistas and to their new acts of oppression," said Sen. James Sasser (D.-Tenn.). "We're trying to get a bipartisan majority that includes people who haven't supported this in the past," Sasser said. "It is intended to keep the contras alive until the next administration has come in and decided how it wants to deal with the issue."

House Democratic leaders and some liberal senators spurned the proposal, however, including Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) and House Speaker James Wright (D.-Tex.).



foreign ministers of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras was far more vague than the White House had hoped, and didn't mention Nicaragua by name. The conference was held in Guatemala City.

To prepare for the meeting, Shultz had sent his special envoy, Morris Busby, on a tour of the region. Busby's job was to get support in advance for a draft of the proposed communiqué that included "a virtual declaration of war" on Nicaragua, according to one senior U.S. official quoted in the July 31 *New York Times*.

"If we sign this statement, we are saying that our foreign policy is being set by the United States," commented one Guatemalan official.

Julio Santos, a spokesperson for Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo, said, "Guatemala will not agree to any document that isolates or condemns Nicaragua."

An aide to President Oscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica said, "Costa Rica will not sign anything that isolates, condemns, or pressures Nicaragua." In Arias' judgment, he said, "a statement about progress toward peace in Central America has to be the product of a meeting of all five countries in the region, not a meeting with the United States."

Arias is credited with being the author of the peace plan signed by the five Central American governments last August. Both

with Shultz issued a condemnation of the governments of Guatemala and Costa Rica. "Honduras finds it strange that the Costa Rican and Guatemalan delegations are ignoring the region's security problems," it said.

Kentucky Armco workers strike to defend contract

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

ASHLAND, Ky. — More than 300 workers at Armco's coke plant here went on strike July 18. The plant supplies coke to Armco's huge steel mill nearby.

Members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) Local 3-523 called the strike because the company refused to let them work under the terms of their own contract. It wanted to impose the Steelworkers' contract on them.

The coke plant used to be owned by Allied Chemical. Over the years, and during a hard-fought strike in 1979, OCAW members won contracts at Allied better than those the Steelworkers had at Armco.

In 1981, Armco bought the coke plant. Management refused to recognize OCAW and insisted that the coke plant workers join the steel union as a condition of continued employment. Coke plant workers with 20 or 30 years of service lost their seniority.

During a visit to the picket line, the

strikers explained their fight. For seven years, they have functioned as an OCAW local — electing officers and maintaining a union hall. The unionists challenged the company's attacks in the courts and through the mechanisms of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). This was all paid for through voluntary contributions from the union membership.

In June the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling ordering Armco to recognize OCAW. Armco was also ordered to reimburse \$1 million in dues that had been paid to the Steelworkers and to return to the 1979 OCAW contract.

A year earlier the NLRB also ruled that Armco must pay the unionists the back wages they lost after having the steel contract imposed on them.

The company is claiming that the NLRB ruling is too harsh. They have refused to adhere to the court order. Although Armco quit deducting Steelworkers' dues and began negotiating with OCAW, the coke plant workers have not received any back

pay or been reimbursed for back dues deductions.

"Armco must be above the law," one picket said. "If we ignored a court order, we'd be in jail."

The pickets also explained that the central issue in the strike is not money but returning to the OCAW contract.

That agreement contained cost-of-living clauses, better benefits, and stronger grievance language.

The OCAW members explain that the old contract should be the beginning basis for negotiations. Armco management is instead insisting that the 11 "fringe benefits" be dropped before they will start negotiations.

One worker explained that the company is worried about the example the OCAW negotiations could set for negotiations with the 3,000 steelworkers a year from now. Over the past eight years, the company has imposed big takebacks at the steel mill.

Armco is running the coke plant with supervisors, including some brought over from the steel mill.

Contras kill 2 on boat in Nicaragua

BY LARRY SEIGLE

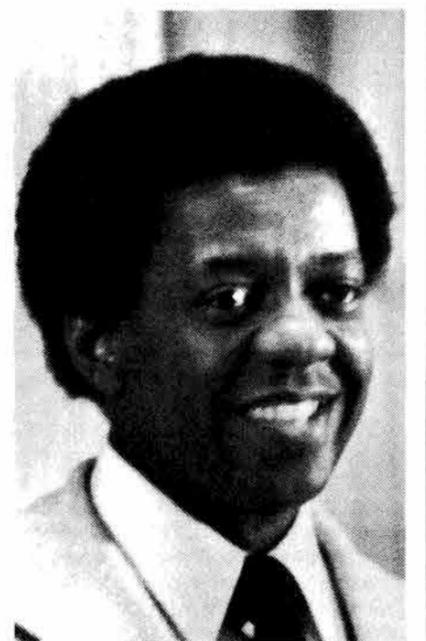
MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Lucius Walker, director of the U.S. Interfaith Council of Community Organizations (IFCO), was wounded in the hip by gunfire in a contra attack August 2.

Two Nicaraguan civilians were killed and 27 wounded as contra forces fired on a boat on the Escondido River, in the eastern part of the country. The boat was making the trip from the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields to the town of Rama.

Walker arrived here July 26 as part of a fact-finding delegation. The group visited farm cooperatives and churches on the Atlantic Coast, where most of Nicaragua's Black people live.

"One reason we are here is that we are against the interventionist policy of our government," Walker told reporters as he was being taken to a hospital for treatment.

"We have lived for a moment with the terror" of the contras, he said of the attack on the boat, which continued for about 10 minutes. "But we know that the Nicaraguan people live with it every day."



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
U.S. activist Lucius Walker was wounded in contra attack.



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Balance sheet of U.S. imperial policy in Caribbean

One year after the signing of the historic Esquipulas Accords in Guatemala, which heralds peace for the peoples of Central America, and as we draw closer to the twilight of the so-called Reagan era, we should examine the historical record and draw up a balance sheet of the successes and failures of U.S. imperial policy toward the Caribbean in the 1980s.

It's time to take stock and review one of the most significant periods in the contemporary history of this region



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

and to reflect on the overall impact this aggressive policy has had on our peoples and nations.

The outlines of a much tougher stance by the U.S. government toward the Caribbean Basin were already present in the last year of the Carter administration, but it hardened considerably during the Reagan era, culminating in the criminal invasion of tiny Grenada in October 1983.

Under the combined impact of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions, U.S. imperialism's policy moved to the right and the Caribbean was upgraded on Washington's list of priorities as a "hot spot" of the 1980s.

Of course, the U.S. government has always considered the Caribbean as its private lake and its "third border" if only because several of the strategic trade routes of the United States pass through the Caribbean and the busiest of them pass through the Cuba-Haiti corridor.

U.S. military and naval control of the area was ex-

tended in World War II when British Prime Minister Winston Churchill traded his government's Caribbean bases in return for U.S. strategic support. The war years also saw the replacement of British with U.S. capital as the dominant economic force in the Caribbean.

The triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959, however, dramatically altered the balance of forces in the region and today it continues to inspire progressive and revolutionary forces throughout the world.

In the 1960s and '70s U.S. capital expanded rapidly in the region with investments rising by the early 1980s to \$30 billion (excluding Puerto Rico). These investments yielded a 17.4 percent rate of return, which in 1982 was the highest of any region in the world.

The Caribbean is a "sensitive" zone both because of the sea routes through which oil is imported into the United States and the refineries of the region, which supply 500,000 barrels a day for the U.S. market.

Perceiving that both its security and economic interests were at stake in its increasingly restive "backyard" ever since the popular Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions came to power in 1979, U.S. imperialism embarked on a course of militarizing the Caribbean in the 1980s.

Millions of dollars were poured into arming, training, and expanding police and military forces in every island. Existing U.S. bases in the region were beefed up, and military exercises involving thousands of air, land, and sea forces were increased in frequency and magnitude.

The bottom line of all this frenzied sabre rattling was to send a clear and intimidating message to the people of the region not to step out of line and to warn the socialist world that it would brook no "meddling" or "adventurism" in its private lake.

It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why the Caribbean is of such strategic and economic importance to Uncle Sam. To quote Reagan himself: "The Caribbean

is a vital strategic and commercial artery for the United States. Make no mistake, the well-being and security of our neighbors are in our vital interests."

If Reagan's foreign policy stressed the use of the "big stick" in containing radical political change in the Caribbean, then "Reaganomics" was the carrot designed to complement the stick. Although its application to the region contained certain specific features, "Reaganomics" in the Caribbean in its broad goals corresponded exactly to its application in other developing regions. Its goal is serving U.S. capital's central needs in the 1980s, a period of deepening economic and political crisis for U.S. imperialism, whose root causes could be traced to the contradictions and imbalances on the global division of labor.

With the main aim of the U.S. ruling class being to increase the rate of expropriation and transfer of surplus value from the semicolonies under Washington's control to the center of the empire, a more vigorous role was thus assigned to the transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This meant that the structural dependency of the semicolonies would be strengthened by a modification of the role the Third World would play in the new international division of labor emerging in the 1980s.

For the Caribbean, this modification and restructuring has meant that trade, financial, and labor flows to and from the region became more dependent on U.S. enterprise and markets during the Reagan years. Banking capital, supplanted industrial capital, and new investments were redirected away from the extractive industries (bauxite and oil, for example) toward light manufacturing for export to the United States and services (for example, tourism) — industries where there is little or no presence of organized labor and where rates of surplus value are relatively high.

Castro: Cuba is involved in a construction revolution

"With what will we carry forward the revolution, with what will we rectify, with what will we solve our problems? Basically with the pride and honor of Cubans, with their patriotism and awareness!" Cuban President Fidel Castro told a congress of the National Union of Construction Workers in Havana.

The July 6-7 event was attended by nearly 500 delegates and more than 300 guests. Castro gave the closing address.

According to the July 17 issue of the English-language edition of *Granma Weekly Review*, the Cuban leader "focused on the notion that we must develop the country as a number-one task and this depends in large measure on the work of the construction sector."

He stressed that the construction industry is the most basic among all activities to develop the country, not just for economic development but for social development as well.

Castro described some of the conditions that had developed in the construction industry that are beginning to be corrected. They included, according to the *Granma* report, "indiscriminate start of projects in order to give the impression that a lot was being done in terms of value, but they were never finished, in contrast to other periods when dams, schools, highways, and factories had been built in a relatively short period of time. Another mistake was the disappearance of minibrigades because of the 'inventions and theories of technocrats.'"

Minibrigades

The minibrigades, made up of volunteer workers, were first organized in the early years of the Cuban revolution, but were permitted to decline in the 1970s and early '80s. Today, they are being organized again to build housing, child-care centers, clinics, and other badly needed social facilities.

Castro pointed out, according to *Granma*, that the current policy is for the volunteer minibrigades to handle housing construction and for the Ministry of Construction, which has full-time construction workers, to concentrate on roads, dams, and other major projects.

According to *Granma*, the Cuban leader said, "we are involved in a construction revolution."

"Fidel said Cuba is becoming a country of builders," *Granma* reported, "and mentioned the case of many thousands of senior high, technological, and university students who participate in construction along with children, housewives and retired peo-



Federation of Cuban Women

Construction volunteer participating in renewed minibrigade movement. Castro told construction workers' union that brigades' disappearance in '70s was mistake.

ple — millions of people who make their contribution."

Everything in the country is the work of construction workers both past and present, and everything to be built in the future will be the work of construction workers, Castro said. "A revolutionary people must be not just a people of fighters but a people of builders."

Cost accounting

According to *Granma*, Castro discussed cost accounting. He explained that a base line of calculations is needed to compare the value of what is done with how much it costs, in construction and other sectors. This is necessary, he said, to measure efficiency.

Castro pointed out that if this is not done it will appear that the more efficient workers become, the less value they will produce. If what cost 15 million to produce before now only costs 7 million, a purely cost analysis would underestimate what had been accomplished. "If we confuse value with costs," he explained, "we say that we are producing 7 million when we could actually say that we are producing 15 at the cost of 7. That is why the basis for calculations of the value of what we create with our work is very important."

Castro pointed to overstaffing in enterprises as a source of inefficiency. The worst crime committed by a society, and all are guilty, capitalist and socialist alike,

he said, is to have millions and millions of people dedicated to useless activity.

"This doesn't mean to say that office work is useless," *Granma* reported the Cuban leader saying, "for if a man or woman has control and can say how much things cost and how efficiently we are working, if he has a balance of what is done and the costs but also the inventory stored away, he will be making a very important contribution to society."

"Fidel said," the article continued, "he was not opposed to office work, only to the madness that led to a huge mass of people in the superstructure. He stressed the importance of having all technicians in the country work at their job sites. If they are there the same number of hours as the workers, there are no problems of pay."

'What use is a leaky roof?'

The *Granma* article noted that Castro said he was "almost more worried about quality than productivity. One hundred well-laid bricks are better than 120 or 130 poorly laid ones. Without quality, what are our buildings worth? What use is a leaky building or roof, he exclaimed."

"He asserted that productivity and quality can be combined," *Granma* recounted, "adding that construction workers will have to see how much existing payment systems undermine quality. We need a system whereby high standards will never lose out. If I were asked what should be given priority I would say: quality first and then more quality."

"Castro also mentioned," according to *Granma*, "the mistake of using equipment from the socialist camp for operations for which they were not designed or that sometimes they are poorly designed. That is not a betrayal of proletarian internationalism; on the contrary we serve it by recognizing the problem. And Cubans must also avoid the problem when they produce equipment for export. He stressed that there is a lot of excellent socialist equipment which we wouldn't change for any other."

One of the errors that had been made in the Cuban revolution and nearly all revolutions, Castro said, was that well-being, wealth, and abundance were put before work, when only work can create these conditions.

"A lot of things are done for money," *Granma* reported Castro saying. "People kill for money or are guilty of any type of crime. But money doesn't buy everything; it is a means for and instrument of distribution to meet needs of the people, but it is not an end to itself."

Boston event: 'Cuban revolution stronger than ever'

BY JON HILLSON

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — July 26, 1953, may have been a military failure, but it was "the beginning of the end of the Batista regime, the beginning of the Cuban revolution." With that assessment, Kenneth Jones, a member of the national executive committee of the Venceremos Brigade, opened a spirited meeting here July 26 to celebrate the anniversary of the revolutionary assault on the Moncada Barracks — the hated symbol of the Batista tyranny.

Because of the importance of July 26, Jones told the 165 participants, "it's a good day to talk about Cuba and southern Africa, the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution, to talk about rectification, to talk about what's going on in Cuba."

Jones, who toured Angola last year, was joined as a keynote speaker at the event by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist journal *New Internationalist* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

A torrential downpour and the delay of flights from New York prevented scheduled speaker Edward Boorstein, author of the *Economic Transformation of Cuba*, from participating.

Jones' remarks focused on Cuban support for the African liberation struggle. He explained that the revolutionary government's defense of Angola is rooted in Cuba's conviction that there is "no neutrality in the fight against apartheid, oppression, and subjugation."

This stance, Jones said, is Cuba's way of paying a debt of solidarity "to the developing world."

Victory at Cuito Cuanavale

He detailed the recent historic victory of the united combatants of Cuba, Angola, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) over South African and Angolan mercenary forces at Cuito Cuanavale earlier this year, in southern Angola.

This crushing blow to Pretoria, Jones said, "totally changed the balance of forces" in the struggle to free Namibia and throughout southern Africa. Moreover, the death of white South African conscript soldiers in Angola has deepened discontent in South Africa. All of this is forcing the apartheid government to negotiate directly with Cuba and Angola to prepare for a withdrawal of South Africa's troops from Namibia, he explained.

In fulfilling this "internationalist duty," Jones said, "Cuba showed that, as Cuban President Fidel Castro explained, 'African blood runs in our veins.'" The Cuban experience in Africa, Jones said, has culturally and politically strengthened the African roots of the Cuban people as well.

'Going forward stronger'

Mary-Alice Waters concentrated on developments in Cuba over the last decade.

"The revolution," she said, "is going forward stronger than it's ever been."

The new advances of working people in Cuba, she said, are inseparable from the other revolutionary victories in Central America and the Caribbean, registered by the triumph of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian peoples in 1979. "Cuba would not be able to go forward alone," Waters explained, "if reaction and counterrevolution were on the offensive everywhere else in the Americas." Just as aid from the USSR was decisive for Cuba's survival, she noted, Cuba's existence has also been decisive for the advances in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and elsewhere in the Americas.

Following the victories of 1979 and in face of new U.S. threats against Cuba, the Cuban people mobilized by the millions, Waters recalled. Hundreds of thousands of Cuban citizens volunteered to serve as teachers, engineers, medical personnel, or whatever else was needed in Nicaragua and Grenada. A million and a half Cubans were incorporated into the voluntary Territorial Troop Militia and national defense was reorganized, she noted.

This set the stage for what the Cubans call the rectification process, which began more than two years ago. Rectification, Waters said, has "accurately been called a 'revolution within the revolution.'"

She pointed to the 54 new child-care centers built in Havana last year by volunteer work brigades as the symbol of the rectification process.

The masses of Cuban people have "rediscovered what they are capable of doing," Waters said. They are once again showing the world that building socialism is not a matter of establishing economic planning mechanisms, however important they may be. "It is first and foremost a political course charted by conscious, revolutionary men and women, communist men and women."

Through their own labor, freely given, Waters noted, the Cuban people are creating the resources necessary to solve problems like housing and child care. They are



Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Marxist journal *New Internationalist* and leader of Socialist Workers Party, and Kenneth Jones, national executive committee member of Venceremos Brigade, were keynote speakers at spirited July 26 meeting.



"charting new ground never opened before in any revolution."

Advances in face of difficulties

Waters noted that these advances are being made in Cuba today despite the extremely difficult economic conditions created by the collapse of sugar prices on the world capitalist market and the foreign debt crisis that effects Cuba too. She contrasted Cuba's ability to move forward despite such obstacles to the catastrophic economic and social crisis that is shaking the rest of Latin America.

"Cuba's most eloquent speech," Waters said, "is its own existence." Cuba is living proof that "only a socialist revolution, whatever the difficulties it entails, can open the door to a different kind of future for all humanity."

During a brief fund appeal, Boston Venceremos Brigade leader Eric Johnson urged those attending the meeting to apply for the upcoming 1989 20th anniversary contin-

gent of the brigade, which will help celebrate the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. The brigade organizes people from the United States to visit Cuba.

Jones and Waters both fielded questions after their talks, and engaged in informal discussion long into the evening.

The meeting, chaired by Puerto Rican activist Annette Diaz, also featured the music of Flor de Caña, a popular Boston-area group, and a social hour during which participants ate Cuban food and browsed literature tables set up by the Center for Cuban Studies, Central America Solidarity Association, NICA School, Pathfinder Bookstore, Red Book, and the Venceremos Brigade.

The event, the first such widely attended one since 1985, was endorsed by those groups, along with the Boston Committee for Puerto Rican Civil Rights, Comité Hondureño Francisco Morazán, Committee in Solidarity with Haiti, Socialist Workers Party, and Workers World Party.

Sandinistas hail July 26 anniversary

BY JUDY WHITE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The 35th anniversary of the July 26, 1953, attack on the Moncada Barracks was celebrated here in the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation. The Moncada assault was the first armed action of the revolution that was to culminate in victory for the workers and peasants of Cuba Jan. 1, 1959.

Tomás Borge led the delegation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to the celebration in Cuba itself. Borge is a member of the FSLN National Directorate

and is Nicaragua's minister of the interior.

The July 26 rally here began with remarks by Gustavo Bossols, chargé d'affaires of the Cuban embassy in Nicaragua.

Bossols said that in addition to marking the beginning of the armed struggle against the Batista dictatorship in Cuba, July 26 also "became the first date of the new Latin American independence" from U.S. imperialism.

Speaking of the spirit of solidarity that characterizes the relations between Cuba and Nicaragua, Bossols continued, "We are proud to have shared with you these nine years of Sandinista victory that were celebrated last July 19. Those nine years have been possible because on July 26, 1953, the definitive independence of our country began, and because one July 19 such a heroic people as the Nicaraguans, led by a firm, revolutionary vanguard — the Sandinista National Liberation Front — brought down the Somoza dictatorship, defeated the dictator's foreign backers, and laid the basis for the economic and social development of Nicaragua."

'More than historical importance'

Humberto López, dean of the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua and vice-president of the Nicaraguan Committee for Peace, was the other speaker. López said the assault on the Moncada Barracks has more than historical importance. "We Nicaraguans must realize this and take up this example from history of how the revolutionary movement of a people is not necessarily framed in chapters of books or in Bibles. Rather it is framed in the very development of the events, needs, and movements that arise among the people themselves."

"This movement of Moncada, this heroic end of Moncada, gave rise to the triumphant and heroic socialist revolution that is an example for the world today. And the answer was not a socialist one. As Fidel said, that movement was never a socialist one. But it was the most advanced revolutionary movement that could exist at that time. It was the movement that brought together all the thinking of the time to place it at the head of the authentic demands of the Cuban people."

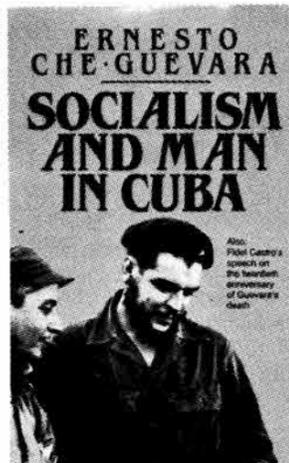
"That makes us Nicaraguans feel the closeness of the Cuban revolution, makes it ring so true historically, as we here — without our books open, facing the reality of our people's history — go about making social transformations, heading toward the transformations that sooner or later will lead to a truly authentic, developed socialist revolution."

'Solidarity in a common struggle'

Shifting to the question of solidarity between Cuba and Nicaragua, López said, "We are speaking of solidarity in the sense of a common struggle against a common enemy. And it is precisely for that reason that our unequivocal fraternity is reaffirmed — a fraternity, which is not negotiable and not up for discussion."

López concluded by pointing to Cuba's attitude toward Nicaragua's efforts "to rise out of the backwardness we inherited July 19 and the poverty that the imperialists still want to impose on us." The understanding that the Cuban leadership has shown, he said, is invaluable. "No word we could speak or gesture we could make really expresses our appreciation of that understanding and dedication to our revolution."

Che Guevara's Socialism and Man in Cuba



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

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Britain: gov't tries to cover up murder of Irish activists

BY AILEAN O'CALLAGHAN

LONDON — The British government has lost round one in its battle to hide the truth about the March 6 murder of three Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteers by British Army soldiers on the Crown Colony of Gibraltar. On that day, Mairead Farrell, Sean Savage, and Dan McCann were gunned down by a squad of seven soldiers of the Special Air Services army regiment.

At the end of a preliminary hearing held in early July to determine the scope of the inquest into the murders, Coroner Felix Pizarello said that the inquest *could* inquire into "relevant matters preceding the moment of shooting." This ruling went against the British government's attempts to restrict the inquiry. In his summary, Pizarello pointedly noted that the three victims were unarmed when they were murdered — a fact the British authorities have tried to cover up.

Pizarello's decision was a victory for the families of the victims, who had opposed the government's attempts to narrow the inquiry.

From the moment of the murders last March, British authorities have tried to surround what happened on Gibraltar in a cloud of disinformation.

The first official reports spoke of a "gun

battle" between the IRA members and British soldiers. Later, it was admitted that the victims were unarmed.

British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe told Parliament the day after the shooting that the IRA members had planted a car-bomb. But soon after, the Gibraltar police announced that the car the victims parked contained no explosives.

Television reporters spoke with eyewitnesses who said they saw the British soldiers murder the three Irish freedom fighters in cold blood. The British government tried to have these reports stopped. When that failed, they tried to smear and discredit the witnesses.

At the same time, the authorities have exerted pressure on Pizarello to restrict the inquest in advance.

The full inquest into the murders begins in Gibraltar September 6.

In addition to deciding what ground the full inquest can cover, the preliminary hearing also determined whether or not the British soldiers involved will be subject to cross-examination. Pizarello ruled that the soldiers have to attend the inquest and give evidence.

The government then tried to get the coroner to limit the ability of the relatives' lawyers to question the soldiers. Only the coroner should be able to see and question



Militant/Clive Turnbull

Thousands attended funeral protest last March in Belfast, Ireland, for IRA members gunned down in Gibraltar by British Special Air Services troops.

the soldiers, the government counsel said, or else they should be screened from the court so no one can see them. The soldiers' lawyer threatened that they would not appear at the inquest at all unless such arrangements are made. The coroner, in fact, has no jurisdiction outside Gibraltar, and cannot force any of the seven to testify.

There is little danger of the soldiers involved ever being brought to trial, much less convicted of anything. British military personnel on duty in any of Britain's colonies are automatically granted immunity under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act.

Since the July hearing, it has become known that Ministry of Defence officials and lawyers briefed the seven soldiers before they flew out to Gibraltar on their mission and guaranteed them immunity for

killing the IRA volunteers.

In May, relatives of Farrell, McCann, and Savage told a news conference in Dublin, Ireland, that they had been given information indicating that a committee of four people in the British cabinet had ordered the Gibraltar murders. Three of the four, they said, were Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, and Defence Minister George Younger. These three officials have since been named to a cabinet committee to decide the government's response to the preliminary hearing.

The government's lawyers have already said that if questioning at the September hearing is not limited to the March 6 events, the government will be forced to declare the case subject to "public interest immunity" and refuse to answer.

Indians in Ontario fight to hold onto their land

BY CLIFF MACK

BEAR ISLAND, Ontario, Canada — On June 21 Indian leaders from across Canada spoke to a demonstration in Toronto of 300 supporters of the land rights of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai. This 700-member Native band from here in the Lake Temagami region of northeastern Ontario has been maintaining two roadblocks since the end of May in order to prevent the Ontario provincial government from building 30 miles of logging roads deep into its ancestral homeland.

The provincial government has refused to recognize the 111-year-old claim of the Teme-Augama people to 4,000 square miles of land on which they have been living, hunting, fishing, and trapping for thousands of years. Ontario government Natural Resources Minister Vincent Kerrio says he cannot understand why the Bear Island band refused to accept a \$30 million settlement offer two years ago.

But, as Chief Gary Potts, head of the Teme-Augama Tribal Council, has explained, his people are not prepared to give up their land for any amount of cash. "If our land dies, we die." Potts spoke at the Toronto rally.



Militant/Cliff Mack

Chief Gary Potts pointing on map to Teme-Augama tribal lands where government wants to build roads for logging companies.

Here at Bear Island, 270 miles northeast of Toronto, Chief Potts spoke about his people's fight to regain control of their land. The Teme-Augama have struggled since 1877 to protect their land from the encroachment of forest companies and the Ontario government, he said.

Over those years the Teme-Augama have been forced into a smaller and smaller corner of the Lake Temagami region. The government has consistently backed the forest companies over Native land rights, insisting that the territory is "too valuable from a timber point of view" to recognize the Indians' demands.

By 1910 the Teme-Augama were not even allowed without permission to cut firewood for cooking and heating their homes. The next year they were prohibited from hunting and fishing.

Over the years many of the Native families were forced out when their land was flooded by government hydroelectric dams.

Finally, in 1973 Chief Potts began legal action to regain control of his people's land. Although the case is to be heard before the Ontario Appeals Court in January 1989, on May 17 the Ontario government gave logging and pulp-and-paper companies the green light to build the new roads.

Ten days later the Bear Island band decided to set up the two roadblocks. They are maintained round the clock by families living in tents. Since then all construction has been halted.

In reviewing the century of struggle, Chief Potts stressed, "We are always looked on as an encumbrance to the desires of others to use the land — to make money. This goes back to the days of the British. We are still dealing with a colonial mindset: the view that 'If you can't sell it, it has no value.'"

One of the main groups supporting the Native's land struggle is the Temagami Wilderness Society, a coalition of environmental groups, unions, and local residents. It has also taken the Ontario government to court in order to stop further road construction and continued logging. The Temagami wilderness contains the last major stand of centuries-old red and white pine in Ontario, nesting sites for the endangered golden eagle, as well as a network of aboriginal trails up to 3,000 years old, and archaeological sites dating back to 4000 B.C.

Swedish bakery workers force bosses to retreat on union leader's firing

BY DAG TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM — The 200 workers at Skogaholms bakery here recently won an important victory when they stopped the company's attempt to fire one of their union's leaders, Frances Tuoloskorpi.

Tuoloskorpi was the former president of the local union. However, she and other members of the union's executive committee grew frustrated with their inability to produce any positive results for the workers.

Negotiating with the company — using the Swedish "comanagement" approach — took more and more time, removing the union leadership from the shop floor. "It was as if we were acting in some kind of play that concealed the real contradictions," Tuoloskorpi said.

So the committee resigned, and the local union stopped functioning. At the same time, the workers remained in the national Swedish food workers' union.

The union leaders then concentrated on organizing the members, working with them to formulate demands, circulating petitions, and holding shop-floor meetings. Many workers became more active as a result.

The company's response was to approach the national union, trying to get Tuoloskorpi fired for "obstructing" the normal functioning of the union at the bakery.

Strike preparations

The workers responded immediately. A letter was circulated demanding that the company withdraw its threat and apologize to the workers. A strike committee was elected representing different departments in the plant, and they got to work preparing for a strike.

A strike deadline was set, pickets were organized, a mailing was sent out to the press and other trade unions, a strike headquarters was found, and a meeting for the workers' families set. This is the first time in recent years that strike preparations of this scope have been made.

The day before the strike was to begin,

the company tried to intimidate the workers into calling it off. The workers remained firm.

"Even if we lose the strike, we have at least shown the way to fight antiunion firings," Tuoloskorpi said. "And that will benefit all workers."

Several hours before the strike was to begin, the company retreated and withdrew the charges against Tuoloskorpi.

Since the victory, a discussion has started among the workers about whether to set up the local union again.

The attempt to fire the bakery workers' leader is part of a trend among employers here to fire active unionists.

Workers in Sweden are becoming aware of a loophole in the labor laws that allows bosses to get away with firing union fighters. If the courts order an employer to rehire an unlawfully fired worker, the employer can simply pay a fine instead of complying with the order.

Demand closing of loophole

Unions representing 500,000 workers have endorsed a letter to the Social Democratic government demanding that this loophole be closed. One of the initiators of the letter is Bengt Svensson, president of the textile workers union at Malmö Strumpfäbrik.

The leaders of the major national unions are not supporting the Svensson initiative. But the bosses at the Skogaholms bakery were unable to get the Swedish food workers' union to cooperate in firing Tuoloskorpi.

The fight at Skogaholms was part of a rising number of strikes in Sweden. Recently, 800 workers struck for eight days at the Boliden Kemi chemical plant in Helsingborg in southern Sweden. The workers demanded a fair contract and no reprisals against any strike leaders. Several other factories organized solidarity with the strike.

At the state-owned mining company LKAB in the north of Sweden, several thousand workers carried out short warning strikes during local contract negotiations.

The indigenous peoples of the Americas' 500 years of struggle against colonialism

Tomás Borge on Nicaragua's contribution to the reconquest of Indian rights through autonomy

Introduction

The following speech was given by Tomás Borge to an international seminar of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples held in Managua, Nicaragua, Feb. 7-14, 1988. Borge is Nicaragua's minister of the interior and a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples is headquartered in Ottawa, Canada, and is affiliated to the United Nations as a nongovernmental organization. It represents organizations of Indians and other indigenous peoples from North, Central, and South America; the Pacific; and northern Europe.

The Managua seminar was held to discuss the fight for Indian rights in Central America in the framework of the Guatemala peace accords, which were signed by the five Central American presidents in August 1987. It also studied the autonomy process being developed by the indigenous peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Most Nicaraguan Indians and Blacks live on the Atlantic Coast. They include Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians; and English-speaking Creole Blacks and Garifonas. Over the past several years, they and the Spanish-speaking mestizos of the coast have participated in a broad grass-roots discussion to develop the Autonomy Statute for the Atlantic Coast.

This law, recognizing that Nicaragua is a "multiethnic nation," was adopted by the Nicaraguan National Assembly in September 1987. It provides for the election of regional autonomous governments with representation of all the coast peoples. These regional governments are to have wide power over educational, cultural, social, and some economic affairs. The law also guarantees respect for the languages and customs of the coast peoples, their right to traditional forms of communal landownership and use, and their right to benefit from exploitation of the coast's natural resources.

Delegates at the Managua seminar came from Bolivia, Canada, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Sweden, and Venezuela. The Nicaraguan delegation included representatives of all the coast peoples. Among them were Indian leaders who had taken

up arms against the Sandinista government in the early 1980s, but who have since signed cease-fire agreements and are now working with the government in developing the autonomy process.

The delegates discussed the Nicaraguan autonomy experience at length, and adopted resolutions hailing it as "an achievement of the Indian peoples' historic struggle" and an "outstanding example" for other Indian peoples.

In addition, the seminar adopted resolutions supporting the Guatemala peace accords. It also protested the failure of these agreements to mention the indigenous peoples of Central America. Indians of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua have been among the main victims of the contra war and the repression waged by U.S.-backed regimes in the area.

The delegates projected organizing a Permanent Commission of Peace, Reconciliation, Development, and Autonomy to involve Indians in the peace negotiations, help repatriate refugees, and seek international aid for indigenous peoples.

The seminar condemned the plans by many European and Latin American governments to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the colonial conquest of the Americas by European powers. It urged the United Nations to declare 1992 the "International Year of Solidarity with the Indigenous Peoples." And it appealed to "the nonaligned countries of the Third World, the Socialist Bloc, and the African National Congress to support the decisions and demands of the Indian peoples."

The seminar also adopted resolutions of solidarity with the aborigines of Australia, the Maori people of New Zealand, other indigenous peoples of the South Pacific, the fight for Puerto Rican independence, the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, and with Afro-Americans throughout the Americas.

Borge's speech was given February 11, just before the delegates visited Puerto Cabezas and the Miskito town of Waspam on the Atlantic Coast.

The translation, footnotes, and subheads are by the *Militant*.

Tomás Borge

Ten days from now, on February 21, we will commemorate the 54th anniversary of the death of a man who in one of his prophetic exclamations said: "I am Nicaraguan and proud of the fact that Indian blood, more than any other, flows through my veins. That ancestry contains the secret of why I am a loyal and sincere patriot."

Sandinino organized the Wiwilí cooperatives, whose members were mostly indigenous people. A few hours after the assassination of the hero himself, the cooperative members were also sacrificed, reddening the waters of the Coco River with their blood.¹ This demonstrates that from their origins the social and political perspectives of the Sandinistas included an orientation to the communities and peoples of the Atlantic Coast.

Five hundred years ago, we, the inhabitants of this continent, were the object of the great exploit that is called the "Discovery and Conquest." This, to look at it

“
After English and Spanish conquest, Nicaragua's multiethnic destiny remained like a bull wounded by capitalist expansionism . . .
”

another way, was the outrageous assault by the Spanish and the English.

The Indians of the Caribbean shore of Nicaragua saw the great white-winged birds of the conquest, which had been foretold in ancient legends, but they did not allow themselves to be subdued by force. Instead, the inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua fell victim to the cold and aristocratic refinement of English colonialism, just as the Indians of the Pacific Coast fell victim to the abrupt maneuvers of the Spanish horses and swordsmen. Since then, the multiethnic destiny of the nation remained like a bull wounded by what would become the interests and disputes of capitalist expansionism.

The European mode of production explored distant routes in the search for gold and spices with the tenacity of Marco Polo, but without his gallantry. On this continent, they fell headlong over beautiful, primitive, and new gods, cultures, and modes of production. The conquest and colonization tore apart communal forms of organization with wanton violence and subjected us in the final analysis to Capital, whose silk diapers were drying under the slow, pale fire of the European sun.

We say that this society, capitalist society, took the natural road of conquering territory and opening markets. This society, with all its values, ideological conceptions, and modes of life, did what it could to block the natural development of our own ways of life.

The English, I believe, conquered North America, sweeping away virtually all traces of human life. The French and Portuguese managed only to cast an amazed glance and experience a premature and confused rapture on this side of the earth.

The English, however, did not conquer the Atlantic
Continued on next page

1. Augusto César Sandino (1895-1934) is the Nicaraguan national hero who led a guerrilla army that fought U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua from 1927-1933.

At the end of the war, he helped organize agricultural and mining cooperatives in the Wiwilí mountains, near the Coco River in northern Nicaragua. Many of Nicaragua's Miskito Indians live along the Coco. When Washington withdrew its troops in 1933, it left the country under the domination of the National Guard headed by Anastasio Somoza García. On Feb. 21, 1934, Somoza had Sandino assassinated. The next day, the National Guard attacked and destroyed the Wiwilí cooperatives, massacring 300 people.



Indigenous peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region rally in 1987 at multiethnic assembly held to discuss autonomy for the coast peoples.

Continued from previous page

Coast of Nicaragua. They imposed a Miskito King, who even in recent theatrical works was not able to walk the streets of Puerto Cabezas or Bluefields.²

They tried to impose the March of Buckingham Palace and its villages on us. But as you know, the inhabitants of the Wankí River³ would not let that music navigate its waters except as a warm and sad lullaby.

They wanted to impose the maypole, which in the countryside around London is a prudish and clumsy dance. However, our coast peoples transformed it into a dance as sweet and violent as the mating rites of two panthers in heat.

The Spaniards did not discover America. The Spaniards did not conquer America. They mixed their genes, their incorrigible appetite for adventure, their machismo, their penchant for the fantastic, their shrewd, quick wit, and their courage. But they did not discover or conquer this undiscoverable and unconquerable continent. On the contrary, some day maybe we will have to celebrate the discovery and conquest of Europe by the Americans.

They did not succeed. They did not domesticate our essence. The indigenous struggles, the indigenous heroes, the rebelliousness and uprisings of the peoples caused the resurrection of the living in Nicaragua on July 19, 1979.⁴ The legitimacy of the struggle to establish the identity of our peoples was more powerful than the colonial and imperialist violence.

Multiethnic roots of American society

Each society departs and returns as a splendid recurrence. It negates itself only to appear as a phantom in a higher stage. The society we are constructing will find its multiethnic roots. Even though the fruits appear to be new, as they are, the roots are both old and new, like the waters of the Wankí.

Indians of America, of North, Central, and South America: they accomplished nothing by decreeing slavery. Their discrimination was useless. It was futile to tie the hands and feet of our uniqueness. We will always be different and we will always be the same. They raped us, but they did not succeed in impregnating us with a new identity. In a certain sense, we are, and in a certain sense, we are not the same.

History tells us that capitalist expansion in our continent attacked on all sides the social cohesion of the indigenous communities. It subdued them by means of physical, cultural, and legal aggression. The identity of the indigenous peoples was denied and their rights were recognized — as are the rights of the peoples in general — on paper, but denied in practice. In the name of civilization, they cut out our tongues in a futile attempt to leave us mute. They seized lands, ravaged cultures, and denied our world view by decree.

But, ladies and gentlemen, the resistance continues. Nearly 1,500 tongues still survive in Latin America. That means that our peoples speak one language, that of sur-

“**Capitalist society did what it could to block the natural development of our own ways of life . . .**”

vival, the language of immortality.

Exploitation and denial of our rights reduced the indigenous peoples, reduced us, to the status of a virtually unpaid work force. They could kill us, and still continue killing us, without violating their law or their morality. And after they had torn us to pieces — as they are still tearing us to pieces — they could receive holy communion without first confessing and without intending to mend their ways.

Ethnocide in America was a symbol of arrogance. The ethnocide of the 16th century was the Iliad: Ulysses was called Hernán Cortés and the Trojan Horse galloped through Tenochtitlán, Lima, Santo Domingo, Havana, León, and Granada.⁵

From within its belly the beast spewed forth cruelty,

2. Nicaragua was first colonized by the Spanish, who subjugated the Indians and established settlements along the Pacific Coast. The British, operating from their colony in Jamaica, took control of the Atlantic Coast region in the mid-1600s. They ruled with the collaboration of local Miskito chiefs, who were “crowned” by the British and given the title “Miskito King.” Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields are the two main towns on Nicaragua’s Atlantic Coast.

3. The Wankí is the Miskito name for the Coco River.

4. On July 19, 1979, the Nicaraguan people, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), overthrew the Somoza dictatorship and established a revolutionary government representing the interests of the workers and peasants.

5. Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) was one of the principal leaders of the Spanish subjugation and colonization of Mexico. Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Aztec empire, fell to Cortés in 1521.

Lima, Santo Domingo, and Havana are cities in Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba, respectively. León and Granada are Nicaraguan cities.



Militant/Robert Kopec

Tomás Borge with Atlantic Coast leader Dorotea Wilson at press conference on autonomy, April 1987.

attempts at extermination in Central and South America, the success of the almost complete extermination in North America, the cross with which at times they sacrificed us, and the cross with which at times they redeemed us.

Their antiquated languages, which, unlike vintage wine, had not aged well, were reborn after what they called the Discovery. Shakespeare and Cervantes would not have been possible without the violent encounter between both cultures. In any case, Walt Whitman, Rubén Darío, and Pablo Neruda,⁶ among others, created other forms of language, inventing new languages that are not alien to the 1,500 forms of indigenous expression in the Americas. For that reason, we once said that we Nicaraguans do not speak Spanish, but rather we speak Darío, just as in the United States they could say they do not speak English, but rather Whitman.

The colonial eyes that capitalism inherited and certified with the registrar of property were made to detect gold and tin and valuable woods. But because of their social origins, they were not and are not capable of recognizing human beings in the colonies and neocolonies.

The emergence of our Latin American nations was closely linked to a model of society in which the concept of nation was chained to a transnational, dependent, and exploiting schema. This is what they called, and continue to call, democracy.

U.S. ethnocide against Indians

In the very heart of North America, ethnocide meant the hunting down of human beings on an overwhelming scale. They never smoked the peace pipe, and ethnic sadism elevated Buffalo Bill to the stature of an archetype. It would be fitting if his figure replaced the Statue of Liberty at the entranceway of New York City.

Of course, in the end the reservations were the answer. The Indian reservations in the United States constitute the most perfect legal expression of cynicism and cruelty. Law 93-531, to cite a little verse from the Apocalypse of ethnocide, meant a steel fence erected to divide the Navajo and Hopi Indians. Big Mountain, a region rich in minerals, is a tasty morsel that tempts the distinguished jaws of a famous multinational corporation.⁷

In the United States, Indian lands recognized by the U.S. government have 3 percent of the total petroleum and gas reserves. This amounts to 4.2 billion barrels of petroleum and 17.5 trillion cubic feet of gas. The uranium reserves in Indian territories make up 55 percent

6. Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616), Spanish writer, author of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

Walt Whitman (1819-1892), U.S. poet.

Rubén Darío (1867-1916), Nicaraguan poet and writer.

Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), Chilean poet.

7. In 1974, the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 93-531, which divided the land around Big Mountain, Arizona, that had been jointly used by the Hopi and Navajo Indians. The law was passed to help U.S. mining companies seize the mineral wealth in the Big Mountain area. One of its provisions ordered the construction of a massive barbed-wire fence to separate the Hopi and Navajo people.

of the U.S. reserves and 11 percent of the world’s reserves.

But the Indian peoples in the United States, if I am not mistaken, are the most neglected and impoverished sector of the U.S. population. And they want to give us lessons about how to treat Indian peoples!

Of what use are reservations if one’s rights and the possibilities of defending them lie beyond the border of the reservation? The reservation is institutionalized plunder and violence. It is the rule of cynicism, the most primitive link of racial discrimination. The sorriest aspect of this sad history is that there are those who suggest, although with some prudent hedging, that the reservation are an example of what we should do on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.

Brothers and sisters of the Atlantic Coast, we are not going to establish reservations in our country. That is not and will not be the autonomy on the Atlantic Coast.

The greatest world crisis that capitalism has known since the 1930s coincides with the 500th anniversary of

“**1,500 tongues still survive in Latin America. That means our peoples speak one language, that of survival . . .**”

the so-called discovery of America.

Brothers and sisters, our struggles for liberation will determine whether now, half a millennium later, we can take a daring step toward the new society where the historic rights of the indigenous peoples and their specific demands will be part of the peoples’ struggles, and the Indian will be an active subject in national liberation. Our experience shows that the historic rights of the indigenous peoples cannot be totally recovered without first achieving national liberation.

In Latin America, the ethnic problem and the Indian question cannot be reduced to the traditional, I would almost dare say orthodox, analysis of the class struggle. Our experience, at least, shows that it is essential to incorporate the specific demands of the indigenous struggles into the general class demands. In some concrete situations, which are abundant and volcanic in Latin America, the class struggle and the indigenous struggles overlap and condition each other. This is our perspective.

The highest expression of democracy, it is said — and it is true — is respect for the majority. Therefore, if we want to be consistent, the struggle for real equality demands respect for the opinion of the majority of the inhabitants of this continent who are Indians or of Indian origin, if the statistics don’t lie. Coincidentally, of course, they are also the exploited workers, the landless peasants, those condemned to purgatory, to cuts in social programs, and to premature death. They are also destined for immortality, indigenous brothers and sisters, because they are the protagonists of the future.

Democracy is the effect and not the cause of liberation. The reconquest of our rights as a multiethnic and multi-cultural nation is, therefore, the natural product of our liberation and its corresponding democracy.

Peace is one of the central themes of this seminar. It is, after national liberation, the highest aspiration of the peoples who inhabit the lands that stretch from Patagonia to the Yukon.

In the final analysis, there cannot be peace, nor can there be democracy, in any situation without national liberation. Democracy can only be born of an independent society. Thus democracy is possible only in a society that has managed to break the chains of dependence.

Countries that are dependent on and enslaved by imperialism cannot speak of democracy. Democracy is incompatible with dependency, just as dependency is in-

“**The greatest world crisis that capitalism has known since the '30s coincides with the 500th anniversary of the 'discovery' of America . . .**”

compatible with true peace. I am speaking of domestic peace.

It is for this reason, in order to block our independence or to demonstrate artificially that independence brings war, that our small, free, sovereign, and independent country has been subjected to aggression. This is obviously an attempt to demonstrate that when a people decides to decide, it is punished with a bloodbath. It is indicted and subjected to a refined system of tortures, perhaps the principal one being lies.

When a people decides to decide, it is accused with incredible audacity of the worst crimes, of having sinned against the Holy Spirit. Therefore, from the computer centers of death, they decide to bring about a war. They even attempt to legitimize it by involving officials and legislators who adopt laws approving what should shock and enrage humanity: the financing of a war against a small country whose moral stature is like a light that sears the eyes of those who have decided not to forgive us for living.

‘Nicaragua is not alone’

Thanks be to God, there are those who understand us and who aid us. Some people, echoing the hatred and lies, criticize the support of the internationalists, referring exclusively to that which comes from the socialist countries. We are deeply grateful for the support of the internationalists.

When I was in Cuba, I was told if it were possible to sign up all those who wanted to come to Nicaragua that Cuba would have been left without inhabitants. It is important that our people become aware of the enormous debt we have to these brothers and sisters.

From this platform, I would like to express our eternal gratitude for the unselfish, often heroic, and moving aid of the international brigadistas from 26 countries who have risked their lives and participated in the coffee harvest since November.

Here in Nicaragua are internationalists from the Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, the United States, Austria, the Soviet Union, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Finland, England, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Norway, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Canada, Mexico, and Chile.

We are not alone, brothers and sisters. You are here among us. Just as Leonard Peltier and Nelson Mandela⁸ are here with us in spirit. And Pete Seeger, a U.S. singer who fought at the side of Martin Luther King, is here with us.

Compañeros:

We have fought for national liberation. We are fighting for peace. We are building democracy. The one would not be possible without the other. Solidarity with Nicaragua demands support from the forces of international decency and dignity for our efforts to attain peace and consolidate democracy.

We have already traveled part of the way. Despite the violence and the aggression, we continue to forge the instruments needed to attain democracy. Therefore, we require not only support for peace, but also support for our democracy, for our legality, which has been conquered with blood.

Peace will be the result of concrete efforts to stop the war. War is politics carried out by other means, according to a learned man, a German strategist. In the final

analysis, the end of the war is a political solution. That explains why, in political terms, there can only be negotiations with those who organized, who planned, and who conceived the strategy and even the tactics of this costly conflict.

The cause of the war as a whole must be sought in the workings of a historic law. Neither the exploiting classes nor the empire are resigned nor will they resign themselves to the loss of political power in this country.

Peace, consequently, is not nor shall it be a victory for all. It will not be the victory of the aggressor, but rather the victory of the victim of aggression. Peace is the triumph of those who believe in the instruments of life. War is the morbid passion of those who believe in the instruments of death.

When all the people of the Atlantic Coast participated in the battle for democracy and discussed the Autonomy Statute day and night, word for word, 500 years of hopes were converted into a law that was the exact expression of the aspirations of the majority. Our conception of democracy is expressed in the preparation of a law drafted, discussed, and ratified with the massive participation of the people.

The Autonomy Statute in fact is known by other names in other countries, because it is not a question of semantics. Rather, the statute was the result of an authentic desire for peace and the just response to historic demands.

The Autonomy Statute could doubtless be modified, and it probably will be modified in the light of experience. We cannot know the strengths and weaknesses of a law without seeing it applied to our concrete reality. Laws do not make reality; it is reality that makes laws.

Just as multiethnic Nicaragua has decided to take hold of reality, we are capable of being the masters of our own laws. In so far as we Nicaraguans deepen our knowledge of reality, the better our laws will become. Thus, it is not a question of changing laws on a whim or to be playing political games.

As a result of our Sandinista heritage, our native intuition, our magic, our realism, or our magical realism, we have more confidence in the opinions of the Atlantic Coast communities and peoples, once the law has been put into practice, than in all the theories invented in the

“**The class struggle and the indigenous struggles overlap and condition each other . . .**”

empire's laboratories where they combine bacteria for mass murder with social hypotheses to confuse the peoples.

You are already familiar with the Atlantic Coast Autonomy Law, and in fact you have examined and analyzed it in commission meetings. Within a few hours you will travel to the coast and will be able to obtain a more precise view through contact with the architects of the law — the people of the coast.

I can only add that for us, the autonomy of the Atlantic Coast was the precursor of peace in the region. Although it was not created with the explicit aim of bringing peace, it confirmed that we are men of honor and open to dialogue.

When we pledged to concretize our experiences in an autonomy law, there was an abundance of predictions that we would never fulfill our commitment. Now reality is proving the opposite. We have held talks, including with different organizations of Indians who had taken up arms. Some of their representatives are here in this meeting, and I am proud to be their friend, now that almost all of them have understood that autonomy is irreversible.

We can assert with historic responsibility, brothers and sisters of America and the world, that the sleeping beauty has awakened to begin the first chapter of its next exploits.

When the President of Nicaragua, Commander Daniel Ortega, signed the Guatemala peace accords in the name of the Nicaraguan people, then, too, hired voices said we would not comply and that the only language we understood was that of war. Nonetheless, we have complied with the greatest faithfulness, and we will continue to do more than we are obliged or pledged to carry out.

How are we therefore to understand the logic of those who say that to achieve peace they had to wage war against us? What is the rationale for murdering children and Sumo and Creole leaders in Las Minas, supposedly to achieve peace on the Atlantic Coast, to cite one region of Nicaragua?⁹ How do threats and mortar attacks along the border fulfill a pledge to repatriate refugees? How can one understand this logic?

How could we not salute the heroism of the Sumos,

9. On Dec. 21, 1987, some 1,000 U.S.-backed contras attacked three mining villages in an area of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast known as Las Minas. After two days of fighting, the contras were driven off by the local self-defense forces, including Sumo and Miskito Indian militias, backed up by units of the Sandinista People's Army.

Miskitos, and Creoles of Las Minas, who, armed more with heroism than with rifles, defended the autonomy project that they have now made definitively their own?

The time has passed when they could organize the Monopoly of Lies. The logic of events has imposed itself on irrationality. The majority of international public opinion knows that Nicaragua fulfills its pledges, that its word is the word of the Sandinistas; that is, its word is unbreakable and infallible.

Just as we won skirmishes and battles against backwardness and oppression, just as autonomy arose out of political maturity, we are confident that the people of Central America will achieve peace.

We must say, however, that the Guatemala accords do not explicitly show a concern for the indigenous peoples. We support all efforts aimed at highlighting the specific character of the Indian question in the struggle for peace in Central America.

We are particularly concerned about the repatriation and attention to refugees. The accords, however, do state, in their point 14, that the five nations “pledge to urgently respond to the refugees and those displaced by the war.” Likewise, they pledge to “seek multilateral aid from the international community, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations and agencies.”

Nicaragua reiterates this commitment before you, aware that the indigenous peoples are among the principal groups affected by this situation. Furthermore, we invite the authorities of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and other international bodies to join with us in efforts to obtain bilateral agreements and to explore the best opportunities with nongovernment agencies that are

“**The reconquest of our rights as a multiethnic nation is the product of our liberation and democracy . . .**”

ready to finance community development projects.

The Autonomy Law is a substantial part of our revolutionary legality, along with the agrarian reform law, the military draft law, the laws on health and education, and other laws established to defend the power of the people, to reaffirm revolutionary democracy, and to satisfy the essential demands of society.

However, brothers and sisters, like all these laws, the Autonomy Law has begun to be questioned and slandered by the apologists of violence and illegality. They respond to the hopes for peace by wantonly tossing hand grenades, with mines that explode not by magic, mines that are not selective, mines that are aimed to sow death and terror.

We have not the slightest fear of the more than subliminal suggestions of those who wish we would disappear from the face of the earth. We, the leaders of this revolution, shall always be united. Whatever the next chapter of our history may bring, we will be here at the side of our people and, let no one doubt it, in the front line of battle.

Brothers and sisters of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples: go forth and tell your peoples that the laws of this country will be enforced, and that the Autonomy Law will be applied even if it is opposed by the seven horsemen of the Apocalypse.

The Autonomy Law is the heritage not only of the indigenous communities of the Atlantic Coast, nor of the Nicaraguan people alone. It is the heritage of all the indigenous peoples who fight for recognition of their historic rights. This is our victory. This is our banner. This is the Good News.

Brothers and sisters, the Sandinista People's Revolution gives you this law as an offering to the peoples of all latitudes, to the minorities of the United States and of Europe, and to the majorities of Latin America.

Also by Tomás Borge . . .

**In *New International*,
a magazine of Marxist politics and theory
“Revolution is the
Birth of Light”**

An interview conducted in Cuba in 1985. In it, Borge talks about the “deep interrelation between art and revolution,” Nicaraguan culture, and the achievements of the revolution.

Send \$6.50 to *New International*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Also available from Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England; P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037, Australia; 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, Toronto, Ont. M5V 1S8, Canada.

8. Leonard Peltier is an American Indian Movement activist who has been imprisoned by the U.S. government since 1977.

Nelson Mandela is a leader of the African National Congress who has been imprisoned by the apartheid South African regime since 1962.

Hiroshima 1945: behind the U.S. A-bomb atrocity

On Aug. 6, 1945, and again on August 9, the U.S. government dropped the first and second atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Tens of thousands of people died instantly, with thousands more dying later. This year marks the 43rd anniversary of that atrocity.

The following article, "What the Record Shows: U.S. Guilt at Hiroshima," appeared in the Jan. 25, 1965, *Militant*. The author, Fred Halstead, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died on June 2 this year.

As the SWP's candidate for president in 1968, Halstead took a trip around the world, visiting Japan, South Vietnam, India, Egypt, West Germany, France, and Britain. In Japan he attended several peace conferences, addressing a session of the Japan Conference Against A- and H-Bombs on August 6 in Hiroshima.

* * *

BY FRED HALSTEAD

That Japan was "truly making sincere requests for peace," before and at the time of the Hiroshima A-bomb, is an undisputed fact of history. It is so well established that even popular history books and standard reference works recently published in this country cannot ignore it.

The obvious implications of the fact are so damning to the moral position of the American capitalist power structure and so unpleasant to the American people generally, however, that the fact is not often squarely faced in this country, even by many pacifist critics of the government's nuclear warfare policies. In the popular histories and reference works, it is generally glossed over with the briefest, most off-hand mention — after the style of West German textbook references to Nazi crimes — as if the unpleasant fact could somehow be buried and forgotten if it is given the low-key treatment.

And indeed the general impression still exists in this country (but not abroad) that somehow the dropping of the A-bombs on Japan caused the end of the war and eliminated a bloody invasion of the Japanese home islands, thus saving more lives than the A-bombs themselves snuffed out. This is a lie manufactured and spread in the first place by President Truman and British prime ministers Churchill and Attlee, who took responsibility for the decision to drop the bombs. It is nothing but the official trumped-up alibi for one of the most shocking and unjustified war crimes in all human history.

What are the facts? This is what the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1959 edition) has to say: "After the fall of Okinawa [on June 21, 1945], [Japanese Prime Minister] Suzuki's main objective was to get Japan out of the war on the best possible terms, though that could not be announced to the general public. . . . Unofficial peace feelers were transmitted through Switzerland and Sweden. . . . Later the Japanese made a formal request to Russia to aid in bringing hostilities to an end."

The *Britannica* then completes its coverage by saying that Russia rebuffed the Japanese overtures because it didn't want the war to end before it was scheduled to invade the northern areas occupied by Japan. What the *Britannica* fails to mention is that these Japanese overtures were known to Washington because the dispatches between Foreign Minister Togo in Tokyo and Japanese Ambassador Sato in Moscow were intercepted by the United States. The entire affair is documented in the Hoover Library volume *Japan's Decision to Surrender*, by Robert J.C. Butlow (Stanford University, 1954). Butlow quotes the dispatch that was received and decoded in Washington on July 13, 1945:

"Togo to Sato . . . Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war . . . Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace." These requests continued through July.

Butlow documents that Washington knew the one "condition" insisted upon by the Japanese government was the continuation of the emperor on his throne and the symbolic recognition this implied of the Japanese home islands as a political entity. As it turned out this was exactly the "condition" that was granted when the peace was finally signed after the A-bombings August 6 and 9.

If the U.S. government knew as early as July 13 that the leading circles in Japan were seeking peace on those terms, why didn't it pursue this possibility for peace instead of ignoring it and proceeding with the A-bombings? There is simply no satisfactory answer to this question from the point of view of the military demands of ending the war — even on U.S. imperialist terms — and saving soldiers' lives.

As Hanson W. Baldwin, the *New York Times* military analyst, said in his book *Great Mistakes of the War* (1949):

"Our only warning to a Japan already militarily defeated, and in a hopeless situation, was the Potsdam demand for unconditional surrender issued on July 26,



Militant

Fred Halstead addressing the Japan Conference Against A- and H-bombs held in Hiroshima Aug. 6, 1968.

when we knew the Japanese surrender attempt had started. Yet when the Japanese surrender was negotiated about two weeks later, after the bomb was dropped, our unconditional surrender demand was made conditional and we agreed, as [Secretary of War] Stimson had originally proposed we should do, to continuation of the Emperor upon his imperial throne.

Twice guilty

"We were, therefore, twice guilty. We dropped the bomb at a time when Japan already was negotiating for an end of the war, but before these negotiations could come to fruition. We demanded unconditional surrender, then dropped the bomb and accepted conditional surrender, a sequence which indicates pretty clearly that the Japanese would have surrendered, even if the bomb had not been dropped, had the Potsdam Declaration included our promise to permit the Emperor to remain on his imperial throne."

Why, then, did the United States drop the bombs? One of the few writers who claims to believe the official alibi is Robert C. Batchelder, author of the well-documented *The Irreversible Decision* (1962). Even Batchelder admits: "It seems clear that had the [U.S.] attempt to end the war by political and diplomatic means been undertaken sooner, more seriously, and with more skill, the decision to use the atomic bomb might well have been rendered unnecessary."

Batchelder explains the affair away by attributing it to U.S. diplomatic inefficiency and a tendency in U.S. leaders to deal with the war in purely military terms and neglect political aspects. But the evidence indicates the final A-bomb decision was made precisely for political reasons.

Indeed, some top U.S. military men — including Eisenhower and the chief of staff of the U.S. armed forces at the time, Adm. William D. Leahy — declined to support use of the bomb. In his book, *I Was There* (1950), Leahy says: "It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons.

"It was my reaction that the scientists and others wanted to make this test [!] because of the vast sums that had been spent on the project. Truman knew that, and so did the people involved. However, the Chief Executive made the decision to use the bomb on two cities in Japan."

Live targets

This "test" on Hiroshima and Nagasaki cost, by the conservative American estimates, 110,000 dead and as many injured; and, by Japanese estimates, twice that many. The evidence strongly indicates that one major motivation of the A-bomb decision was precisely to test the bomb on live targets, so as to confront the postwar world with the proven fact of overwhelming U.S. military superiority. It is also established the fact that U.S. imperialism not only had the bomb but had the ruthlessness to use it.

The haste with which the bomb was used indicates that

the U.S. purposely ignored the Japanese peace requests (which were known in Washington on July 13) in order to drop the bomb before the war ended. No one was sure the bomb would work until July 18 when it was tested in New Mexico. The only other two bombs in existence were quickly dispatched to the Pacific base and were dropped on August 6 and 9. This haste is unexplained by combat problems. By that stage of the war U.S. bombers and ships encountered no serious resistance and no U.S. troop attacks were scheduled until November 1, so the haste was not necessary to "save American lives."

One of the most thoughtful works on the subject is that by the British nuclear scientist, P.M.S. Blackett, entitled *Fear, War and the Bomb* (London, 1949). Blackett points out: "If the saving of American lives had been the main objective, surely the bombs would have been held back until (a) it was certain that the Japanese peace proposals made through Russia were not acceptable, and (b) the Russian offensive, which had for months been part of the allied strategic plan, and which Americans had previously demanded, had run its course."

This last is the final piece in the puzzle. It is Blackett's well-founded thesis that one reason for the haste was to drop the bomb before the Russians entered the war against Japan. The allies had already agreed at Yalta that the USSR would attack Japan three months after Germany surrendered. Stalin had notified the United States that the Russian armies would be ready for that attack on schedule, that is, August 8. The bomb was dropped on Hiroshima August 6.

In another book by Blackett, *Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations* (London, 1956), the scientist discusses the later feelings of some of his American colleagues who had been involved in the decision to use the A-bomb:

"The opposition between 1949 and 1951 of so many atomic scientists to the H-bomb program must, I think, be taken as the price the American Government paid for lack of candor in 1945. If the scientists had been told that Japan had been essentially defeated and was suing for peace, but that the dropping of the bombs won for America a vital diplomatic victory, since it kept the Soviet Union out of the Japanese peace settlement and so avoided the difficulties and frictions inherent in the German surrender, I expect most would have accepted, however reluctantly, the practical wisdom of the act. They were not told this, but they were told that the bomb saved untold American lives. When they later learnt that this was rather unlikely, many of them must have begun to fear that their government might not be able to resist some future temptation to exploit America's atomic superiority. . . ."

To sum up: That Japan was defeated and suing for peace before the bombs were dropped is a fact established beyond doubt. The motivations of U.S. rulers in dropping the bombs anyway is, of course, a disputed question. But the evidence utterly fails to support the official alibi that it was done to avoid costly battles. On the contrary, the evidence overwhelmingly indicates that the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were murdered, not to end World War II, but to launch what later came to be known as the cold war.

End of oil workers' strike spurs discussion

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

MARCUS HOOK, Pa. — After five months on strike against the British Petroleum (BP) refinery here, union workers voted July 5 to accept the company's "final offer" and return to work.

Speculation had run high that BP's next move would have been to permanently replace the strikers.

The final contract forces workers to accept a wage cut when out sick, mandatory overtime, and no amnesty for two workers fired for strike activities. Instead, the firings will be arbitrated.

At the meeting of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 8-234 before the ratification vote, union negotiator and financial secretary Denis Stephano asked, "How can we consider a contract where people are fired?" Striker Robin Bryant said, "If it could happen to them, it could happen to anybody."

The sentiment that "we all went out together and we'll all go back together" had echoed through the 22 weekly union meetings during the strike. For five months the strike had remained solid. No union member had crossed the picket lines. Foremen and supervisory personnel had worked 12-hour shifts, seven days a week to keep the refinery operating.

Others at the meeting expressed the view that there was no recourse except to sign. BP was refusing to budge.

After the ratification vote, the union members vowed to wage a campaign to win back the jobs of the fired workers. In the refinery parking lot the first day back at work, returning union members donned black T-shirts emblazoned with the union logo and the names of the two fired workers.

One month earlier the union had been able to beat back BP's attempt to "permanently lay off" 10 strikers and suspend five others for alleged picket-line violations. The company also tried to subpoena the union's financial records and strike-duty rosters. The union refused and the move was quashed.

Company slanders Black workers

When contract negotiations opened last January, BP's refinery manager Ed Kulinski argued that government-ordered compliance with affirmative action had forced the hiring of what BP called "untrainable" workers. And that, BP argued, should be reflected in lower wage rates.

The union replied with a public leaflet. "We reject the company's attempt to divide us up," it read. "Local 8-234 negotiates for all its members. We have no second-class citizens in this union!"

The union launched a public protest campaign that drew wide press coverage and forced BP to back down. Many Black members of the union became very involved in strike and union activities, contributing greatly to its strength.

Support was also won from union contractors at BP. Although court injunctions limited pickets to a handful at the refinery's 11 gates, several weeks of mass picket lines at the contractors' gates were honored by building trades workers. Construction on some of BP's new projects was temporarily halted. Many building trades workers continued to honor the pickets and several locals made significant contributions to our strike fund.

Officials of British oil-worker unions pledged to raise the strike issues in their Labour Party delegations to the British Parliament and to confront BP on its stance on "racial integration and affirmative action."

In April the Marcus Hook strikers welcomed Black South African labor organizer Nomonde Ngubo to the union hall. Ngubo, now an international representative of the United Mine Workers of America, was a founding member of the South African National Union of Miners. She documented BP's role in support of the apartheid regime in her country. BP is the third largest oil company in the world and has more than \$400 million in direct investment in South Africa.

The local also sought alliances with United Mine Workers locals, especially at BP-owned coal mines in Illinois and Indiana.

Paperworkers' solidarity

Among the first to respond to the strikers' appeals were striking paperworkers

from Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, who sent some 50 strikers to reinforce the pickets against BP last February.

OCAW 8-234 strikers in turn attended the June 18 rally in Lock Haven marking the one-year anniversary of the strike against International Paper.

Some 150 strikers at the July 5 vote signed petitions on behalf of Mark Curtis, a framed-up Iowa packinghouse worker and political activist. They contributed \$184 for his defense.

During the five-month walkout, strikers were ineligible for unemployment benefits or food stamps. The OCAW International allocated strike benefits of only \$25 per week.

The local appealed for help to every OCAW local in the country and to workers in nearby plants. The thousands of dollars contributed kept workers going.

This five-month strike experience deepened the discussions about what it will really take to win and the kind of unity that is needed on a much grander and worldwide scale than what the small local of 345 oil workers was able to accomplish.

Claire Moriarty is a member of OCAW Local 8-234 in Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania.



Militant/Michael Maggi
During walkout against British Petroleum, two striking paperworkers talk with oil workers' Local 8-234 picket.

International Paper fined \$870,000 for safety violations at scab-run mill

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) levied \$873,220 in fines against International Paper Co. July 27 for hundreds of safety violations at IP's mill here. The citations followed a four-month OSHA investigation earlier this year.

The penalties were reduced and the violations downgraded in negotiations between IP and OSHA. This sparked an immediate protest by members of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14. Local 14, along with members of Firemen and Oilers Local 246, have been on strike at the Jay mill since June 1987.

Local 14 President Bill Meserve blasted top OSHA officials for downgrading 29 "willful" IP safety violations to "serious," thereby reducing the fines nearly half a million dollars. "Someone should go to jail for the disregard of human life in some of these citations," he said. In turn, IP agreed not to contest the lower fines and citations.

The company's aim in accepting the lower fines, Meserve told 450 strikers and supporters at the paperworkers' regular union/family meeting July 27, was to minimize the public impact of the OSHA findings.

IP is currently appealing \$242,000 in fines meted out by OSHA last fall. The latest citations stem from an investigation prompted by a series of gas and chemical leaks from the Jay mill in February. One of the leaks forced the town of Jay to be evacuated. The mill is being operated by some 1,000 scabs.

The July 27 union/family meeting also heard reports from Meserve and other strike activists on the union's Outreach '88 campaign. This effort now focuses on urging UPIU-organized mills and plants to "work-to-rule" and resist company speed-up. More than 40 UPIU locals are now participating in this process.

A national caucus of locals in the IP chain will be held at the UPIU national convention, which convenes August 8 in Las Vegas, Nevada, Meserve said.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — The United Paperworkers International Union announced a national consumer boycott of Avon Products, Inc., at a dozen news conferences around the country July 14. The boycott is aimed at building support for 3,500 striking and locked-out paperworkers at International Paper Co. mills in Jay, Maine; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Mobile, Alabama.

Explaining the reason for targeting Avon, UPIU President Wayne Glenn said, "Avon is a corporate ally of International Paper. IP board member Stanley Gault also

serves on the board of Avon. Our boycott of Avon is just one of many messages we will be sending to IP and its allies."

Other corporations and banks that share board members with IP are also the target of UPIU boycotts, including the Bank of Boston, and PNC Financial Corp. of Pittsburgh. Boycott activities will include leafleting Avon corporate headquarters, plants, and retail outlets, and a 75,000-piece international mailing to unions, women's groups, civil rights organiza-

tions, and others.

The boycott is part of a series of solidarity activities for IP workers being coordinated by Corporate Campaign, Inc., headed by Ray Rogers.

At the same time, the union also announced that the National Labor Relations Board has ruled IP acted unlawfully when it permanently replaced 280 maintenance workers at its Mobile, Alabama, mill, where 1,250 workers have been locked out since March 1987.

Boston school cutbacks embolden opponents of desegregation

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — A \$4 million deficit in the 1988-89 school budget has spurred moves to further reduce spending on public education here.

In May the Boston School Committee voted to deny access to school buses for 7,000 middle (or junior high) school students. Children as young as 11 years will have to use a combination of buses and trains to get to classes.

About 25,000 of the system's 55,000 students are currently brought to and from school on school buses. Several thousand high school students were removed from the yellow buses last year.

The latest cutback could eliminate the jobs of up to 300 school-bus drivers. United Steelworkers Local 8571, which represents the drivers, has gone to court in an effort to stop the cutback.

The city school board also voted to consolidate two popular bilingual education programs for Spanish-speaking students at South Boston and English high schools. This has been strongly protested by Latino students and parents.

Programs for academically advanced students are being reduced and layoff notices were sent out to about 40 teachers.

No new school has been built in 13 years, and others have been abandoned or turned into high-rent condominiums.

The cutbacks and the resulting decline in public education provided the backdrop for foes of school desegregation to make another attempt to chip away at it.

Boston School Committee members Juanita Wade and Thomas O'Reilly conducted June hearings where they pressed for a plan authorizing parents to "choose" from a list of eight schools to send their children, provided desegregation quotas remain balanced.

Despite the proviso, such "parental choice" plans enable white parents to keep

their children out of schools attended by sizable numbers of Blacks.

The draft plan also included a further cutback — eliminating "magnet" schools, specialized schools drawing children from all over the city.

At the hearings on the Wade-O'Reilly plan, dozens of parents criticized the school committee's cutbacks. "We pay taxes that service schools in the suburbs," one Black parent said at a session at Madison Park High School. "Our schools should be as good as suburban schools, as good as parochial schools, as good as private schools."

"I want my children to go to desegregated schools," a white parent explained at the Grover Cleveland school in Dorchester. "The schools need support, not cutbacks."

In May, State Senate President William Bulger, a Democrat, introduced a measure calling for a pilot "open enrollment" plan in the Boston, Springfield, and Worcester school districts. Bulger participated in the unsuccessful fight against busing for school desegregation that was waged here in the mid-1970s.

The \$1 million plan, quickly passed by the house and senate, would have allowed parents to send their children to suburban schools in the affluent, predominantly white suburbs of Boston if the children were accepted by the local school districts.

Like the plan discussed in the school committee, the Bulger proposal called for further cuts in education spending in Boston. His proposal called for paying up to \$5,000 in "tuition" for each urban student accepted at suburban schools, and for subtracting this amount from the budget of their former school system.

In the face of protests from many labor and Black rights groups, Gov. Michael Dukakis vetoed the measure. He ordered a study aimed at implementing a scaled-down experimental open-enrollment program next year.

Sandinista leader discusses 'Melton Plan' of destabilization

On July 11 the Nicaraguan government ordered U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and seven other embassy officials to leave the country. The government charged that the diplomats had been seeking to implement the "Melton Plan" to destabilize the revolution and bring about the overthrow of the Sandinistas.

The day before the expulsion order, anti-government demonstrators had provoked violent confrontations with the police in the town of Nandaime, 40 miles south of Managua. Sandinista officials said that the Nandaime provocation was part of the "Melton Plan."

Shortly before these events took place, leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had publicly pointed to the dangers they saw posed by the Melton Plan, including the preparations being made by opposition groups for the Nandaime demonstration.

On July 7 Bayardo Arce, a member of the FSLN National Directorate, addressed a national assembly of FSLN members who are teachers and education workers. Below are excerpts from the sections of his speech dealing with the Melton Plan.

The translation and subheads are by the *Militant*.

* * *

As we all know, our revolutionary government's desire for peace, and the efforts of the entire people headed by the FSLN to bring to an end the aggressive policy of the Reagan government against our country, have been bearing fruit. That aggressive policy has been increasingly isolated.

Our efforts have been bearing fruit in the growing possibilities of peace, which will allow us to confront the economic and social problems of the country.

Sabotage of peace process

This has given rise to sustained efforts by the Reagan administration to reverse this situation, which is unfavorable for it. Since the signing of the Guatemala [peace] accords, which began to mark the collapse of Reagan's aggressive policy and which led to the Sapoá accords [between the Nicaraguan government and the contras], the Reagan administration has been trying to sabotage both efforts.

First, it has been maintaining pressure on the Central American governments so that none of them will implement the Gua-

temala accords, and to destabilize those governments in the area that are most inclined toward this peace process.

Likewise, immediately after the Sapoá agreements were signed, the leaders of the mercenary force who signed that agreement began to be purged from their leadership posts. They began to be arrested shamelessly in Honduras and deported to the United States. They began to be eliminated from the negotiating table.

And today, at this stage, the U.S. government's mercenary representatives at the negotiating table don't conceal their cynicism in beginning to call the Guatemala and Sapoá accords dead. This is so they can say that since it has been impossible to move forward in the concretization of those agreements, it is necessary to seek other alternatives.

'Government of national salvation'

And how are they trying to reach that objective right now? By saying the negotiating process is finished. By saying the peace accords are dead. And by putting forward the need for a government of national salvation.

Such a government of national salvation could only be conceived of with the departure from power of the FSLN and its replacement by the Nicaraguan opposition.

And in trying to bring this about, they are attempting to create a situation of chaos inside the country. They have the vain illusion that it is going to be possible to manipulate the economic and material difficulties of our people.

Through strikes, protests, and marches they will try to create a situation that will make it possible to call on the international community to come in and mediate between the unpopular government of the Sandinistas and the dissatisfied population, which is about to revolt against this government.

That is what the [Melton] Plan consists of: trying to create the illusion that everyone is against the government. That the workers, the peasants, the teachers, the producers, everyone is against the revolutionary government.

Even the daily *La Prensa*, the organ of the U.S. embassy and of the counterrevolution, dares to say that the revolutionary government must be brought to an end, if not by peaceful means then by other means.

Of course, it is not that they think they are going to succeed in luring the popular masses into action against their own government. What they are trying to create is an image of chaos, an image of rejection of the revolution, in order to call for international mediation.

In this framework, they plan to involve the president of Costa Rica [Oscar Arias]. They have planned on going next week to Oscar Arias, for him to take charge of forming a group to come mediate between the government and the people, who won't put up any longer with this government. The group would come to see how the Sandinistas give up power and how the government of national salvation emerges.

And that is the proposal that can be seen blatantly in the speeches of the lackeys of imperialism. Those who are receiving the backing of the U.S. embassy to create all this commotion inside the country. Those who are scheduling demonstrations every day.

Show of force in Nandaime

This Sunday [July 10] they are going to put on another show of force in Nandaime. Of course, from Nandaime will come their four cats and the rest will be the famous portable [crowd] from all over the country.

And to protect themselves, they are going to bring some U.S. congressmen who are coming Saturday. Twelve congressmen in the lead so the fearsome Black Berets [a reference to the Sandinista police] won't mistreat them.

Then, in that supposed chaos in which the entire population rises up against the government and the whole world protests, it would be necessary to come in and mediate.

They even point to the experience of 1978, when the Somoza dictatorship found itself checkmated by the insurrectional process of the FSLN and the armed people. Imperialism tried to save Somoza at the last minute with mediation by the Organization of American States.

They say that it is necessary to do what was done in 1978. That is the Melton Plan.

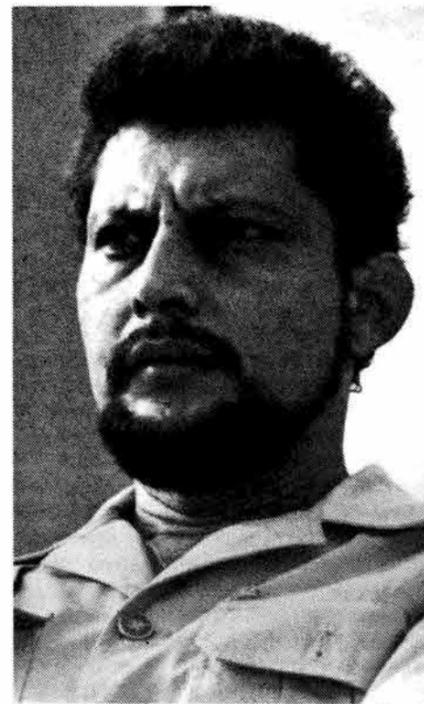
Manipulation of teachers

And it is obvious that they have also begun to work among teachers. They have begun some activity in Masaya, here in Managua, in some schools.

They start with objective facts and legitimate demands of the teachers, which, although objective and legitimate, cannot be fully satisfied by the revolution.

It must be borne in mind that some of the teachers who belong to those right-wing parties aren't experiencing the same economic difficulties as all the other teachers because they get paid, even in dollars, by these parties. This is the pay that the U.S. embassy sends them.

They have sometimes been able to confuse some sectors of the teachers. Even



Militant/Robert Kopec

Bayardo Arce

healthy teachers, who have nothing to do with this grand plan and this imperialist manipulation, sometimes say perhaps a strike is necessary to force the government to give in.

And sometimes one or another teacher in the recent student elections of the FES [Federation of Secondary Students] said that they were going to make the revolution pay by encouraging students to vote for the right wing, so that the revolution would feel the sting for not paying attention to the teachers' demands. We didn't feel the sting very much because the revolutionaries won the elections. The two candidates of the JS [Sandinista Youth] came in first.

But we can't rest on our laurels when we see the extensive movement of cadres of the CIA in the U.S. embassy. They are moving throughout the country, seeking to put together this image of popular dissatisfaction that will permit them to set in motion their new negotiation, that is, for everyone to come to pressure the Nicaraguan government. It's evident that their agents are moving around and, based on objective problems, trying to create malcontents among different sectors of the population.

It is for this reason that we thought it useful to have this meeting. The Sandinista Front has been, is, and will be the vanguard of our people, the leader of all our people. It has been in the forefront and has led our people in all the battles against the dictatorship, the economic blockade, the mining of the ports, and against the campaign to isolate us internationally.

If the FSLN has been in the forefront during more than six years of confronting the counterrevolutionary war, of the effort to produce without supplies, without a stable supply of oil, with the energy crisis, then we have to continue playing this role with a consistent and exemplary stance on the part of the Sandinista ranks.

U.S. bars Nicaragua health workers from international AIDS conference

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON, — The refusal of the U.S. government to grant visas to a three-member health ministry advisory team from Nicaragua, set to speak at the second International Lesbian and Gay Health Conference and AIDS Forum assembled here, sparked angry protest from more than 1,400 convention participants.

The Nicaraguan team was scheduled to describe educational and preventative measures to deal with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

"AIDS is an international health crisis," Ellen Ratner, president of the National Lesbian and Gay Foundation, a conference cosponsor, said at a news briefing July 21, in the wake of the State Department's decision. "AIDS knows no geographic boundaries nor political ideologies," she said.

To deny conference participants the benefit of the Nicaraguans' experience and expertise is a dramatic loss, Ratner said, for activists and anybody at risk from AIDS throughout the world.

Dr. Peter Hawly, president of the Ameri-

can Association of Physicians for Human Rights, a cosponsor of the conference, hailed Nicaragua's AIDS-related health and public education initiatives. The Nicaraguan program, he told the news conference, "has been effective despite the lack of adequate financial resources, technology, or an extensive network of professional health care. It is a model for all of Latin America and for other financially strapped developing nations."

"The Reagan administration's decision to deny entry to the Nicaraguan health providers is a slap in the face to those who are acting as responsible world citizens," Hawley said.

Protest statements were also made by U.S. representatives Barney Frank (D.-Mass.) and Gerry Studds (D.-Mass.), who addressed the conference.

The gathering drew activists, health workers, doctors, nurses, and researchers from 15 countries, including the United States, to share information, exchange experiences and "prepare an agenda" to step up the fight against AIDS, said Ratner.

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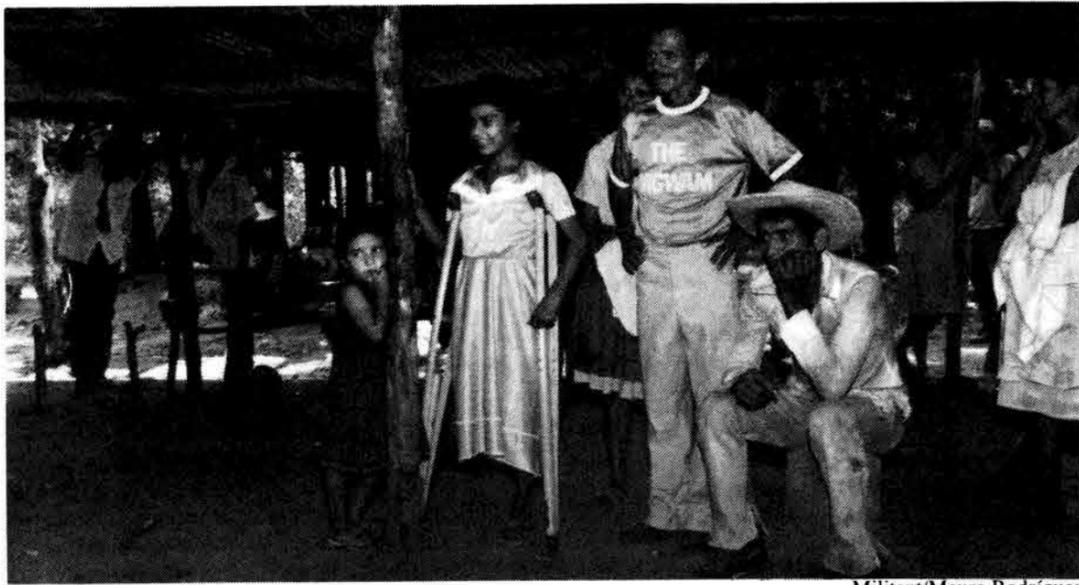
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10-year-old victim of U.S.-backed war in El Salvador.

Militant/Maura Rodríguez

El Salvador's communications union fights military boss

BY MAURA RODRÍGUEZ

Humberto Centeno, general secretary of the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), the broadest labor federation in El Salvador, used to be a telegraphist in the Telecommunications Workers Union (ASTTEL), and national president of the union. I met him in April in San Salvador as part of a delegation of visitors from the United States.

For the last eight years, Washington has spent more than \$3 billion to support the Salvadoran regime in a war against its own people.

So far, 70,000 have died at the hands of the Salvadoran military, more than 7,000 have been disappeared by paramilitary death squads, and a third of the population has been displaced from their homes by the war. El Salvador has an unpayable foreign debt and stagnant economy.

Company run by military

ASTTEL organizes the national telecommunications monopoly, ANTEL. The company is currently run by Col. Mauricio Vides Casanova.

The telecommunications monopoly handles all the telephone, telex, and broadcasting in the country. ANTEL is one of two centers for the Salvadoran National Security Agency.

Col. Roberto Santibñez, former head of the security agency, specifically linked two former ANTEL directors and Casanova to the founding and direction of the right-wing death squads.

There are more than 6,000 employees in the ANTEL system; the union organizes 4,800 of them, including production workers, administrative employees, technicians and service workers.

In 1986 the government barred ASTTEL executive committee members from company premises. They can't even go as private citizens to the telegraph office.

The average wage in the system is 40 cents per hour. For comparison, a pound of beans in May cost around 90 cents and a pound of rice 40 cents. Both are staples in the country's diet. Real wages have fallen 60 percent since 1980. Some 35 percent of ANTEL employees live in slums; 20 percent of the work force is illiterate.

14-year probation

One-quarter of the workers are illegally kept on probation for extended periods — some for more than 14 years. This allows the company to cheat them out of sick leave, pension, health benefits, vacation, and job security.

ANTEL has no grievance procedure and no overtime pay. The bosses can fire a worker for being late once. They can punitively transfer, suspend, or lower the wages of workers seen talking to executive board members of the union. The company has fired more than 30 union leaders and transferred more than 80 in an effort to destroy locals.

As of a little more than a year ago, all workplaces in El Salvador are permanently militarized. There is a continuous presence of military personnel armed with automatic weapons.

Twenty percent of the ANTEL workers have jobs in the countryside. They are forced to live at their work sites, where they are on call 24 hours a day, six days a week. They are allowed one visit to their families per year.

Workers have no health plan, and there is only one company-run health clinic in

the capital, San Salvador. It is equipped only for minor ailments. Clinic medicines and nurses are being transferred to the military hospital.

There are no safety standards at ANTEL. In 1986, a severe earthquake left the central ANTEL plant in San Salvador "structurally unsound," according to a special government commission. More than 500 workers, under threat of being fired are forced to work there.

The telecommunications union was organized in October 1984. On December 7 of that year, it signed a "directive," an unofficial contract with the company. ASTTEL did not yet have legal status. The company agreed to certain minimum benefits: retirement after 30 years regardless of age, an eight-hour day, a general raise the following year, and incorporation into the permanent work force of contract workers who have 15 years or more with the company.

In January 1985, the company reneged on the agreement. It said the union was communist and refused to negotiate. Instead, the employers set up a parallel company union, with the help of the CIA-funded American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), and offered it the same package as ASTTEL. Three months later the ANTEL military dubbed their own company union communist also. Today, the AIFLD union has a paper executive board as its only members.

On April 23, 1985, the Ministry of Labor extended legal status to ASTTEL — as an "association" instead of a union — when it threatened to strike. To this day it is formally prohibited from striking.

Nonetheless, the next month, ASTTEL went on a two-day strike to force the company to honor the agreement already signed. ASTTEL won a \$25 bonus. This broke a wage freeze the government had imposed on public employees since 1980.

On Nov. 8, 1985, ASTTEL went out on strike for 19 days to win the release of its general secretary, Humberto Centeno. He and his two sons were kidnapped by Treasury Police. Centeno was released but his sons were tortured for two weeks and imprisoned for two years. They were never brought to trial.

In 1986, the company had not yet honored the agreement they signed, forcing the union out on a 55-day strike starting April 14. Despite many attempts by the union to meet with the company since then, the company has refused. ASTTEL has been working without a contract for two and a half years.

On June 17, 1987, ASTTEL conducted a work stoppage, demanding a raise of \$12 per month, unemployment benefits, better pension benefits, and removal of workers from the earthquake-damaged central fa-



Humberto Centeno

Militant/Don Gurewitz

ilities to a safe building. The company retaliated by locking ASTTEL leaders out and threatening to arrest them.

The next month, the executive board conquered access to work sites once again, by bringing along international observers.

Death squads hit

The first murder of an ASTTEL member by right-wing death squads happened in December 1987. The union put the blame on company-government collusion. ASTTEL has suffered six such assassinations and disappearances in the first six months of

this year. Centeno himself was captured and tortured. He was released as a result of protests, including in the United States.

The ASTTEL leadership, like a growing number of other union leaders, recognizes that the problems of its members cannot be resolved while civil war is raging in El Salvador.

The National Union of Salvadoran Workers advocates a dialogue among all belligerent parties, seeking in the long run the establishment of a government of broad national consensus and popular participation.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Reagan plans covert actions against Panama

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has signed an order authorizing the Central Intelligence Agency to put into motion new covert actions aimed at destabilizing and toppling the Panamanian government. The plan reportedly includes further attacks on Panama's economy, funneling assistance to government opponents, and bolstering dissident military officers in hopes that they would overthrow the government.

According to the July 27 *Washington Post*, Reagan has informed Congress and former Panamanian president Eric Arturo Delvalle of the plan. Delvalle was removed as president of Panama by that country's national assembly after he attempted to dismiss Gen. Manuel Noriega as chief of the Panama Defense Forces. Washington continues to recognize Delvalle as president of Panama.

A two-year campaign against Panama intensified on February 5 when two U.S. grand juries handed down indictments against Noriega and 15 others. They were charged with conspiring to smuggle massive quantities of illegal drugs into the United States and laundering profits from drug sales through Panamanian banks.

From the start, Panamanian officials have explained that the U.S. campaign against their country is the result of their refusal to back Washington's efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and their insistence on the implementation of accords signed with Washington that would put the Panama Canal under Panamanian control at the end of 1999.

Cuba donates tons of sugar to Palestinians

Cuban Minister of Foreign Relations Isidoro Malmierca, announced that the Cuban government has donated 500 tons of sugar for the Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The announcement was made during a July 1 reception for Imad Jada'a, Palestine Liberation Organization ambassador to Cuba.

Reporting the announcement, the July 2 Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* stated, "This modest donation is a gesture of the limitless solidarity of the party, government, and people of Cuba with the just cause of the Palestinian people for the recovery of their legiti-

mate rights and the constitution of an independent state in Palestine under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative."

Granma hailed the courageous struggle of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza who for "more than 200 days had been taking growing actions of civil protests against the barbaric repression of the Zionist military and paramilitary forces."

Malmierca was accompanied by Luis Méndez Morejón, secretary of the National Assembly of People's Power and president of the National Committee to Support the Palestinian Uprising. Méndez Morejón explained the committee's plans to support the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Handicapped protest Seoul special Olympics

Some 200 handicapped people demonstrated in downtown Seoul, South Korea, July 7. The protesters demanded that the planned special Olympics for handicapped athletes, scheduled to be held later this year, be canceled.

The demonstrators said it was shameful for the South Korean government to hold the special games while it has failed to provide sufficient welfare facilities for tens of thousands of disabled people in the country.

Seoul will also be the sight of the 1988 Summer Olympic games. Charging that North Korea or "terrorist" groups may stage attacks at the games, the Seoul government has substantially increased the presence of soldiers and police in the capital.

Gen. Yook Wan Sik, chief of security coordination and control of the Olympics, commands a special task force of 100,000 police and soldiers. During the games South Korea's 620,000-member armed forces and 120,000-strong police force will be on alert. So will the 40,000 U.S. troops stationed in the country.

Until recently, the Seoul government and the International Olympic Committee had rejected a demand by the North Korean government that events at the games be divided fairly between North and South. According to the July 28 *New York Times* Seoul has agreed to hold general discussions on relations between North and South that would include the North's participation in the Olympic games.

Nice touch — The Philadelphia cops now have a 10-ton truck equipped with armor plate, a battering ram, and gunports. Capt. Thomas Rambo says it's useful

checked weekly — was giving out a 25 percent overdose of gamma rays for five months. A letter assured that the overdose was "not large enough to cause most [!] patients any problem."

we speculated about where to get one, an old Wobbly piped up, "Pin a dollar bill on a stick."

Screech city — According to Bendix Brakes, many drivers jam on the brakes when they see a pothole and this, they advise, isn't a good idea. We don't know about other cities, but in the Big Apple if people hit the brakes every time they saw a pothole, they wouldn't get very far.

age income of buyers has been \$80,000, but that people making as little as \$60,000 can swing it. "The housing here," he explained, "is meant to be affordable for most people."

The fun society — A US Air in-flight catalog offers the Phone Guard, a device that signals if someone is listening in on an extension. A footnote adds, "Remember, everything you order from this catalog is guaranteed . . . and guaranteed to be fun to use."

Thought for the week — "The Democrats brought to Atlanta no noticeable passion except for looking as much as they could like Republicans. They need not have worried. They already did." — Columnist Murray Kempton.



Harry Ring

under gunfire and to breach barricades. It was brought downtown for last year's Constitution celebration, but wasn't needed.

Not to worry — A hospital in Exeter, England, notified 131 cancer patients that a radiotherapy machine — which should be

Un-American American flags — "A flag sent to us from abroad is not the integral part of our country it is meant to be. How then could an American flag made in another country be a true American flag?" — Rep. Harley Staggers Jr., father of the "flag fidelity" bill to bar imports of U.S. flags.

P.S. — Back in the 1930s we were involved in organizing a rally of the unemployed. Someone said the law required we have an American flag on the platform. As

Oh — White House aide Marlin Fitzwater says the prez can help create jobs by vetoing a bill providing that workers get notice of a plant closing. Requiring such notice, Fitzwater said, would make it "more difficult to expand plant capacity and create more employment."

Simple, humane — In Lowell, Massachusetts, the housing shortage has caused Southeast Asian immigrants to be jam-packed into tenements. Bayard Waring, of the U.S. Education Department, recommended evicting them. Putting tenants in the street, he said, will spur Congress to allocate

Fraud at the polls? — Diet Coke and Diet Pepsi both claim they've been proven best by taste test. Both are demanding that TV yank the others' ads as misleading.

We'll take a duplex — Newport, a yuppie housing development in Jersey City, is adding on a condo. The builder says the aver-

tee Against Repression. For more information call (718) 927-9065, (212) 795-0379.

The Philippines Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Patti Iiyama, recently returned from solidarity tour. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 13, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Puerto Rico: 90 Years of Resistance, Independence for Puerto Rico! March to the United Nations. Mon., Aug. 15. Assemble for march at noon at 116th St. and Lexington Ave., rally at 4:30 p.m. at UN.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco
Homage to Roque Dalton. Poetry reading, *El Meeting*, a play in one act. Fri., Aug. 12 and Sat., Aug. 13, 8 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Codices and Mission Cultural Center.

Chicano Moratorium Day Commemoration. Speakers, food, music, books. Sat., Aug. 27, noon to 6 p.m. Dolores Park (18th and Dolores). Sponsor: Bay Area Chicano Moratorium

Coalition. For more information call (415) 276-5016.

Concert for Peace With Sovereignty and Independence in El Salvador. Benefit for Salvadoran Association of Cultural Workers. Featuring Sumpul Atonal, Supay, and Kamanchaka. Sat., Aug. 27, 7 p.m. York Theater, 2789 24th St. Donation: \$8. Sponsor: La Casa de la Cultura Salvadoreña. For more information call (415) 864-8339.

Korea Today: Is Korea an Economic Miracle? Slideshow and talk by Minn Chung. Trans-

lation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

NEW YORK

Manhattan
Concert in Support of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Sandra Roldán. Special guests, Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro, Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants. Sat., Aug. 6, 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. Tin Pan Alley, 220 W. 49th St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Puerto Rican Commit-

Haitian farm workers demand residency

BY ROBERT KOPEC

MIAMI — More than 300 Haitians, many of them undocumented farm workers, marched under a searing sun to the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) here July 23.

Chanting "Justice to Haitians" and carrying placards that read "Greencards for farm workers," the marchers demanded residence status for the tens of thousands of undocumented immigrants who have been working for many years on U.S. farms and qualify for amnesty under the new immigration laws.

This was the latest of several rallies held here by Haitian farm workers in support of a class-action suit filed on behalf of all migrant farm workers nationwide. The suit, filed June 13 in federal court, was brought by 17 Haitian and Mexican farm workers, the Haitian Refugee Center, and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Palm Beach. The legal action is seeking to change INS policy under which tens of thousands of migrant workers have been denied temporary residence work permits.

According to the immigration reform laws approved by Congress in 1986, seasonal farm workers may obtain legal residence status if they can prove they worked for 90 days on U.S. farms in the year preceding May 1986.

Because of the "illegal" status imposed by the government on immigrant workers, most farm workers are paid in cash and the growers rarely keep payroll records — preferring to pay "under the table."

The INS initially accepted affidavits signed by the growers as sufficient evidence for granting residence status to their employees. The INS even created a special Employer Affidavit form for this purpose. However, in September 1987 the INS decided it would no longer accept these forms as sufficient evidence of employment. Thousands of farm workers were thus denied residency.

The suit also charges that those whose residency applications are rejected are being denied due process. The INS does not inform them on what evidence they are rejected, nor do the farm workers get the chance to confront any witnesses the INS may have against them. In addition, the suit charges, applicants are not provided adequate translation when interviewed by the INS. Applicants denied residency status are immediately subject to deportation.

"We suffer enough back home in Haiti," a woman farm worker told this reporter at the July 23 rally, "and we come here and have to go through the same thing all over again."

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

Jordan's Hussein: friend of Palestinians?

Continued from front page
the closing of the bridges connecting the West Bank and Jordan. These are the principal means for Palestinians to travel to Jordan and other Arab countries where many of them have relatives.

Jordan was created as a separate entity after World War I by the British colonialists, who also established the Hashemite monarchy to rule that country. Hussein is the third Hashemite king of Jordan.

Today, nearly two-thirds of the Jordanian population of 2.8 million are Palestinians.

Hussein's speech reflected his deep concern that the Palestinians in Jordan not be inspired to rebellion by the West Bank and Gaza uprising.

"Jordan is not Palestine," he warned.

He reiterated, "In addition to the Palestine Liberation Organization's ambition to embody the Palestinian identity on Palestinian national soil, there should be the separation of the West Bank from the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan."

Despite Jordan's financial role in the West Bank, Hussein has never been able to build a significant political base among the Palestinians.

In the period when Jordan held the West Bank its rule was harsh, and little was done to improve the lot of Palestinians.

Within Jordan, over the years, the regime has tried to curb the power of the PLO. In 1968 government troops shelled Palestinian refugee camps there in an unsuccessful bid to hold the movement back.

In September 1970 — "Black September" — a bloody attack was unleashed against refugee camps in the capital city of Amman. Thousands of Palestinians were killed and PLO guerrilla fighters were forced out of the country.

When the present uprising in Gaza and the West Bank began last December, Hussein was quick to try to blunt its impact within Jordan. In January 33 Palestinian activists were jailed.

In the West Bank, the uprising has increased Hussein's political isolation.

A Jerusalem dispatch to the August 2 *Washington Post* reported: "The nearly eight-month-old revolt saw Hussein's last remaining support and prestige in the West Bank crumble as that of PLO soared."

"The reality that he faced, said western and Arab analysts here, was that he was neither loved nor wanted by West Bank Palestinians, who made it clear that they consider [PLO Chairman Yassir] Arafat

and the PLO as their only representatives."

And a dispatch to the *New York Times* from the West Bank the same day reported that, "Across the West Bank, many Palestinians expressed joy today over King Hussein's decision."

A Palestinian college student told the *Times* reporter that he saw the Jordanian move as "a tremendous victory" for the uprising. A half dozen other youth nodded in



agreement as he declared, "We don't need Jordan. This is what we have waited for 20 years. Now this is really going to become a Palestinian state."

Meanwhile, Washington continued to insist that Hussein continue to assist its efforts to impose a "peace" plan crafted to thwart the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Despite apparent objections by the Israeli government, and, also, apparent coolness by neighboring Arab regimes, Secretary of State George Shultz has shuttled around the Mideast promoting Washington's plan.

Never publicly spelled out, it is said to offer unspecified Palestinians some role in governing some unspecified area of Palestine.

Responding to Hussein's declaration, Shultz declared that the king "has to be a partner" in any negotiations with Israel.

Meanwhile, an unnamed State Department official told the *New York Times* that the Hussein move was intended to put the PLO on the spot.

Cutting off financial assistance to the West Bank, he reasoned, could create a crisis the PLO would be unable to resolve and this would diminish its authority. In his view, Hussein calculates that eventually "the West Bank Palestinians will come to

their senses and may decide that the ultimate solution is a confederation of the West Bank with Jordan."

The *Times* noted that President Reagan had floated such a confederation plan in 1982. The president had said, "Self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for durable, just, and lasting peace."

State Department officials also speculated that Hussein, in part, wants to see an end to the Palestinian uprising because it would improve his prospects for getting a renewed supply of sophisticated military weapons and aircraft from Washington.

In his declaration cutting ties with the West Bank, Hussein had stated, "Jordan will not give up its commitment to take part in the peace process."

The Jordanian monarch may favor a nominally independent West Bank under Jordanian military and political domination. But he mortally fears a genuinely independent Palestinian state.

He knows that the very struggle to overturn the Israeli government and establish such a state would galvanize the nearly 2 million Palestinians living in Jordan. They could very well decide they want to be part of a democratic Palestine. That would spell the finish for the Hussein regime.

Nicaraguans greet vets' peace convoy

Continued from front page
convoy have been prominently featured in the Nicaraguan press for weeks.

Nicaragua example for U.S. people

Raul Valdez addressed the July 29 rally here on behalf of the convoy participants. Valdez is a leader of Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America, a Texas group. "The Nicaraguan people have inspired us and taught us," he said. "We must follow their example to make changes in our country."

The harassment the convoy had suffered at the hands of the U.S. government "was nothing compared to the suffering of the Nicaraguan people," he continued. "We're not going to let Reagan choose our friends for us."

Valdez said the veterans would "continue to fight to bring peace to Nicaragua, and to organize the U.S. people to end the economic embargo against Nicaragua."

At the Managua rally, Ortega ridiculed U.S. government claims that the veterans' donations could be used for military purposes. "Here are the arms they brought," Ortega said, holding up a baby bottle and fitting its nipple in place. "Here they are, ready to fire."

Ortega noted that 15 of the convoy participants were women, and asked for a round of applause for them.

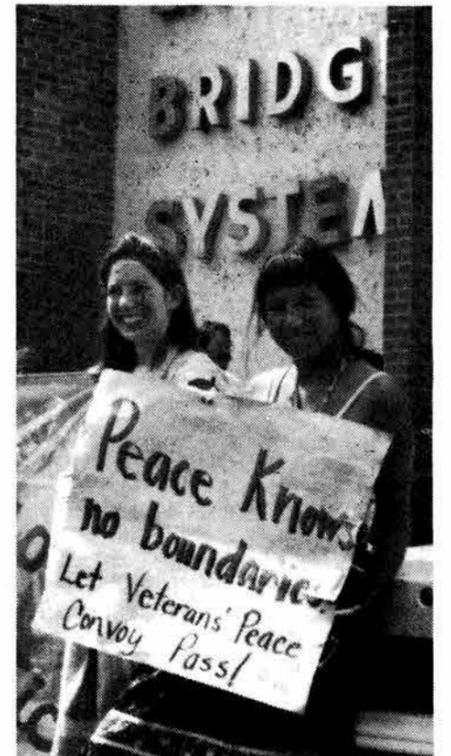
He then called veteran Leslie Feldstein to the podium. She had served as a nurse in a U.S. military hospital in Vietnam during the war there.

Ortega asked, "What would the U.S. people think if Reagan started a Vietnam War in Central America?"

"They're against it," Feldstein replied. "The war is a disgrace."

Ortega recalled the "heroic example" of Benjamin Linder, the young U.S. engineer killed by Contras last year, and of Brian Willson, the Vietnam veteran who lost his legs when hit by a munitions train during an antiwar protest at a U.S. naval weapons depot.

"While Reagan sends weapons to kill the Nicaraguan people," Ortega said, "the U.S. people are against his criminal policies. The peoples of Central America and Latin America are also for peace. So certainly, sooner or later, peace will come to Nicaragua."



Militant/Steve Marshall
Demonstration June 15 at Mexico border near Laredo, Texas, to protest refusal of U.S. authorities to allow convoy through.

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



A book from Pathfinder

By Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters

How do the wealthy owners of the cosmetics industry play on women's insecurities to sell products and rake in profits?

How are the standards of beauty determined in capitalist society?

How has the growing participation of women in the labor force changed their view of themselves and their potential?

These are some of the questions that emerge from this new collection. It contains a lively 1954 debate over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women.

144 pp., \$4.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores (directory on page 16), or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014. Please include 75 cents for handling.



— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Aug. 11, 1978

The United Steelworkers of America is appealing last year's decision by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court in the *Weber* case. Brian Weber, a white employee of Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, sued to overturn a training program for skilled jobs because it made special provision for Black workers. The program was established in the USWA's 1974 contract with Kaiser. Before the affirmative action plan, Blacks held only 2.2 percent of skilled jobs and 14.8 percent of total jobs at the Gramercy plant — while the population in the area is 40 percent Black. Kaiser's restrictive requirements and its lack of training programs had barred not only Blacks and women but also most white males from skilled jobs. Winning the plan in the union contract thus benefited all workers. Weber, however, claimed he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" because the program set one-on-one parity for Blacks and whites. Both a federal district court and the circuit court ruled in Weber's favor — overturning the program.

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
Aug. 19, 1963 Price 10¢

On August 13 the AFL-CIO Executive Council refused to endorse the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

The fact that 18 of the 20 executive council members reportedly present voted against the endorsement shows what an advanced state of putrefaction the labor bureaucracy has reached.

The top labor leaders — or, to speak plainly, labor fakers — long ago gave up action in the fight against racism; for years now they have limited themselves to lip-service to that fight — orating, passing resolutions, giving endorsements, etc. But on August 13 in their overwhelming majority they showed that save for a few — like United Auto Workers President Reuther and International Union of Electrical Workers President Carey who can still make the appropriate noises — even the old, pious words now stick in their throats.

Pentagon cover-up punctured

A military investigation has confirmed that there was no malfunction of radar equipment on the U.S. warship that shot down an Iranian airliner July 3 at a cost of 290 lives.

The investigation found that the ship's crew was responsible for what happened. The findings expose as a hoax the "explanations" and attempted cover-up by the Pentagon, White House, and government officials.

The inquiry concluded that the crew members, facing combat for the first time, became convinced they were about to be attacked and consequently wrongly interpreted the information on the radar screen as confirming their preconception of what was happening.

One naval officer commented: "Stress can override your faculties. You see what you want to see and hear what you want to hear."

That may be an explanation for why the Iranian plane was blown out of the sky. But it cannot explain away the quick declaration after the downing of the airliner by Adm. William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It was "our judgment," he asserted, "that based on the information currently available, the local commanders have sufficient reasons to believe that their units were in jeopardy and they fired in self-defense."

Or the charge by Vice-president George Bush, who said Iran was primarily responsible for what happened. "They allowed a civilian aircraft loaded with passengers to proceed on a path over a warship engaged in battle," he asserted. "That was irresponsible and a tragic error."

(Earlier, the U.S. ship had fired at Iranian gunboats.)

And President Reagan had declared the shooting down that plane was "a justifiable defensive action."

The investigators said all tapes and radar showed the Iranian plane was flying at 12,000 feet — not lower, as initially claimed — and found no evidence to bolster the original claim that it was descending toward the U.S. ship.

Earlier, the Pentagon had retreated from the allegation that the plane failed to identify as a commercial flight. It also had to drop accusations that the aircraft was not on a scheduled flight, as well as the assertion that the airbus was flying outside its assigned corridor.

The findings of the military probe confirm the stand of Col. L. Fletcher Prouty, a former chief of special operations at the Pentagon.

In a letter to the July 22 *New York Times*, he had declared the shooting down of the Iranian plane "an unacceptable atrocity."

Prouty explained that for nearly three decades international uniform language, policies, and practices were in place to avoid accidental misidentification of aircraft.

"This means," he said, "that United States naval forces in the Persian Gulf and in the neighboring Gulf of Oman can have no excuse to fire upon commercial and other lawful traffic for lack of information."

The report of the military inquiry, even though only part of it has been released, confirms what Prouty said.

It also confirms that the aggressive U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf inevitably leads to such atrocities and should be ended immediately.

What protection for workers?

Since the Great Depression of the 1930s government officials and pundits have claimed that measures such as unemployment compensation and bank deposit insurance would help protect us from the ravages of another social crisis.

But U.S. working people have been looking toward the future with increasing uneasiness since the October 1987 stock market crash. The crash raised in the minds of millions the specter of the 1930s with its massive joblessness and social devastation.

Recent reports on how few workers are covered by unemployment insurance and on the deterioration of the banking system have added to this mounting sense of apprehension.

The number of workers who qualify for unemployment benefits is at its lowest level in the 53-year history of the unemployment insurance system.

Six million workers, or 76 percent of the jobless, received unemployment compensation checks during the 1974-75 recession. In the 1981-82 recession, only 4 million, or 45 percent, of the 10.8 million jobless received compensation. By the government's statistics, 7.4 million were unemployed last year. Only 2.3 million, or 31 percent, were "eligible" to collect benefits.

When you add all those who cannot find a full-time job or those unemployed for a variety of reasons who aren't counted in the official figures, millions were denied benefits last year.

Working people also have good reason to worry about

what happens to our modest bank accounts. There have already been 152 bank failures in 1988. At least 500 more savings and loans banks are insolvent.

More and more federal deposit insurance is being used to reimburse the rich depositors while workers and farmers are put on the bottom of the list.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., which insures commercial deposits up to \$100,000, ended 1987 with \$18 billion in its fund. And the FDIC has just shelled out \$4 billion of its reserves to bail out a Texas bank.

The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp., which insures S&L's for the same amount, ended 1987 with a deficit of more than \$13 billion.

When the two funds are added together there is a few billion available — a drop in the bucket compared to the more than \$3 trillion deposited in supposedly insured bank, savings and loan, and credit union accounts across the country.

Any notion that government insurance programs will protect our savings when the banking system collapses is utopian. The facts show that both pillars of the governments' purported effort to protect working people during the coming depression are an illusion.

This helps underscore why it is necessary for working people to unite worldwide in a struggle around measures that can defend our most immediate interests. The "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis" presented by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee offers a perspective to do just that.

Labor and acid rain fight

Devastating to fish, forests, and human health, acid rain is a growing scourge. Yet Congress refuses to deal with the problem. Its refusal is made on behalf of powerful lobbies created by the utility and coal magnates and other big industrial polluters.

One major opponent of legislation to reduce acid rain calls itself Citizens for Sensible Control of Acid Rain, a front group for the American Electric Power Co., Consolidated Coal, and others.

Another such outfit is the Clean Air Working Group. These "clean air" folks include the Chemical Manufacturers Association, Shell Oil, and General Motors.

These high-powered lobbies promote the crooked arguments that curbing acid rain would drive companies out of business and would lead to big hikes in utility rates. Their real, unstated concern is that the cost of dealing with acid rain would cut into their profits.

Acid rain is primarily created by the sulphur dioxide spewed into the air by coal-burning power plants and other factories.

Returning to earth as a component of rainwater, acid rain has devastated lakes and rivers. Recent findings confirm that ocean areas are affected as well.

In the Adirondack Mountains of New York it was recently found that all fish have been killed off in 25 percent of the lakes. In another 20 percent, they are "endangered."

Forests are being ravaged. In the U.S.-Canada border area, it's estimated that maple syrup production has been

slashed 45 percent because of acid rain.

Scientists testify that acid rain is an important cause of bronchitis and asthma and, they fear, cancer as well.

The technology for reducing acid rain is available. West Germany and Japanese enterprises are already using it.

Yet Congress willfully refuses to act. Modest measures for curbing acid rain have been sandbagged for seven years.

That could be turned around if substantial forces were thrown into the battle. Foremost among these is the organized labor movement.

This is particularly true of the United Mine Workers of America. The UMWA is a strong union that has taken a progressive stand against nuclear power.

The UMWA should be helping to wage a fight for legislation to sharply reduce acid rain emission.

The leaders of the UMWA have balked at taking such a stand, arguing that curbing acid rain would mean a loss of jobs for those who dig coal.

That claim is unproven and, also, terribly short-sighted. It can't be credibly advanced as justification for the continued poisonous assault on natural resources and human beings.

It would be an invaluable social contribution for the miners' union, and all of organized labor, to become the central force in the fight to deal with acid rain. And it would greatly strengthen the unions — including their capacity to defend the jobs of their members.

Vanguard party is key in transition to communism

BY DOUG JENNESS

In the last three issues I've focused on the recently published pamphlet, *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, which includes a 1965 article with the same title by Ernesto Che Guevara. It also contains Cuban President Fidel Castro's speech last October on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death.

This week I will summarize a few key points from these earlier columns and raise one important new one.

Guevara explained in his article that when Cuban working people overturned capitalist rule, established their own government, and expropriated the businessmen, bankers, and landlords, their first job was to over-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

come the effects of centuries of colonial and imperialist oppression. It was necessary to build the economic base and increase labor productivity in order to more adequately meet the needs of the people.

Guevara, who headed Cuba's national bank and served as minister of industry in the revolution's early years, said there were two roads that could be tried to speed up economic development. One would be to appeal to individual material interest. "The temptation is very great," he wrote, "to follow the beaten track of material interest as the lever with which to accelerate development."

This includes such methods as bonuses, pegging workers' wages to the "profitability" of enterprises, paid overtime, and private markets for farmers or entrepreneurs.

The habits and modes of thinking inherited from capitalist society help to reinforce the notion that this could be the foundation for effectively motivating people to work harder and increase output and productivity.

Guevara described and advocated a second course — "the right instrument for mobilizing the masses. Basically, this instrument must be moral in character, without neglecting, however, a correct use of the material incentive — especially of a social character." Prioritizing construction of schools, hospitals, child-care centers, parks, and other public facilities, for example, are projects that both materially benefit working people, yet have a social character.

Guevara emphasized the role of voluntary work as the principal instrument for mobilizing the masses on the basis of moral incentive.

The Cuban revolution in the 1960s started along the second course, but in the 1970s veered away from it. The mechanisms of the centralized national economic plan, along with a good dose of individual material incentives, were counted on to automatically lead to socialism.

The process to reverse this "disgraceful period of building socialism," as Castro called it in his speech on Che, began more than two years ago. The minibrigades of volunteer workers, Castro explained, "are now rising again from their ashes like a phoenix and demonstrating the significance of that revolutionary path of solving the problems that the theoreticians, technocrats, those who do not believe in man, and those who believe in two-bit capitalism had stopped and dismantled."

To motivate broad layers of the population to work harder and longer for no additional individual material compensation requires expanding social awareness and political understanding.

The portion of the working class that is further ahead in its thinking plays an important role in helping to advance this educational effort, Guevara pointed out. This "vanguard, consisting of the party, the advanced workers, the advanced men who walk in unity with the masses and in close communion with them," must lead.

"The vanguards," he said, "have their eyes fixed on the future and its reward, but it is not a vision of something for the individual. The prize is the new society in which men will have different characteristics: the society of communist man."

Guevara said the key to winning increased support for placing the needs of the working class as a whole, both internationally and in Cuba, ahead of individual concerns are the youth and the party. "The former is especially important," he said, "because it is the malleable clay from which the new man can be built without any of the old vestiges." He urged that the studies of students be integrated into work. "Work" he explained, "is a reward in some cases, a means of education in others, but it is never a punishment."

Guevara noted that, while the communist party is a minority, its goal is "to become a mass party, but only when the masses have reached the level of the vanguard, that is when they are educated for communism."

Che's view that the vanguard party is indispensable in the transition toward a communist society is also very central to the current rectification process, as it is called in Cuba.

How Lloyd Bentsen proposed to 'win' the Korean War

BY STUART HUTCHISON

In a stroke of genius about five years ago, some people decided to study U.S. government film archives to learn exactly what our government was telling us about nuclear weapons in the 1940s, '50s, and early '60s.

The result of their investigation was the great movie *Atomic Café*, the funniest and most frightening hour-and-a-half movie ever made. It featured Bert the Turtle telling

AS I SEE IT

children, "Just duck and cover" to remain safe from atomic blast, plus high quality technicolor film of hydrogen bomb explosions. A real laff-riot.

I saw *Atomic Café* Tuesday, July 12; and what a coincidence! Who should I see upon the movie screen but no less than the youthful incarnation of the very man named that very day by Michael Dukakis as his choice to be vice-president of the United States.

LETTERS

Ku Klux Klan

"The streets belong to the people; the people belong to the streets." In this spirit, about 500 people dealt a heavy blow to the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta July 17.

The Klan had obtained a permit to rally at the Georgia State Capitol, march through downtown, and hold another rally in a parking lot across from the Democratic National Convention, in an area set aside by the city as a free speech zone.

Counterdemonstrators filled an intersection near the capitol, chanting slogans such as, "Racist, sexist, antigay, we say no to the KKK." At one point, cops equipped with riot gear cleared the streets by shoving people out of the way. Reporters were pushed, as well as some standing on the sidewalks. But as cops pushed in one direction, people poured in behind them, many chanting, "The cops and the Klan work hand in hand."

Due to the fierce opposition, the city was forced to cancel the parade permit. When protesters saw that the announcement of the cancellation was not merely a trick, they took the route planned by the Klan and met much support from bystanders and motorists along the way. Oddly enough, though 300 cops were deployed to protect the Klan's right to march, only one or two were seen along the spontaneous march route; the protesters had no protection.

Marchers then occupied the free speech zone, thinking that the Klan would try to hold their second rally. It was later learned that its permit to hold this rally was also canceled. When supremacist Richard Barrett attempted to hold a press conference in the area, though surrounded by cops, he was quickly forced from the parking lot. Skinheads coming upon the area met the same resistance. At one point, a group of supremacists came within a block of the free speech area. Protesters quickly met them.

Jarrod Hayes
Decatur, Georgia

Coal miners

On June 22 West Virginia coal miners stayed off the job for a "memorial period" called by the leadership of the union to protest proposed changes in the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

A thousand miners attended a hearing in Charleston that day on the proposed changes.

The 1969 law was a result of miners fighting for their lives and health, a struggle that broke out after the November 1968 explosion at the Consol No. 9 mine in Farmington, West Virginia. Seventy-eight miners were killed.

This law regulated the amount of methane and coal dust permissible in the mines. Miners strongly believe its passage has helped cut down on deaths. The proposed changes would allow the coal bosses to increase methane and coal dust levels in the mines; eliminate the 20-minute checks for methane at the mining face; and lengthen the amount of time companies can keep miners underground when ventilation fans go down before mandatory evacuation must begin.

An editorial in the *Charleston Gazette* commenting on the hearing said, "Officials of Mine Safety and Health Administration [MSHA] received a less than polite reception. . . . Given the reason for their visit they should have expected nothing less."

The union had planned to march in downtown Charleston on the morning of the hearings to protest the proposed changes. But city officials demanded that the United Mine Workers of America buy \$1 million in insurance coverage, at a cost of \$10,000, and the march was not held.

John Duray, editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, said, "This smacks of violating the union's rights of free speech and assembly."

At the hearing itself, Joe Main, director of the union's safety department, said, "If you don't listen to the UMWA in Washington, you

Don't get me wrong: The guy is not the *star* of *Atomic Café*. Lloyd's only on screen for 30 seconds.

The time is 1950, and the history of the infant Korean War is hidden as the U.S. government tells the world "The Commies are coming," and they have provoked a war by crossing the 38th parallel, and they have to be stopped.

It is a newsreel footage, and you see a freshman congressman, looking barely 30 years old, looking more like a stern kid, and there in blazing black and white, standing on the Capitol steps no less, from Texas, Mr. Representative Lloyd Bentsen, sincere and grim, looking right into the camera and addressing the people of the movie-going U.S.A.: "I propose the president of the United States advise the commander of the North Korean troops to withdraw his forces beyond the 38th parallel within one week, or use that week to evacuate civilians from a specified list of North Korean cities that will be subjected to atomic attack by the United States Air Force. I ask you, the American citizen, to let your congressman know how you feel about this proposal."

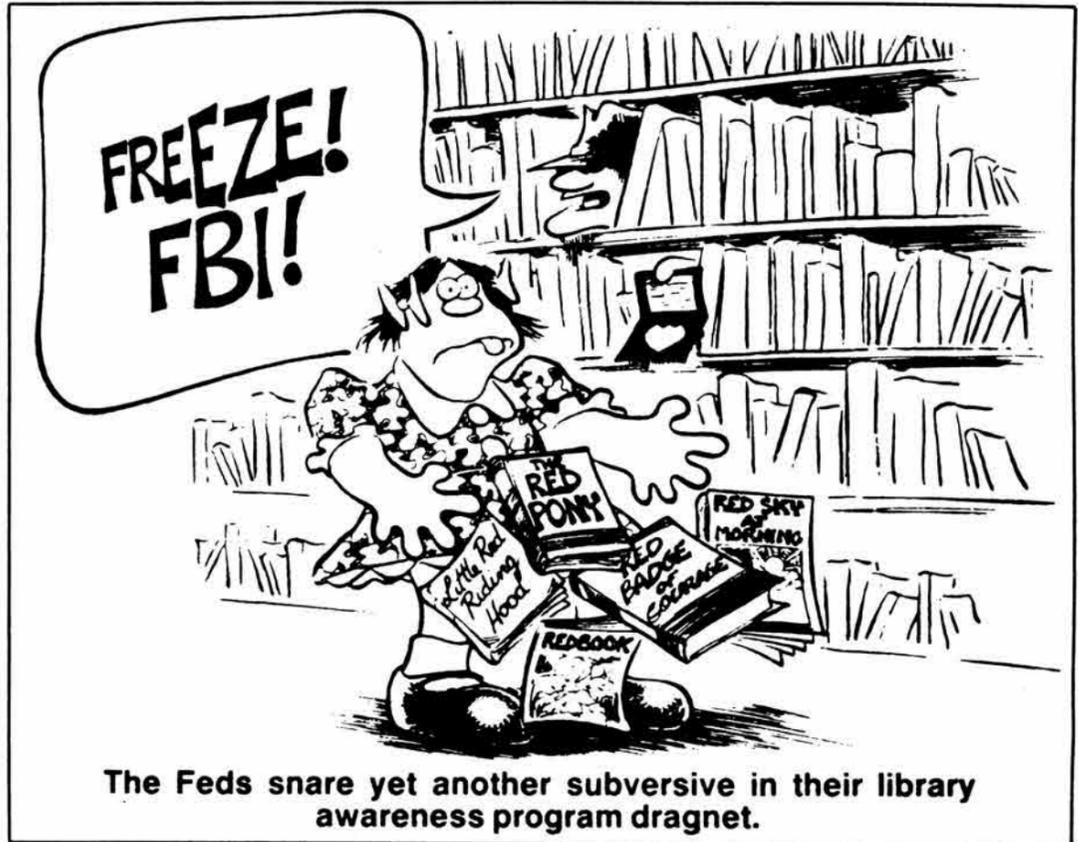
Now you can say this was excessive. You can say he

didn't know the consequences of such words. Or you can say people grow and surely Lloyd Bentsen has mellowed over the last 38 years. God knows you'll hear more than you want about positions favorable to big business, and \$10,000 breakfasts.

Still, there is this thing about words. There is the testimony of millions — or is it just hundreds of thousands? — of people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (and let's don't forget nonatomic, but nonetheless fireballing of Dresden too), and Lloyd Bentsen had to know.

He may be a neat fella, I guess. The question that nags: Is a man who doesn't understand the meaning and implication of his words, and the terrible consequences that can come of them — is such a man fit to lead? Is he fit to be vice-president? Of your local Rotary Club?

Copyright 1988 by Stuart Hutchison. Hutchison is an independent producer at Pacifica radio WBAI in New York. He is a producer and host of a three-hour program, "A National Call-In: Philip Agee on the CIA and Covert Action" with Emile de Antonio and Bill Schaap, which will be broadcast this October.



will listen to the miners in the coalfields . . . that's what you have today."

The 800 miners in the room responded to Main's comments with loud applause.

A miner from southern West Virginia said, "We cannot live with these changes, we can only die with them." If the safety requirements are dropped and each company is allowed to regulate itself, he said, "coal companies will cheat on this, they'll deceive MSHA, and deceive us miners."

Jeanne Fitzmaurice
Morgantown, West Virginia

Not tripe

I'm writing in response to David McMichael's letter in the July 29 *Militant*, which calls the publication "one sided," and goes on to call it "tripe." To refute the second allegation: I find the articles in the paper to be at least adequate, some very well written. It is not tripe.

As to the other point: the *Militant* does represent the socialist point of view, which is presumably the point of the paper. But it is clearly labeled a socialist publication in the banner. The intelligent reader will note this, read the articles with this perspective in mind, and make his or her own decisions. As a reader of the *Militant*, there are some articles I agree with, others I'm not so sure about.

McMichael and all of the *Militant's* readers should use the paper as a tool to gain a unique perspective, that of the socialist party. But these readers should always keep in mind that it does reflect this one view, and that they should be aware of all views to make an in-

formed decision. It seemed that McMichael thought the *Militant* was unpolitical, which is untrue. I don't believe the *Militant* ever tried to give that false impression.

I'm enclosing a copy of the latest issue of *Free Thought*. It too is a political paper, published by politically oriented high school students in Connecticut. As a chief staff member, I can say that although we are left wing, we will publish any well-written article of any political leaning, hence the title. To reach *Free Thought*, which is run totally by volunteers (and is always in need of money to continue publishing), write *Free Thought*, Box 17151, West Hartford, Conn. 06117.

Scott Nance
Wethersfield, Connecticut

Gay rights

In a spirited candlelight vigil, more than 100 people gathered on the steps of the Pittsburgh City-County Building to demand lesbian and gay rights and to support those living with AIDS and HIV infection.

The vigil was organized primarily by Cry Out and the Gay Pride Committee. Both are organizations fighting for lesbian and gay rights in the Pittsburgh area.

One of the focuses of the demonstration was to demand passage of an extension of the city antidiscrimination ordinance to include sexual orientation. Today there is nothing on the books to legally protect Pittsburgh lesbians and gays from discrimination. A vote on the new extension is coming up soon in the city council.

Rick Austin, a member of Cry Out, denounced City Councilman

Eugene "Jeep" DePasquale. The councilman has been quoted in the *Pittsburgh Press* saying, "Call me antiqueer or antigay. I make no secret about it. I abhor those people. I detest them" and "I am . . . concerned about your [editorial] stand on AIDS. Never once have you condemned it or the gays who spread this filth."

Rick Austin answered the councilman, reading from a letter with 224 signers that said, "No compassionate and decent person would attach vicious words to any disease which is robbing another's health. The people of this city who believe in the dignity of human rights for all people, and that diversity is a strength, warn the Jeep: We are here, we are strong, and we are fighting back!" The demonstrators chanted, "Dump Jeep!"

Steve Argue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Readers invited to participate in Action Program discussion

Many readers of the *Militant* saw the Socialist Workers Party National Committee's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* when it appeared in our June 24 issue or in the new Pathfinder pamphlet that carries it. Others may not have read it yet but are planning to buy a copy soon. And during the course of the next months many new readers of the *Militant* will be learning about it

and reading it.

One of the goals of distributing the Action Program as widely as possible is to stimulate discussion on its proposals.

As part of this discussion, we invite our readers to send their comments or questions on the Action Program to us for publication. We will devote space in our letters page to this as we get contributions.

— Editors

Wood, paperworkers' strike spreads

Pacific Northwest unionists fight to regain wages, benefits lost in 1986

BY CONNIE ALLEN
AND JOHN CHARBONNET

DALLAS, Ore. — More than 8,500 Pacific Northwest woodworkers and paperworkers are on strike at some 40 mills in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and northern California.

The strikers are members of the International Woodworkers of America and the Western Council of Industrial Workers. They are demanding restoration of wage and benefit cuts — which cost them an average 20 percent loss of income — that were imposed following a strike in the lumber industry in 1986. Other demands include a wage increase, elimination of profit-sharing plans in mills that have them, and an end to lower wage rates for new hires.

Paperworkers at West Coast mills are also being confronted with demands for concessions, as they are in the rest of the country. On the West Coast, most paperworkers are members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers. A smaller number are in the United Paperworkers International Union.

The current woodworkers' strike began

August 4 — As we go to press, 1,275 strikers at Willamette Industries are voting on a tentative contract proposal reached August 1, and signed by Mike Draper, executive secretary of the Western Council of Industrial Workers.

No information about the proposed pact is yet available.

Thirteen Willamette mills and logging operations have been shut down by the nine-week strike.

June 6 with walkouts at three forest products companies: Willamette Industries, Champion International, and DAW Forest Products. On June 20 the Western Council of Industrial Workers (WCIW) shut down 13 Boise Cascade mills. At only three of these mills had the contracts actually expired. Roving pickets were sent from the three mills to the other 10 — where contracts don't expire until August — to shut them down.

Strike spreads

Roving pickets have a strong tradition in the wood industry, and contracts generally recognize workers' right to honor them.

At a June 28 rally of 500 striking Boise Cascade millworkers and loggers in La Grande, Oregon, WCIW representative Gib Walker described the effects of the 1986 cuts. "A lot of people have lost their cars, lost their homes. They're just not making it," he said.

On June 30 a fifth company, Simpson Timber, was struck. The same day, 100 woodworkers rallied and picketed at Willamette's headquarters in Portland.

Some 6,000 International Woodworkers of America and WCIW members, at 31 mills and logging sites in Oregon and Washington, are employed by Weyerhaeuser, the largest forest products company in the Northwest. Their contracts also expired at the beginning of June.

After talks with a federal mediator broke off, Weyerhaeuser local union officials met in Portland July 11 and announced they had approved strike action, but set no date to walk out.

Members of WCIW Local 2714 at Willamette Industries' sawmill and plywood mill in Dallas, Oregon, described the deteriorating job conditions under the old

contract, and the reasons for their current strike.

"They say they can't afford to give us more money, but their profits have doubled," one picket explained.

1986 losses

A union steward said that workers had lost \$5,000 a year in wages and benefits cuts following the 1986 strike. Willamette management gave themselves sizable raises and remodeled the mills. Following the remodeling, it was discovered that no ventilation system had been provided for the workers.

Another picket added that he had almost been struck and killed earlier in the year by a load of lumber because of malfunctioning machinery. Poorly maintained equipment and altered accident reports are common, the strikers said.

The picketers resented the \$7 an hour starting pay for new hires set by the 1986 contract.

"Is it right for you to do the same work as the guy next to you making \$3 an hour more? If they can divide us, they can break us," said an older striker, sitting next to two young, recently hired workers.

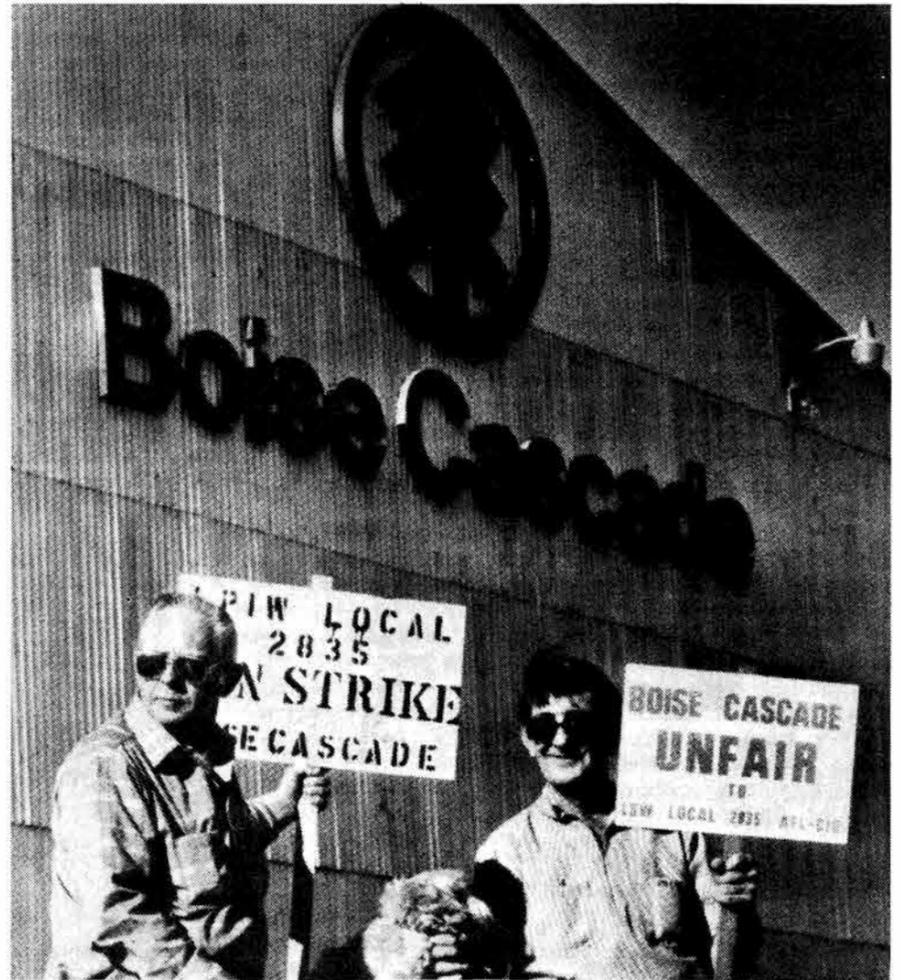
At another gate, a striker explained that he had 18 years experience in the plywood industry. After losing a better-paying job when a nearby mill closed, he worked \$5 to \$6 an hour jobs at nonunion mills. Then he got hired at Willamette for \$7 an hour.

All the strikers complained of ignorant and arrogant supervisors. The steward said, "I'm ashamed now to work for this company. This used to be a good place to work under old man Swindell."

The lumber workers also described a big change in attitude by the local community. Unlike the 1986 strike, townspeople now regularly bring food and beverages by the picket lines. Many merchants have posted "We support Local 2714" signs in their stores.

Paperworkers

Willamette management tells woodworkers that 78 percent of their profits come from paper products. That didn't stop them from implementing a wage-cutting contract on 175 paperworkers at Willamette's particleboard mill in Bend, Oregon, last October. The workers — members of the United Paperworkers union — refused to



Roving pickets shut down 10 Boise Cascade mills where contracts had not yet expired.

sign the contract and finally went out on strike June 11. They decided to return to work June 29 when the company began taking applications for scabs.

At Willamette's Albany, Oregon, paper mill, more than 300 of the Association of the Western Pulp and Paper Workers members went back to work June 24, after Woodworkers union and WCIW roving pickets were removed.

On July 6, 230 AWPPW members struck Smurfit Newsprint Corp.'s mill in Oregon City, just south of Portland. The next day, another 280 paperworkers walked out at a

second Smurfit paper mill nearby.

Strikers at Smurfit reported that the company has brought in scabs from Illinois and Louisiana. Pickets say they've prepared for a long, difficult strike.

Paperworkers at the Oregon City mill say Smurfit is insisting they begin paying 20 percent of the cost of an inferior medical plan, give up Christmas and July 4 as restricted holiday periods, accept negligible improvement of an already substandard pension plan, end a 40-year contract provision prohibiting assignment of work outside a worker's regular job, and more.

Drought has devastating effects for migrant farm workers in Midwest

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

DETROIT — Every growing season thousands of workers pour out of Texas and Florida and head north toward the ripening fruit and vegetable crops across the Midwest. But this summer the drought has had devastating consequences for migrant farm workers.

In a *Detroit Free Press* interview, Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, said that the worst effects on farm workers have been in Ohio. Some reports say that as many as 40,000 workers come to that state to work in the fields.

Other states where farm workers have been hit hard, Yzaguirre said, are Michigan, which has an estimated 60,000 farm workers, and Kansas, Nebraska, Illinois, and Indiana.

Even in the best of times the conditions these workers face are bad. Farm workers "need to work 16 hours a day," Yzaguirre told the *Free Press*, "so they not only can survive, but so they can have a little savings to purchase gas to get back home and to get by for a few months." Any kind of

negative change in this pattern, he said, "is extremely disruptive."

Some rain has fallen on a few areas in the Midwest now, but like the recent spate of newspaper articles revealing the plight of farm workers, it has come a day late and a dollar short for many of them.

Staff members for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), which is the union organizing farm workers in Ohio and Michigan, report that many workers spent all their savings to get here and now have nothing left. Some have left, but most can't.

The situation, FLOC staff members said, varies from farm to farm. Some farms got spot rains so there has been sporadic work. The bigger farms are irrigated, but the camps on those farms are now overcrowded.

Even where there is work the drought has caused problems. The cucumbers from which pickles are made are growing crooked. Some of the big processors, such as Vlasic, won't take them. Others like

Heinz will, but pay only 50 cents for 100 pounds.

All this leaves farm workers in a desperate situation. And as Congress considers a bill to help the country's hard-pressed farmers, it's not clear that any relief will be offered migrant farm workers.

Since the drought began, FLOC has said that disaster aid should be prioritized for small farmers and farm workers. Moreover, FLOC states that farm workers should not have to rely solely on aid from social services.

One FLOC staff member said, "Farm workers have a right like every other worker to unemployment compensation." There is a precedent for this, he said, citing a situation a few years ago when a freeze of the Florida citrus crop threw farm workers there out of work. Farm workers fought for and won compensation for "underemployment."

FLOC is now circulating a petition among farm workers calling for aid, which they plan to present to Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste.