

Oil union delegates welcome Curtis, Marroquín

BY JOANNE KUNIAISKY

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — Mark Curtis and Héctor Marroquín were warmly welcomed by delegates attending the national convention of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) here August 15-19.

Curtis is a Des Moines, Iowa, political activist fighting a cop frame-up on rape and burglary charges. After his arrest on March 4, he was badly beaten at the city jail by the Des Moines police.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born socialist who has waged an 11-year battle to win the right to live, work, and be politically active in the United States.

Marroquín and Curtis, along with supporters who are OCAW members, staffed a table where delegates could get the facts about the cases. Both were able to successfully build on the support they had already won in OCAW.

At least half a dozen delegates indicated they were already endorsers of Marroquín's fight for permanent residency in the United States. OCAW national Vice-president Calvin Moore reminded Marroquín that he had attended a press conference in support of his case in 1978.

Moore had also recently written a letter to the Des Moines police demanding that the charges against Curtis be dropped and that the cops who beat him be prosecuted. At the convention he was able to meet Curtis for the first time.

Also meeting Curtis for the first time was Fabian Greenwell, president of Local 4-16000 in Pasadena, Texas. Greenwell,

Continued on Page 21

Free Nelson Mandela!

Statement by Socialist Workers candidates



Nelson Mandela, leader of African National Congress of South Africa, in 1961, one year before he was jailed by apartheid regime.

The following statement was released August 24 by James Warren and Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.

The fight to free Nelson Mandela from apartheid's jails takes on a new urgency with the hospitalization of the African National Congress leader, who is suffering from tuberculosis.

The broadest international effort possible, involving unions, farmers' organizations, political parties, churches, governments, anti-apartheid and antiwar groups, student associations, women's groups, and everyone else is needed to bring the pressure of hundreds of millions of people to bear on the regime of President Pieter

Botha to free Nelson Mandela today!

A statement by the African National Congress reported that Mandela lay sick in his bed for days before the prison authorities were forced, due to his critical condition, to rush him to a hospital on August 12. And Botha continues to deny Mandela the right to be examined by a doctor of his own choice. We join the ANC in demanding that Brother Mandela be able to see an independent physician.

Mandela joined the African National Congress in 1944. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 on charges of sabotage and conspiring to overthrow the South African government. He has been in prison for 26 years.

This one man has come to represent the struggle for a democratic land for all who

live in South Africa. He embodies the courage, determination, wisdom, and humanity of the toiling people of South Africa, who have said "Enough!" to the modern-day slaveholders' Confederacy known as apartheid.

Imprisoned, Mandela's stature as an international symbol of the anti-apartheid struggle has grown by leaps and bounds, while the regime of his jailers is despised and isolated.

Despite his age and infirmity, the apartheid rulers fear Mandela, not simply because of his individual qualities as a leader, but because he is the genuine symbol of the irrepressible struggle of the millions of people of South Africa for a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa. He is a beacon for the new generation of freedom fighters in that country.

Even with Mandela critically ill, Botha repeats his cynical proposal of physical freedom for Mandela — if only he will capitulate to Pretoria.

Responding to a similar offer in 1985, Mandela said, "I cannot sell my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free."

The dilemma that Mandela — free or imprisoned — poses for the apartheid rulers was captured well by Cuban President Fidel Castro in a message to Mandela in July on his 70th birthday: "With your unyielding attitude after more than a quarter of a century of unjust imprisonment, it is you who have confined your jailers to a prison without bars."

The South African regime was dealt a severe blow earlier this year by the smashing defeat of the army of the "master race" at the hands of a combined force of Angolan troops, Cuban internationalist volunteers, and fighters from the South West Africa People's Organisation, at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola.

This victory has emboldened more South African youth who are white to resist

Continued on Page 21

Marroquín hearing on residence visa set for August 31

On Wednesday, August 31, at 9:30 a.m., Héctor Marroquín will return to the U.S. consulate in Toronto, Canada, for ruling on his application for a permanent residence visa, or green card.

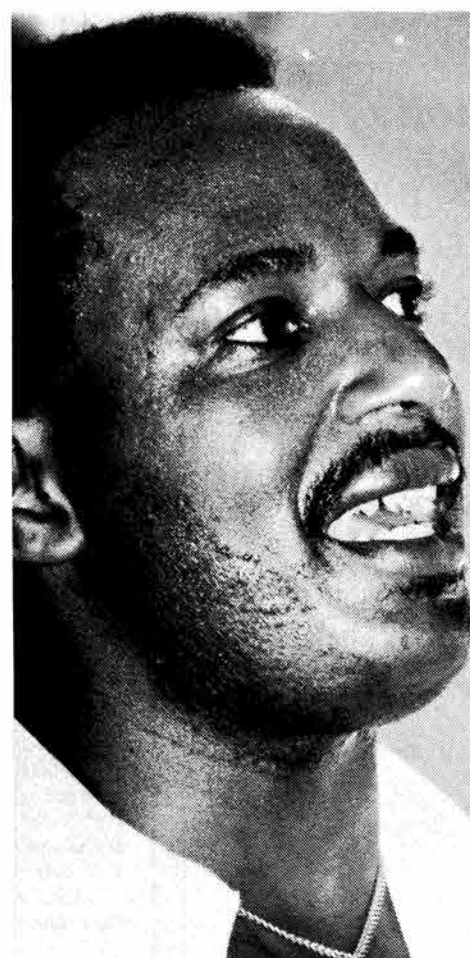
Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who is a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, has waged an 11-year-long battle against Immigration and Naturalization Service attempts to exclude him from the United States because of his political ideas and activities.

Marroquín's application for permanent residence is based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk-Marroquín.

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee is asking supporters to send messages urging that Marroquín be granted his green card immediately. They should be sent to U.S. Consul General Lyle Van Ravenswaay, at the U.S. Consulate, 360 University Ave., Toronto, Canada, M5G 1S4.

Copies of the messages, as well as urgently needed contributions, should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Box 761, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10007.

Warren, Mickells begin campaign tours



Militant/Margrethe Siem
James Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. president.

NEW YORK — This week begins more than two months of cross-country campaigning by James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, and Kathleen Mickells, his vice-presidential running mate.

Accompanying the candidates on their first several stops will be *Militant* reporters, who will insure ample and lively coverage of the candidates' initial engagements.

The candidates will be speaking on "The Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People."

Reporter Greg McCartan, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, will be with Warren when he heads for Greensboro, North Carolina, on August 27. Warren will be in Greensboro until August 29. Then he'll be in Atlanta August 31-September 2; and Jay and Waterville, Maine, September 4-5.

Militant coeditor Margaret Jayko will join Mickells on the campaign trail. The vice-presidential candidate will go to Cleveland August 26 for a press conference on the party's fight to get on the ballot in Ohio. Then she'll be in Pittsburgh August 27-29; Milwaukee, August 31-September 2, and Des Moines, Iowa, September 4 to speak at the international defense rally for frame-up victim Mark Curtis.

To find out more about the tours and the socialist campaign, contact Socialist Workers 1988 National Campaign, 79 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone (212) 941-1174.



Militant/Robert Kopec
Kathleen Mickells, vice-presidential candidate.

Israeli curfew fails to stifle resistance of Palestinians

BY HARRY RING

Israeli military authorities were compelled to partially lift a curfew in the Gaza Strip that they could not enforce.

Despite the order confining Palestinians to their homes, confrontations with Israeli troops continued. One dispatch said the daily battles made the curfew "largely ineffective."

Imposed August 14, the curfew was lifted four days later for Gaza City and other areas. House arrest continued for 180,000 Palestinians in Gaza refugee camps, along with 85,000 in West Bank camps and villages.

The Gaza Strip curfew had been imposed in the wake of an outcry against the murder of three Palestinian workers at a construction site near Tel Aviv. A tin shack in which they were sleeping was locked and set ablaze.

West Bank and Gaza Palestinians working in Israel are required to get out at night, but some occasionally sleep over at their workplaces.

The three torching victims were from Gaza.

The continuing Palestinian resistance brought a new escalation of Israeli violence.

Red Cross and hospital officials said that in three days of the Gaza curfew 270 Palestinians were treated for beating injuries, including 40 with fractured bones. Three hospitalized Gaza City men with welts on their backs and shoulders told reporters they had been forced to crawl on their hands and knees while being beaten.

Word of the repression in Gaza apparently reached prisoners at Ketziot, the Israeli concentration camp in Negev Desert, triggering an outbreak there.

Israeli troops killed two of the prisoners.

There are 2,500 Palestinian prisoners at Ketziot, most of them held without trial or charges.

They sleep elbow to elbow, 28 to a tent. Each tent receives one bar of soap and one razor blade a day.

Toilets are holes in wooden floors over reeking sewage pits. The area is infested with mosquitoes, rats, and scorpions.

A military official said the situation at the camp was tense. "The place is a time bomb," he told *Haaretz*, an Israeli daily.

Meanwhile solidarity with the West Bank and Gaza continued to be voiced by Palestinians living inside the "green line," Israel's pre-1967 borders.

In the Israeli village of Arara, 800 Palestinians in a funeral procession voiced support for the uprising. At the funeral, a symbolic coffin was carried for Muhammad Seif, an Arara youth who was killed by Israeli troops while visiting relatives in a West Bank village.

In early August an Israeli paper reported



Ketziot prison camp, where Palestinian inmates rebelled against repression in Gaza.

that since the West Bank and Gaza uprising began last December, 663 Palestinians living inside the green line have been arrested.

Meanwhile, the Jordanian government took further steps in implementing King Hussein's July 31 decision to cut administrative and financial ties with the West Bank.

On August 20 Jordan's prime minister said that the Jordanian passports carried by many West Bank Palestinians would be replaced with temporary ones good for two years. The previous ones, good for five years, bestowed Jordanian citizenship. The new ones will not.

He also said the time allowed West Bank

residents visiting relatives in Jordan would be cut from three years to one month.

Hussein had ended paying the salaries of 5,000 West Bank government workers, and monthly bonuses to 16,000 others who are paid low wages by Israel.

An August 23 Reuters dispatch from Tunisia said that the Palestine Liberation Organization had declared it would meet the payments cut off by Jordan.

In Washington the State Department said it had protested to Israel against its continuing illegal deportation of Palestinians from their homeland. Since the uprising, 33 Palestinians have been banished and 25 others are under deportation orders.

Tricks exposed in Ohio ballot exclusion

BY MARTY PETTIT

CLEVELAND — On August 22 the Ohio Socialist Workers campaign filed a formal challenge with Secretary of State Sherrod Brown's decision to exclude James Warren and Kathleen Mickells from the November election ballot. Brown had ruled "invalid" nearly 7,000 of the 11,000 signatures filed on nominating petitions in June, leaving the Socialist Workers presidential ticket 751 signatures short of the 5,000 required for a spot on the ballot.

In the challenge, filed with Brown's office in Columbus, campaign manager Scott Ware listed a number of irregularities that campaign supporters had found in the state's handling of their petitions. Ware pointed to hundreds of signatures unfairly rejected by election officials:

- Two hundred signatures ruled "illegible," even though campaign supporters checking voter lists found some of these to be perfectly readable;

- One hundred names declared "not genuine" because signers had printed their names to avoid signing illegibly;

- Seven hundred signatures not even counted because the petitioner who collected them was not registered to vote as required by state law, even though election officials had earlier confirmed that she was registered;

- Seven hundred and fifty signatures "invalid" because signers had listed current addresses on petitions, while voter files listed them at old addresses;

- Hundreds rejected because officials claimed that the addresses did not exist, even though campaign supporters found several cases where the signers had obviously written "avenue" instead of "road," or misspelled a street name.

"It's clear that the state decision has nothing to do with legality, or any 'count' of 'valid' signatures," said David Marshall, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, at a news conference held at the secre-

tary of state's office immediately after filing the challenge. "They intend to exclude us because they don't want working-class candidates running in their elections. So they're using every trick, every excuse, every lie they can think of to just plain cheat us out of a spot on the ballot."

Campaign supporters in Ohio have vowed to fight the state's ruling. They have begun a broad letter-writing campaign aimed at persuading Brown to reverse his undemocratic decision. Brown has already received postcards from dozens of garment workers, steelworkers, and others who support an open ballot. He has also received letters of protest from Steve Hatch, executive secretary of Local 1 of the Newspaper Guild; Harold Mitchell, president of Local 100 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Joe Ventura, 20th Congressional District coordinator of Greater Clevelanders for Jesse Jackson; Mylion Waite of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland; Thomas Buckley, law professor at Cleveland State University; and Tallis George, public affairs director of radio station WCSB.

Supporters of democratic rights should write to Sherrod Brown, secretary of state, 30 E. Broad St., 14th floor, Columbus, Ohio 43266, demanding that the Socialist Workers Party be placed on the ballot. Send copies to the Ohio Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee, 2521 Market Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44113.

New York socialists file for ballot

BY KAY SEDAM

ALBANY, N.Y. — The Socialist Workers Party 1988 presidential campaign has submitted 32,906 signatures on petitions in its effort to get on the New York ballot. The petitions were delivered to the state board of elections on August 23 by James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York.

A minimum of 20,000 signatures are needed to place Harris and SWP presidential candidate James Warren and vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells on the ballot.

The signatures were collected in a three-week drive in July. During the drive the socialists also sold a combined total of 214 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and single copies of *New Internationalist*. Some 2,000 copies of the Path-

finder pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, adopted by the SWP national committee, were also sold.

Harris explained, "A growing awareness exists among working people and farmers in the aftermath of the October 1987 stock market crash that promises of economic stability have no foundation and that a devastating depression is in the offing. We are raising proposals that address these concerns."

The SWP is seeking to get on the ballot in 18 states and Washington, D.C., this year.

Petitions to qualify for the New York State ballot were also submitted by the New Alliance Party and the Workers World Party.

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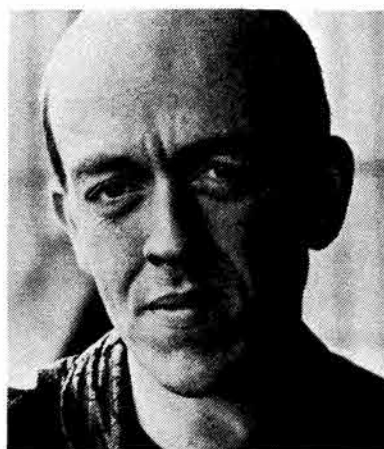
writer, exec. member of Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign (Britain)

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The Militant

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Support mounts for Iowa frame-up victim

Meanwhile, as trial nears, prosecution steps up campaign against Mark Curtis

BY TED LEONARD

DES MOINES, Iowa — Support is mounting across the United States and internationally for frame-up victim Mark Curtis. At the same time the Des Moines cops and prosecutor are stepping up their own campaign designed to get the political and trade union activist convicted.

An international defense rally for Curtis will be held at the Des Moines Convention Center on September 4, three days before his trial is scheduled to begin.

Curtis is a meat-packer at the Swift/Monfort plant here. He is charged with forcing his way into a house and attempting to rape a 15-year-old high school student. He faces a mandatory 25-year jail term if convicted on those charges.

After his arrest on March 4, the Des Moines cops beat Curtis in the city jail, fracturing his cheekbone. While they were bashing him with a night stick, the cops said he was a "Mexican-lover, just like he loved those coloreds."

Curtis, 29, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. From the beginning he has explained that he is innocent of the charges.

Thousands across the country and internationally are convinced that the police and prosecutor framed Curtis up because of his political and union activity, which includes defending Latino workers who were arrested on March 1 during an immigration cop raid at the Swift plant.

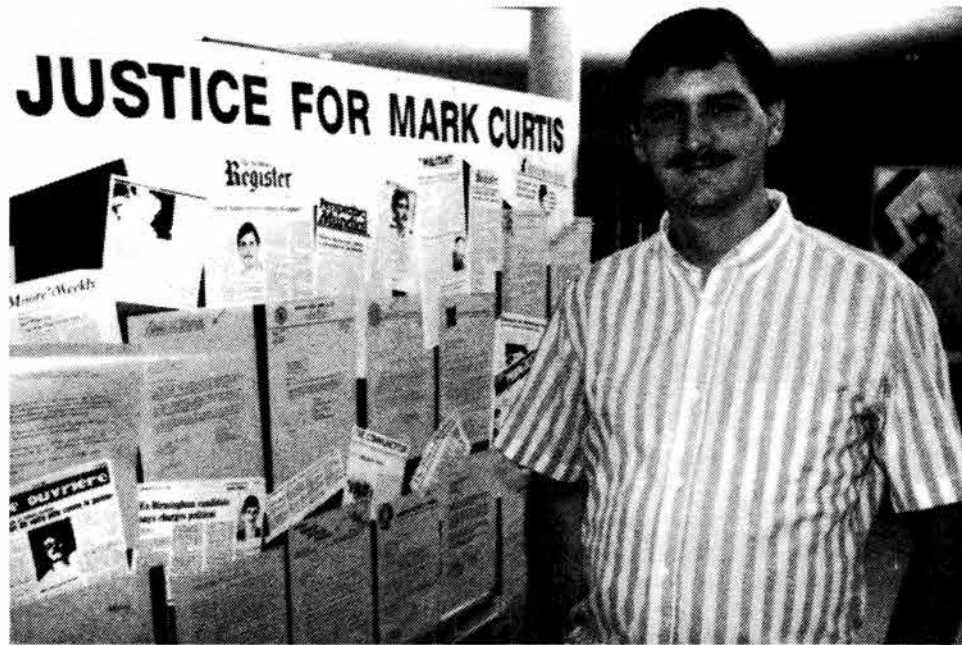
Curtis is also mentioned prominently in illegal FBI spy files on the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Supporters of Curtis are demanding that Polk County Attorney James Smith drop the charges against him and prosecute the cops who beat him.

The speakers at the rally reflect the breadth of support Curtis is winning. (See ad on this page.)

Additional new supporters won during Curtis' recent tour of Chicago are aldermen Jesus Garcia and Luis Guterrez, and Clyde Brooks from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

More than \$1,100 was raised at a public rally held at United Electrical Workers union hall in Chicago on August 20. John Sako, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 1011 at the LTV mill in Chicago sent greetings to the rally. Two days earlier Curtis had spoken at the Local



Mark Curtis is winning wide support from unionists. Speakers at September 4 international defense rally reflect breadth of support for Curtis.

1011 union meeting.

Curtis also spoke to the meeting of U.S.W.A. Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana. Thirty of the unionists present signed the defense committee petition demanding that the charges be dropped.

Twenty meat-packers at Jimmy Dean's packinghouse in Ocala, Iowa, have also signed the petitions.

Ken Douglas, president of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions is among the scores of unionists internationally who have signed petitions backing Mark Curtis' fight for justice.

For months, the Des Moines cops and prosecutor Smith have been mounting a campaign of their own designed to undercut support for Curtis in the unions, among farm activists, and in groups active in Central American solidarity and in defense of women's rights.

This countercampaign has received extensive coverage in the *Des Moines Register*. On August 20 the paper ran a package of three letters attacking Curtis.

The first was signed by John Efferding, clerk craft director of American Postal Workers Union Local 7027. He said Curtis is not a "union activist" because he never held an elected post in United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 431, which organizes the Swift plant.

Carole Meade from the Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault says, "I believe the charge of police brutality is being used to cloud the issue of the criminal charges of sexual assault against him." She goes on to say, "The last charge the police would choose to fabricate is sexual assault."

A letter from Christee Lucas says, "I don't know Mark Curtis, but I support many of the

same causes he does. Yet I am concerned when activists for peace and justice blindly support one of their own who may have been victimized at the expense of another who may be a victim as well. . . . There is another victim, forgotten by Curtis supporters in the petition. There is a 15-year-old girl who has allegedly been sexually abused."

On August 18 the *Register* gave prominent coverage to a statement attacking Curtis that had appeared in the *Bulletin*, a paper reflecting the views of a sect known as the Workers League.

"The Workers League charges echo statements made by Smith and Police Chief Moulder," defense committee coordinator Stu Singer explained.

"It is not surprising that the Workers League would show up in Des Moines," Singer said. "They have repeatedly tried to harass and disrupt the Socialist Workers Party and its members. This includes trying to disrupt the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI and other U.S. government spy agencies."

Singer urged supporters of Curtis to step up their efforts in the days leading up to the trial. He said the committee must raise at least another \$15,000 to cover legal expenses for the trial.

He urged supporters to order the new Spanish-language fact sheet and petition on the Curtis case, which are now available from the defense committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. (515) 246-1695.

'Militant' readers urged to help circulate Castro speech

BY NORTON SANDLER

The speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro on July 26 in Santiago de Cuba deserves careful attention from working-class fighters the world over. That's why we are urging our readers to help circulate this issue of the *Militant*, which carries that talk by the Cuban Communist Party leader, as broadly as possible.

Castro describes why the Cuban party and the Cuban people have rejected the use of capitalist methods in building their revolution.

He details the role the party is playing in leading the rectification process under way in Cuba today. Through rectification, working people in massive numbers are volunteering their time to construct housing, child-care centers, clinics, and other badly needed facilities.

Castro also outlines the crucial set of decisions made in late 1987 and early this year that enabled joint Cuban and Angolan forces to defeat the South African army in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola. This historic defeat of the apartheid regime's military forces has drawn scant attention in the big-business media.

The speech will also be available in Spanish in the next issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, which will be mailed to distributors and subscribers on September 1.

Castro's remarks will be of special interest to fighters trying to chart a course to

overturn imperialist domination and oppression. Distributors will be encouraging their coworkers in the industrial unions to read and discuss the talk. Special steps can also be taken to get it into the hands of political activists in the cities where supporters of the *Militant* live.

The *Militant*, the Marxist magazine *New International*, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale* have printed numerous speeches by the Cuban leadership on the rectification process. This is one of the unique political contributions these publications offer.

On September 9, supporters of these periodicals in seven countries will begin a 10-week drive to win 10,000 new readers.

Distributors are now making plans and deciding on their goals for the campaign.

A scoreboard with these projected goals will be printed in *Militant* issue No. 36, which comes off the press on September 8.

We urge our readers to join the international effort to increase the circulation of the revolutionary press.

If you want to participate in the drive or order extra copies of this *Militant* and *PM* containing the Castro speech, look us up in the directory on page 20 or contact the *Militant* business office at 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014; (212) 929-3486.

Puerto Rican activist wins furlough

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — Nelson and Elizabeth Ramirez' small apartment on Manhattan's Lower East Side was crowded with family and supporters on the evening of August 22. They were there to celebrate Nelson's temporary release from a maximum security section of the Metropolitan Correctional Center the week before. He began serving a 15-month sentence on June 15 for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury.

The furlough was granted as the result of a phone call and telegram campaign directed at Charles Rose, the district attorney in his case. Ramirez submitted a letter from his wife's doctor stating that his presence was essential in the high risk condition of his wife's pregnancy. Under the conditions of his release he must remain either at home or at the hospital where his

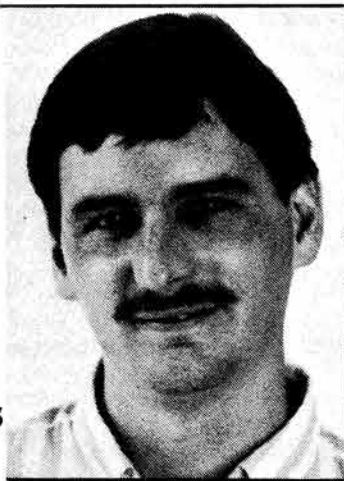
wife will be giving birth.

"Furloughs are rarely granted and when they are they are granted only for one or two days," explained Ramirez. "For us this was a victory. It set a precedent for other political prisoners, for granting furlough of other grand jury resisters."

Ramirez said that "within 10 days of my daughter being born, I will be imprisoned again, having committed no crime, under civil contempt, subjected to regular strip searches, allowed only 45-minute visits three times a week, having my mail opened and mutilated, my phone calls monitored and restricted, with no recreational facilities, being fed food that has no nutritional value. . . . All this because I am a political activist who supports the independence of my country, Puerto Rico."

Des Moines
Iowa

**Come to 2nd
international
defense rally for
Mark Curtis**
Political activist
framed-up on rape charges
& beaten by Des Moines cops



Sunday, September 4, 2 p.m.
Des Moines Convention Center
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Speakers:

Neo Mnumzana chief representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa • **Piri Thomas** Puerto Rican author and poet • **Roger Allison** director of Missouri Rural Crisis Center • **Héctor Marroquín** Mexican-born socialist fighting for permanent residence in the U.S. • **William Taylor** president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 7-507 • **Father William Callahan** national coordinator of Quest for Peace • **Carroll Nearmyer** Iowa State president, American Agriculture Movement • **Ed Long, Jr.** striking member of United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 • **Kathleen Mickells** Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president • **Catherine Walsh** New Wave, Iowa City • **Mike Henry** director, Latin American Human Rights Advocacy Center, Iowa City • **Mark Curtis**



Protest in Rangoon demands ouster of Sein Lwin, successor to dictator Ne Win.

Popular uprising rocks military regime in Burma

Economic crisis spurs protests

BY FRED FELDMAN

A massive popular revolt has forced the successive resignations of Ne Win, military ruler of Burma since 1962, and his successor, Brig. Gen. Sein Lwin. The revolt comes in response to the deepest social, economic, and political crisis that the southeast Asian nation has experienced in decades.

Protests are continuing, demanding that Ne Win's Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP), the only legal one, yield power, allow elections, and grant other democratic rights.

Despite its name, the Burma Socialist Program Party is run by the top officer caste of the army. All military personnel and government officials are required to apply for membership. The BSPP chieftains benefit from corruption and the government's attempts to monopolize legal economic activities.

The current wave of protests has won support from a wide social and political spectrum of the population in the cities and towns — including workers, Buddhist monks, professionals, and small traders.

On March 12 the wounding of a student in a clash with BSPP supporters in the capital city of Rangoon sparked a wave of student protests.

The military put down the demonstrations by killing, according to most estimates, 100 students. Some were beaten to death and others reportedly drowned after being arrested. The government later admitted that 41 people suffocated after being packed into police vans.

On June 21 about 1,000 students marched from the Rangoon University campus. Joined by workers and monks their numbers swelled to several thousand. Students occupied the Shwedagon Pagoda, a Buddhist shrine. Demonstrations also were organized in Mandalay, Prome, Moulmein, Pegu, and other cities.

The government admitted that two people had died in clashes with troops. But retired general Aung Gyi, an opposition leader once associated with Ne Win, stated that he knew of three police surgeons who said they had each performed 40 autopsies on victims.

Ne Win steps down

On July 23, at the opening of an emergency congress of the BSPP, Ne Win stepped down as chairman of the party, "since I am indirectly responsible for the March and June affairs and because of my advanced age."

Noting "the lack of trust and confidence in the government," he stated that "a referendum must be held so the people can choose between the existing one-party system or a multiparty one."

At the same time, Ne Win warned protesters: "When the army shoots, it shoots to hit. It does not fire in the air to scare."

The congress accepted Ne Win's resignation and that of several other officials, including the figurehead president San Yu. The proposal for a referendum on the BSPP's status as the only party was rejected.

Sein Lwin was selected as party chairman, becoming president on July 27. A

close associate of Ne Win since the 1962 coup, Sein Lwin had served as joint general secretary of the party since 1985. He is widely reviled not only for his directing role in the bloody repression of the March and June protests, but because of the prominent part he played in suppressing waves of protest in 1962 and in the 1970s.

Leading oppositionists, including Aung Gyi, were arrested on July 30, and martial law was proclaimed August 3.

This failed to break the back of the opposition, which was spearheaded by an extensive network of underground student organizations. "The students enjoy open and clandestine support in the form of money, food, and intelligence from a broad spectrum of office workers, laborers, and Buddhist monks," reported the August 18 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

New upsurge in August

Sein Lwin's moves to crush opposition sparked a new upsurge that began August 8, the date set by student organizers for a nationwide general strike. In the capital, as the protests developed, shops closed and dock and transport workers went on strike. Hundreds of thousands in cities across the country took to the streets.

In Rangoon the government admitted that police opened fire on demonstrators 15 times during a single day of protests. A doctor at Rangoon's General Hospital estimated the number who died there as a result of the clashes at 400. Estimates of the numbers killed nationwide ranged to 1,000 or more.

Police stations and party offices came under attack, and a few captured weapons

reportedly began to appear in the hands of protesters.

Sections of the army began to waver in their support for the regime. One eyewitness told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that he saw students unbutton their shirts in front of troops, shouting, "shoot me, if you want," whereupon the soldiers lowered their rifles.

On August 12 Sein Lwin resigned as president and chairman of the ruling party. Troops in Rangoon began to pull back from the central part of the city, as the populace celebrated.

Posters listing the demands of the opposition bloc appeared throughout the city. They called for a democratic government, elections within six months, an accounting of those killed in protests, compensation for the victims, action against forces who fired on nurses outside Rangoon General Hospital, release of all political prisoners, and the trial of Sein Lwin and his aides.

On August 19, in a move that the military rulers hoped would placate the protesters, Maung Maung was chosen to lead the BSPP and also to serve as president. He is the first civilian to hold the top party post since the 1962 coup.

The uprising in Burma has been spurred not only by opposition to the police state controls imposed by the military and the BSPP, but by also by the country's mounting economic crisis.

Fifty years ago, Burma was a top rice exporter. Today, although rice production has doubled in the last 30 years, there are virtually no official rice exports.

Rice is still exported clandestinely, but none of this trade is carried out in legal

channels where farmers and businessmen have long had to confront army officers and BSPP officials out to monopolize the profits of foreign trade.

Inflation is now running at an annual rate that fluctuates between 200 and 500 percent, and the country's youth face growing unemployment and underemployment.

The government confronts a burgeoning foreign debt — with banks in Japan as the top creditors.

From 1973, when Burma obtained its first loan from the World Bank, to the present, the foreign debt has soared from \$232 million to \$3.8 billion. Total debt repayments due for 1988 amount to \$292 million — approaching the expected income from exports for the entire year. About \$77 million is scheduled to be paid to Japanese financiers this year.

With an official per capita domestic product of \$200 per year, Burma has been classified by the United Nations as one of the "least developed countries" in the world.

Japanese capital is using the leverage provided by its growing loans and aid to the regime to press the government to stabilize the situation and undertake economic measures that will further Japanese and other imperialist interests. Japanese officials state that further loans to Burma will be contingent on these changes taking place.

In his resignation speech, Ne Win called for lifting the military regime's monopoly over legal foreign trade and industry, except in what were termed strategic areas — arms, teak forestry, mining, and petroleum.

Burma's century of oppression, struggles

Burma is a Southeast Asian country with a population of some 39 million. It borders on China to the north, India and Bangladesh to the west, and Laos and Thailand to the east. Most of the population is rural and about 60 percent of the labor force is employed in agriculture.

In a series of wars fought in 1824-26, 1852, and 1885, the rulers of Britain conquered Burma and, in 1886, officially proclaimed it a province of their colony of India. Massive popular resistance to the takeover had been crushed by 1890. In 1937 the British rulers separated Burma from India.

British capitalists reaped enormous profits from Burma's oil, rice, gems, and other products. In 1931 a major peasant rebellion broke out. Unrest, including widespread student protests in 1936, culminated in countrywide demonstrations in 1938 that marked the beginning of the end of British rule.

Some leaders of the nationalist movement, including U Nu and Ne Win turned to the Japanese imperialists for support against British colonialism.

When Japanese forces occupied the country in World War II, U Nu became foreign minister and Ne Win became commander of the Burmese army.

When British forces reoccupied the

country at the end of the war, the London government, facing rebellion in Burma, found it impossible to maintain colonial rule. Burma became independent in 1948.

For most of the time from 1948 to 1962, Burma was led by U Nu. He sought popular support by proclaiming socialist goals and decreeing nationalization of the land and other reforms.

The government, seeking support from the dominant Burmese grouping, which makes up some 70 percent of the population, rejected the demands of the minority tribes of the countryside for autonomy. The result was uprisings by the Karens, Kachins, and other groups. Peasant guerrillas led by the Communist Party of Burma were also active.

In 1962 Ne Win carried out a military coup. Soon after he announced the nationalization of industry and commerce, depriving traders of Chinese and Indian origin of their citizenship.

In addition to attempting to place the economy under the control of the military regime, Ne Win sought to establish tight control of unions and the Buddhist hierarchy through the ruling Burma Socialist Program Party. Ne Win portrayed this course as "the Burmese way to socialism."

Recently, the government has encouraged Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Ko-

rean capitalists to set up textile plants in Burma, and has gone deeply into debt to West German and Japanese bankers.

Since the mid-1950s, the government officially followed a foreign policy of neutrality. However, it now receives some U.S. military aid against the rural insurgents. U.S. helicopters spray U.S.-made defoliants over crops and water supplies in rebel-held areas. Rebels say that the helicopters also ferry government troops and ammunition.

The pretext for Washington's intervention has been the government's announced war against opium poppy cultivation. According to State Department statistics, Burma is the world's number one opium producer. In some of the rebel-held areas, opium poppies are the main crop grown by peasants.

Some of the rebel groups, however, say they can prove that the Burmese military is also deeply involved in the opium trade.

Several tribal groups have loosely coalesced to form the National Democratic Front. Their supporters have appealed to Washington for aid, but were officially rebuffed.

Substantial parts of the countryside remain, as they have been virtually since independence, outside the effective control of the central government in the capital city of Rangoon.

— F.F.

Paperworkers' convention focuses on strikes

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — How can paperworkers deepen support for the fight by 3,500 striking and locked-out workers from four International Paper Co. mills? This question was at the center of discussions at the recent United Paperworkers International Union convention. The national gathering, attended by 2,000 delegates and observers, was held August 8-12 in Las Vegas, Nevada.

Paperworkers have been on strike since June 1987 at IP mills in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and here in Jay. Another 1,200 paperworkers have been locked out of IP's Mobile, Alabama, mill since March 1987. At issue are IP's demands that the workers make substantial concessions in wages, work rules, holidays, and on other issues.

Bill Meserve, president of UPIU Local 14 at the Jay mill, reported on the national convention to striking paperworkers and their supporters at a meeting here August 17.

The convention's IP bargaining council, representing locals at IP mills around the country, voted unanimously to demand the company reopen all current contracts on September 2. This action will be proposed to local memberships August 24. The move was made as a show of solidarity with the striking and locked-out workers, and to back thousands of other union members at more than a dozen IP mills who are currently working without contracts, or are under unsigned or company-imposed contracts.

The IP council, Meserve explained, involved 81 of 98 IP locals present at the convention. Some 20,000 union members employed by IP work in primary mills, where pulp and paper are produced. Another 20,000 work at IP converting mills, which turn out paper products and lumber.

The IP council, which gathered at the convention, brought workers from both primary and converting mills together for the first time. The council met almost every day of the convention, Meserve said, and is scheduled to be set up as a formal union body in October. The council also discussed the Outreach '88 campaign, aimed at encouraging IP locals not to participate in company-organized speed-up efforts.

The convention voted a \$1 per member per month increase to the now-depleted UPIU strike fund. The money will also help pay the Corporate Campaign, Inc., headed by Ray Rogers, which is organizing boycott and solidarity efforts to back the IP workers. Individual UPIU locals and other unions also made substantial donations to tide the striking and locked-out workers over until the strike fund can be replenished.

Several large IP primary mills are either working without contracts, or have contracts that expire soon, Meserve explained. These include mills in Hamilton, Ohio; Camden, Arkansas; Vicksburg, Mississippi; Erie, Pennsylvania; and Pineville, Mississippi. Action by paperworkers in these locations could be important in the next stages of the fight against IP.

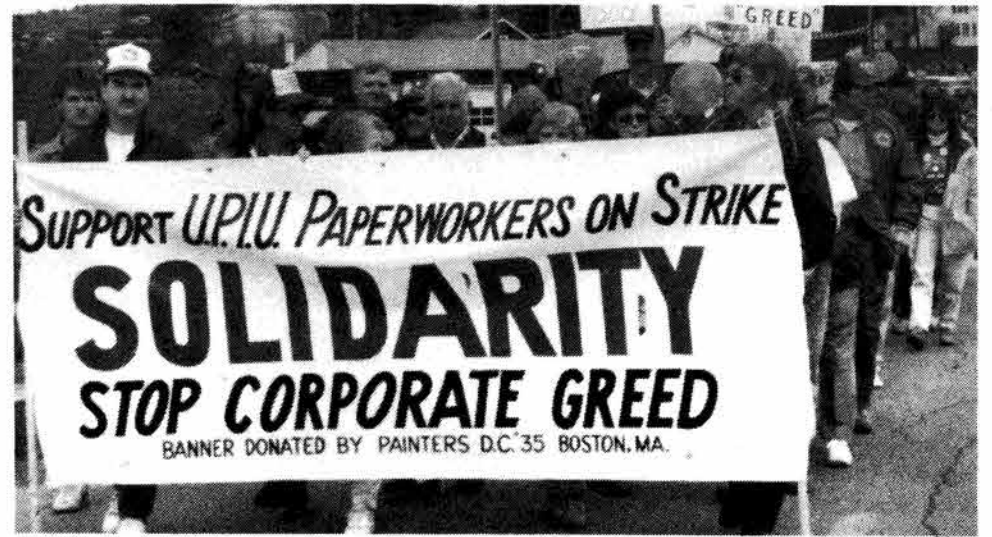
Incumbent UPIU President Wayne Glenn was reelected at the national convention by more than a two-to-one majority. He was challenged by international vice-president Glenn Goss. Delegates from Jay

explained that Goss was widely viewed as less committed to the IP strikers than Glenn.

News from the convention was welcomed by the Jay strikers and their supporters. Forced to convene outdoors because their usual meeting facility was unavailable, the 600 people at the union gathering sat and stood in the darkness, as gusts of rain intermittently sprayed the crowd. Not one person left.

After more than a year on strike, weekly unemployment benefits of \$161 are ending for the IP workers here. They also get \$55 a week strike benefits from the union.

"We never went out for money," said Local 14 executive board member Mike Burke, who was also a delegate to the convention. "And just because we're getting \$55 a week doesn't mean any of us is going to go back in. We're fighting for a belief."



Paperworkers demonstrate in Jay, Maine, in April.

Militant/Margrethe Siem

Int'l Paper hit on safety, pollution

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — The Maine Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) filed an 11-count complaint against International Paper Co. August 11 for systematic violation of federal and local health and safety standards.

The 47-page complaint, said Maine Attorney General James Tierney, documents IP's disregard for Maine's environment. The company has violated "virtually all of the major environmental laws we have," he added.

United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 members, who've been on strike at IP's Androscoggin Mill here in Jay since June 1987, hailed the DEP suit as a blow to the giant paper company, which has run the mill with 1,000 scabs for the past year. Unionists were responsible for the information and affidavits detailing company

practices that resulted in the DEP action.

In July the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) levied \$837,220 in fines against IP for a series of violations of federal health and safety standards, following an investigation begun last February. OSHA was forced to look into IP's operation here after a massive chlorine gas leak from the plant forced an emergency evacuation of Jay, and sparked widespread protests from area residents. The DEP also participated in the investigation.

IP is currently appealing another \$242,000 OSHA fine from last fall.

Six days before the DEP suit was announced, IP was hit by an \$11,000 fine for the death of a strikebreaker inside the mill in May. Karl Chastain, 29, bled to death in an unattended part of the mill after fragments from a grinding wheel tore his throat

open. OSHA cited IP for "serious" and "willful" safety violations that resulted in Chastain's death.

The fine, said Local 14 spokesman Peter Bernard, "is a small price to pay for a human life. Union members could refuse to do unsafe work because we had the union to back us up. These [scabs] in there now do not refuse because they fear losing their jobs."

Responding to the fine, IP mouthpiece Richard White said that "safety is our top priority."

But an IP internal company memo, made public by the Maine media in late July, stated, "We are continuing to hurt an entirely unacceptable number of people." IP assistant mill manager Ronald Charbonneau said in the memo, "It is obvious that what we are doing isn't working."

Socialist youth group maps fall plans

BY GREG McCARTAN

OBERLIN, Ohio — A meeting here of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance discussed fall perspectives.

Rena Cacoullos, YSA national chairperson, reported, "The SWP election campaign is the best tool we have to build the YSA this fall. We want to wear campaign buttons and in every way publicly identify ourselves with this campaign."

In many cities campaign supporters will be setting up discussions with workers, holding press conferences, and building public meetings for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Kathleen Mickells.

The YSA leaders decided that local chapters should take responsibility for organizing meetings on college campuses for the candidates. "Talking to campus organizations about cosponsoring these meetings, or to see if they want to invite Warren or Mickells to address their own meetings, broadens out the number of students we reach with the campaign," added Cacoullos.

An example of the opportunities that exist is shown by a letter to the national campaign committee from a student at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He explained that he is a member of the Progressive Students Organization and South Africa Coalition. "In September," he wrote, "I hope to bring together an organization that will work toward putting a socialist candidate in the office of presidency. Hopefully this organization can provide an alternative to young Democrats and young Republicans, which are organized on campus. We would appreciate any pamphlets or posters that you could send in order to aid our effort. Any other ideas would be appreciated."

In response, YSA members in Milwaukee are now helping to work with students at Marquette to set up a meeting for Mickells when she goes to Wisconsin.

The YSA national committee voted to mobilize the YSA for the 10-week circulation drive of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* that be-

gins September 9. "The YSA should see itself as the vanguard of this international effort," said Cacoullos. She pointed out that "circulating the *Militant* is the most fundamental task we, as young communists, can do."

The New York City chapter will launch a two-week team in September that will travel to Bard College, the State University of New York campuses in Albany and Binghamton, and Syracuse University.

At each of these campuses there are YSA members who will help win others and build new YSA chapters over the course of the fall.

Called the "New York Militant Express," the team will sell the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Socialist Workers Party's "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," and Pathfinder books, and set up meetings for James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York.

To help finance the YSA's national activities a \$17,000 fund drive will be launched August 28 and will end October 16. Pledges by YSA members are the backbone of the drive. In addition, fund-raising activities, such as campus speaking events, socials, and dinners are being planned by local chapters. "The fund drive," noted Cacoullos, "is the most important way we finance ourselves as a nationwide revolutionary youth organization."

The YSA leadership discussion took up the fight to defend political activist Mark Curtis. The goal is to turn up the political pressure to force the Polk County district attorney in Des Moines, Iowa, to drop the frame-up charges against Mark, Cacoullos explained.

YSA leaders emphasized that it's necessary to explain that this case is a political frame-up, aimed at intimidating political activity by workers and others. "We want to convince other youth and student groups to see this fight as their fight," they noted.

A team of YSAers will be traveling through Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and Iowa the last two weeks in August to build

the September 4 international rally in Des Moines in defense of Curtis.

"Everything we do is to carry out political discussions with people," said Cacoullos. "The YSA is for radical-minded youth, fighters who can learn about the revolutionary perspective by joining the YSA and becoming part of the international struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and for national liberation and socialism."

YSA sends message of support to youth at anti-apartheid camp

The African National Congress Pioneers held their first camp August 9-15 in Morogoro, Tanzania. The Pioneers is the organization of 7 to 14 year olds involved in the struggle against apartheid. The Young Socialist Alliance sent the camp 500 balloons with "ANC Pioneers First Camp" inscribed on them and the following message of congratulations from YSA National Chairperson Rena Cacoullos.

We wish you success and congratulate you on your first camp. Receive greetings from revolutionary youth in the United States who fight with the rest of the world to isolate apartheid. The struggle of the people of South Africa for a democratic and nonracial homeland and the people of Namibia for independence make the end of the hated racist apartheid regime certain.

As young workers and students in the United States, we reaffirm our determination to break all U.S. ties with apartheid and to end U.S. aggression against free Nicaragua.

Long live the ANC!
Free Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners!

Boycott South Africa, aid Nicaragua!
In Solidarity,

Rena Cacoullos
National Chairperson,
Young Socialist Alliance

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Socialist Workers Party holds convention

Delegates discuss new openings for building international communist movement

BY SUSAN LaMONT

OBERLIN, Ohio — The growing importance of, and possibilities for, building an international communist leadership capable of meeting the challenges workers and farmers in every country will face as the world economic and social crisis deepens was the central theme of the 34th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The convention met here August 6-11. An International Educational and Active Workers Conference was held in conjunction with the convention. *Militant* coeditor Margaret Jayko and SWP leader member James Harris welcomed participants — who came from around the world — to the convention and conference. This year's gathering, Jayko explained, was different from any previous SWP convention or conference. "This week will not only be international in its participation and in what we talk about. It is also based on common international political work and discussions leading up to the convention."

The Draft Political Resolution and Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, presented by the SWP National Committee for a vote at the convention, were the framework for the six days of discussion and classes, Jayko explained.

She noted that this was the first convention to take place after the victory of the SWP's historic lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption. "This is an international victory as well," she noted. "Every blow against the political police here is a victory for workers everywhere."

Introduced, to a thunderous standing ovation, were Héctor Marroquín and Mark Curtis. Marroquín is a Mexican-born SWP leader who is waging a fight to win permanent residency in the United States. Curtis, also a member of the SWP, is a unionist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is being framed up by the cops there for his political activities and views.

International participation

In all, more than 1,100 workers, farmers, students, and other political activists and fighters — one-third of them under 30 years of age — attended the week's events.

Participating in the discussions and decision-making at the convention were 65 regular delegates elected by 32 branches of the SWP from throughout the United States. A big majority of these delegates were members of industrial unions.

There were also fraternal delegates to the convention from the United States and seven other countries where there are groups or individuals who distribute *Pathfinder* literature and regularly sell the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New Internationalist*, and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

The Communist League of Britain brought 69 members and supporters to the conference, and the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, 81. The Socialist Action League of New Zealand brought 35 participants, an accomplishment that re-

quired large-scale, collective fund-raising efforts to cover the enormous transportation costs from the South Pacific to Ohio. Eleven participants came from Sweden, 10 from Australia, 5 from Iceland, and 2 from France.

Many of these international participants were also industrial workers, including rail workers and a coal miner from Britain; steel and rail workers from Sweden; meat workers from New Zealand; a shipyard worker from Iceland; garment and steelworkers from Canada; and an auto worker from France.

International guests

International guests from South Africa, Nicaragua, Grenada, the Dominican Republic, and Burkina Faso attended the convention.

Activists from Puerto Rico, West Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece, India, and Argentina also took part in the week's activities.

An international team of translators made sure that conference participants who spoke Spanish and French had simultaneous translation available for all the convention sessions, classes, workshops, and special events.

In the months leading up to the convention, SWP branches organized discussions of the Draft Political Resolution and Action Program. A bulletin was open for all SWP members to present written contributions as well. At the conclusion of the discussions in the branches, delegates were elected to the convention.

The Draft Political Resolution explains why the October 1987 stock market crash is a signal that a world depression is on the way. With it will come a deep-going social crisis and gigantic class conflicts, that will pose — for the first time since the 1930s — the possibility for the working class to lead a revolution that can put an end to the entire system of imperialist domination, which oppresses and exploits the world's toilers.

The resolution describes the evolution of world capitalism since World War II, and the inevitable consequences of the falling rate of profit inherent in capitalism. "Today's deepening international capitalist crisis is part of a broader decline: the fall of the world's final capitalist empire — that of finance capital, whose dominant power is U.S. imperialism," the resolution states.

"More than at any time in human history, the world is a single world, interconnected, deeply interdependent, in which what happens in one place rapidly effects developments elsewhere. It is this world, and its different components, which in its totality will feel the effects of the crisis," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, in presenting the first report on the resolution to the convention. "It's a time when the construction of a revolutionary party, when the ability of revolutionary leaders like Fidel Castro to stand up and say the simple communist truth, has great importance."

Noting that the convention was meeting on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the SWP, Barnes contrasted the situation today with that of 1938, when fascism had triumphed in Germany and Italy and World War II had become inevitable.

World War II was not the capitalists' "solution" to getting out of the depression of the 1930s, Barnes explained. It was the price paid for the failure of the leadership of the working class to chart a revolutionary course that could defeat fascism and overthrow capitalism. Instead, the workers were defeated. This opened up the carnage of the war.

In the class battles that will arise out of the coming world depression, the working class will again have their chance to overthrow the exploiters, Barnes continued.

One condition that must be met for the workers to be victorious, he explained, is the existence of a genuine workers party, trained in combat, that has earned the growing respect of layers of workers through experience, that is willing to take the lead in a revolutionary struggle.

Centrality of Cuba

SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters delivered a report on the renewal of communist leadership.

Unlike 50 years ago, Waters explained, "the road to the resolution of the crisis of leadership of the world working class has been opened. That historic watershed was crossed 30 years ago this January, with the victory of the revolutionary forces in Cuba, under the leadership of Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement."

The advances of the socialist revolution in Cuba and the role Cuba plays as a world power, standing toe to toe against the U.S. empire, are made possible by the communist leadership of that revolution, Waters explained.

"In today's world, no country — and especially no revolutionary power — stands alone," Waters said. "Cuba's fate, like Nicaragua's fate today, and El Salvador's or another country's tomorrow, has been and remains inseparable from the ebbs and flows of the struggles of the working people in the rest of our Americas, and that includes right here within the United States."

"Qualitative new advances are being registered in Cuba today," she stressed, "in what is known as the rectification process. They are based on the revolutionary mass mobilization and organization of the Cuban working people, being led by the Cuban Communist Party." This party, Waters said, "is leading the working people to take the administration of major sectors of the economy and state apparatus into their own hands, giving them the confidence to do that: to take the administration out of the hands of the specialists — the people who Fidel repeatedly and frequently refers to as the technocrats, the bureaucrats, the witch doctors — and to make it their own."

Cuba's proletarian internationalism,

especially the role of its internationalist volunteers in fighting the apartheid regime in southern Africa, has transformed Cuba as well as Angola, Waters said. She explained that the entire leadership of the Union of Young Communists has volunteered for duty in Angola.

Class struggle in U.S.

SWP leader James Warren presented a report on the class struggle in the United States today.

Beginning in the mid-1970s and lasting until 1986, Warren explained, the capitalist ruling families carried out an offensive against the working class and farmers that resulted in a rout for working people. Wages were lowered, benefits slashed, living conditions worsened, and unions declined. "All this, for the most part, was accomplished without any semblance of serious resistance to what the employers were attempting to impose — and succeeded in imposing — on us," he explained.

The only exception was the United Mine Workers of America, where earlier gains in winning union democracy helped enable the ranks to hold off the employers in strikes in 1977-78 and 1981 and during the 1984 contract negotiations.

At the same time, the Democrats and Republicans, increasingly united on domestic as well as foreign policy, shifted further and further to the right, attacking social legislation that benefited workers, especially the poorest, and increasing the wealth of the rich, Warren explained.

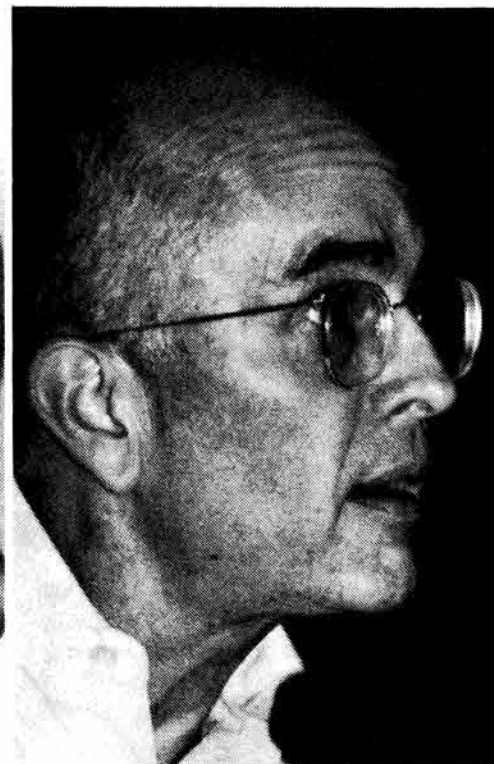
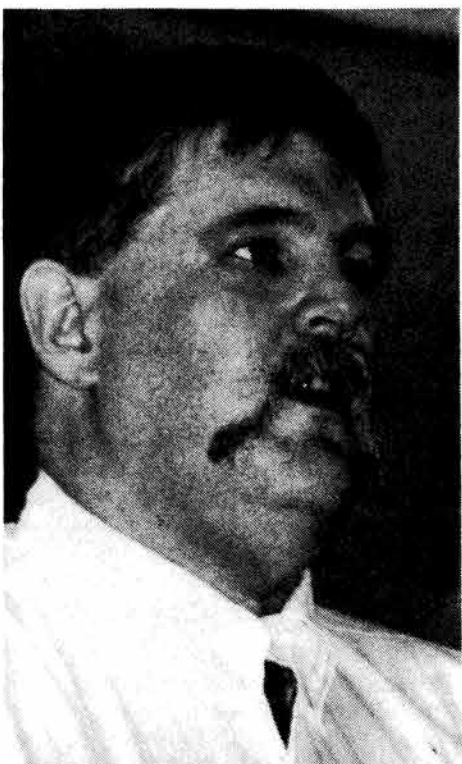
The "creeping social crisis" referred to in the SWP's Action Program describes the reality of pauperization for growing layers of the working class, Warren said. "These are the layers that work for minimum wage. They are the working homeless. They are the ones without health care, which is reflected in the rise in infant mortality."

The crisis for these layers, Warren said "is a preview of the generalized social crisis working people in this country and throughout the world have in our future."

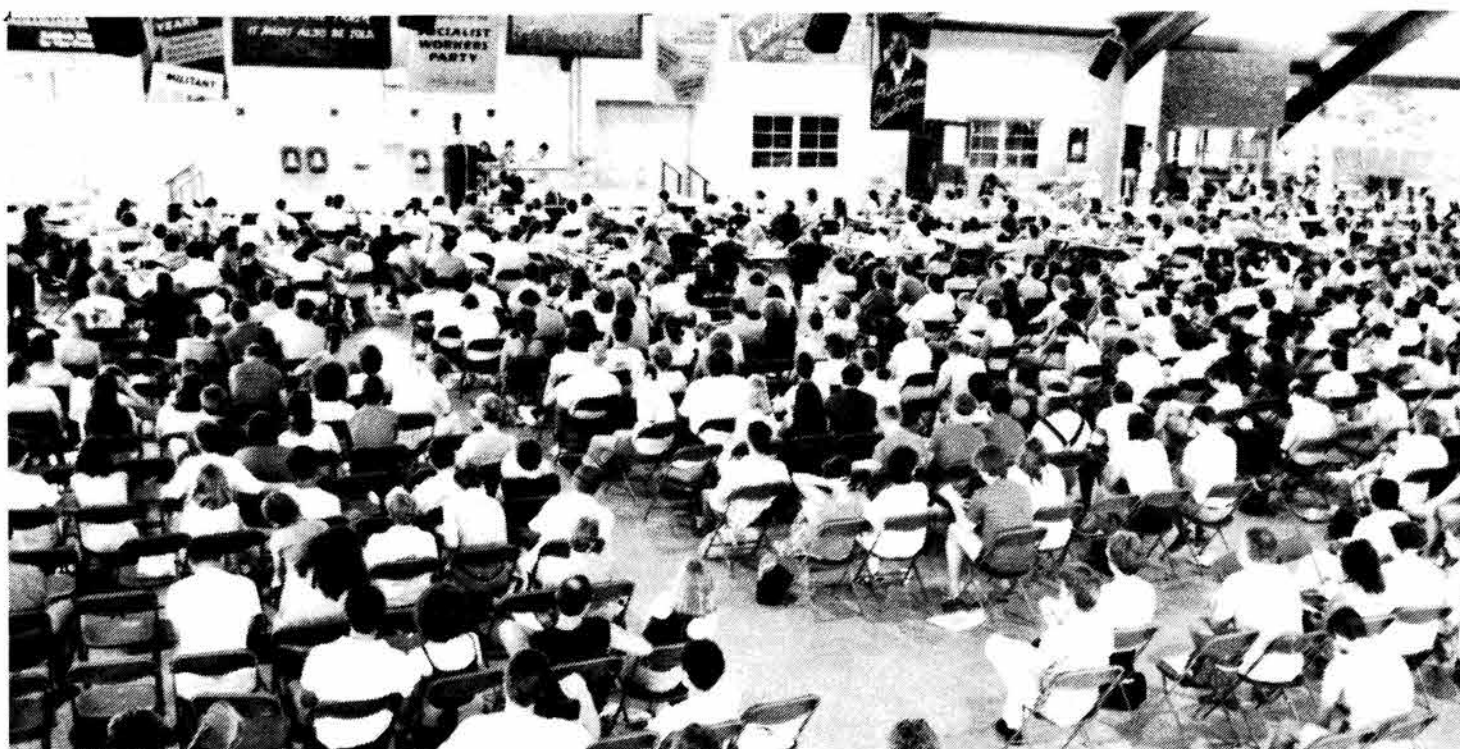
By 1986 the rout was broken, Warren explained. The employers have run up against the limits of their ability to gain significant further ground against the workers by using the same methods they have employed for more than a decade. This means that as the economic crisis deepens, the employers will turn to rougher methods against the workers, including armed violence, rightist gangs, frame-ups, and more.

Today, union struggles are limited and isolated. While such struggles can't transform the objective situation, Warren said, they can transform the individual workers involved, and help them make the leap from being individual fighters to becoming class-struggle fighters.

Craig Gannon, the SWP's organization secretary, gave the final report of the convention, on the perspectives for party-



Socialist Workers Party leaders Craig Gannon (left), Mary-Alice Waters, Jack Barnes, and James Warren gave main reports on draft political resolution to convention.



Militant/Robert Kopec

More than 1,100 delegates and observers from United States and around the world attended convention.

building today.

The report presented six points that summarize and provide a framework for party-building activities for all small communist organizations under today's conditions, including for the SWP.

"We are looking toward the big class battles that will come out of the economic crisis," Gannon said. "There's nothing automatic about the construction of communist organizations. But without such organizations, mass communist workers parties cannot be built when conditions do change. We have to prepare now, by building parties of worker-Bolsheviks, of Marxists, who — like Lenin — have a 'nose for power.'"

The foundation for building communist organizations, Gannon stressed, is for the big majority of party members to be part of the industrial working class and its trade unions. "The rulers' offensive will cause changes in the unions," he explained. "Our turn to industry means being in the unions now. Organizations that aren't part of the industrial working class will be shattered by the revolutionary developments to come."

The second point is to build the party as a politically centralized organization, with cohesive national fractions in industrial unions, and well-rounded party branches in as many cities and towns as possible. From this base, a party of communist workers can reach out to broader layers of the working class, to farmers, and other social layers.

Circulation drive

Another point Gannon outlined is organizing the work of the party on a regular, weekly basis. Working-class political life has a weekly rhythm that flows from the way the capitalists organize production. This in turn poses the need for a weekly — as opposed to biweekly or monthly — rhythm for communist political work. "This means," Gannon said, "weekly branch meetings, weekly public forums, weekly fraction meetings of members in industry, and weekly sales of the *Militant* at plant gates."

His report proposed two related campaigns. The first is a 10-week international drive to win 10,000 new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New Internationalist*, and *Nouvelle Internationale*, starting September 9.

A second international effort, to sell more than 20,000 copies of the Socialist Workers Party's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, will take place at the same time.

Gannon urged regularizing weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* by all members at plant and factory gates, mine portals, and rail yards.

Continuing to expand the international circulation of Pathfinder books and pamphlets is another task, Gannon said. "We're just beginning to see the possibilities, obligations, and opportunities Pathfinder has."

There are now 40 Pathfinder bookstores in six countries, he explained. No matter what their size, or how long they've been in operation, their purpose is the same — not to be the "radical" bookstore in a particular city, but to be political centers for the distribution of communist literature,

and for the education and recruitment of members of the communist movement.

Winning youth

"We make a priority of influencing, educating, and recruiting young workers," Gannon explained. "That's the future, and more and more the present. It's the young workers and students who are attracted to our ideas and what we're doing who we're trying to reach with communist propaganda. That's because they're the ones who are going to respond decisively to the class battles that lie ahead, to the explosions."

"For the Socialist Workers Party, this means strengthening our collaboration with the Young Socialist Alliance. We must help the YSA win new members, integrate them into our common movement, and then recruit them to the SWP," he said.

Gannon said that building communist organizations today can only be accomplished as part of a collective, international effort. The goal is to advance the construction of a world communist organization.

"For us, the acid test of those claiming to be communists today — as it has been for the last 30 years since the triumph of the Cuban revolution — is their capacity to recognize the significance and place of the revolutionary leadership in Cuba, and to act on that understanding," Gannon said. "If you fail that test, you condemn yourself to permanently engaging in small-group politics."

"We seek to deepen our collaboration in whatever way possible with all those communists who have been forged in different political experiences than our own," Gannon stressed. "There is no single organized structure that currently embraces revolutionary organizations, movements, and nuclei — all at different stages of development — around the world. They confront different objective situations and tasks. But the rebuilding of such a revolutionary international remains a political orientation today."

The SWP, as an organization functioning in the world's largest and dominant imperialist country, Gannon explained, needs above all to be part of an international communist movement.

There was unanimous agreement by the regular and fraternal delegates with these party-building perspectives. The Draft Political Resolution, Action Program, and the three other political reports were also adopted unanimously.

The final job of the convention was to elect a new SWP National Committee, the highest decision-making body of the party between conventions. The new national committee included some young party leaders, marking a step forward in the development of a new generation of leadership.

Classes, workshops

In addition to nonstop informal political discussions that took place over meals and after convention sessions, the conference included several classes.

A discussion in Spanish on the SWP's Action Program was also organized, led by Carlos Hernández from Oakland, California. Hernández was a leader of the 1985-

87 Watsonville, California, cannery workers' strike.

One evening, four international workshops were held in which conference participants had the opportunity to share experiences. The topics covered were the international circulation drive for the revolutionary press; organizing and improving Pathfinder bookstores; lessons from Pathfinder book launchings; and sales of the revolutionary press at plant gates. Meetings of SWP members working in industrial unions were also held.

A special "South Africa Night" was held on August 9. Doreen Wepler, a London rail worker and an active member of Rail Against Apartheid, chaired the event. Last December Wepler participated in an ANC-sponsored international conference against apartheid held in Arusha, Tanzania.

Neo Mnumzana, chief representative of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations, was the featured speaker. The ANC leader's talk discussed the liberation movement's gains in southern Africa as part of the victories working people are winning worldwide — from the uprising of the Palestinian people, to the defeat of the contras by the Nicaraguan people; from the rectification process in Cuba, to the defeat of Washington's effort to overthrow the government in Panama.

Referring to the current negotiations between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa to phase out South Africa's presence from southern Angola and Namibia, Mnumzana said, "What is clearly happening is that South Africa is being forced to swallow a dinner that they would rather be spewing out. That is a victory for us." He explained that South Africa was forced to the negotiating table by the combined pressure of the

Namibian people's struggle against the illegal occupation of their country by the apartheid regime; the Angolan army, backed up by Cuban internationalist volunteer troops; the deepening struggle against apartheid, led by the ANC, inside and outside South Africa; and the growing opposition of white South African youth to serving in the apartheid regime's army.

Referring to the recent decisive defeat of South Africa's army at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, Mnumzana said, "For 13 years, the Pretoria racist regime has forced the People's Republic of Angola to stay on a war footing. You can't force a person to fight for 13 years without teaching them how to fight, without making them good fighters. This wasn't the intention on Pretoria's part, but it has succeeded in transforming the popular forces into one of the most formidable military machines. And today that translates into the beatings that the South Africa Defense Forces are beginning to take at the hands of the popular forces, supported by Cuban internationalist troops. For us it is a victory, and I'm glad that you are celebrating it."

Rena Cacoullos, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, proposed sending a message from the convention and conference to the Palestine Liberation Organization, saluting "the heroic Palestinian youth who have been waging the most sustained uprising against the Israeli regime since the colonial-settler state was formed on the stolen territory of historic Palestine."

"In politically preparing ourselves and other working people for the struggles ahead, solidarity with the people of Palestine and their leadership, the Palestine Liberation Organization, will occupy an increasingly important place."

Another message was sent to Peter Mahlangu of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, in Toronto. Mahlangu was prevented by illness from attending the conference.

New members

During the course of the week, many supporters of the SWP and YSA decided to become members. This was due, in part, to the efforts of the "Join the Communist Movement" committee, which organized a special series of political presentations for people new to the revolutionary movement, and held individual discussions with those interested in joining the SWP or YSA.

By the end of the conference, there were 29 new provisional members of the SWP in 15 branches, and 12 new members of the YSA.

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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Spirited gala cheers Pathfinder mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

OBERLIN, Ohio — "This gathering is a celebration of the creation of a six-story-high promotional mural on the side of the building occupied by the Pathfinder publishing house in New York City."

That is how Andrea Morell, a spokesperson for Pathfinder, opened a gathering of 1,000 people from across the United States and many other countries celebrating the project here August 7. Morell chaired the event, which included greetings from supporters of the mural and performances by prominent artists.

The mural depicts the role of Pathfinder in making the ideas and experiences of revolutionary leaders, past and present, available to working people around the world. Producing the mural, Morell explained, is "a bold political move. The mural will stand over 67 feet tall and 87 feet wide, and be visible from quite a distance away."

"Our decision to carry out this undertaking," she said, "is rooted in our confidence in the political process going on among a vanguard of working-class fighters worldwide. In recent years this has resulted in an expansion of interest in Pathfinder and our books and pamphlets."

Morell cited the example of meetings held within the last year in nine countries to launch *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, a collection of writings of the Marxist revolutionary leader.

In this context, she said, the decision was made "to create the largest possible advertisement for Pathfinder through an artistic medium, a mural."

Sam Manuel, director of the Pathfinder Mural Project, narrated a slide show presentation on the Pathfinder Building and the progress of the mural.

He invited everyone present to come to New York later in the year, when the mural is scheduled to be completed. A celebration will be held on the street outside the Pathfinder Building.

Nicaraguan leader welcomed

When Noel Corea, secretary for international relations of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC) of Nicaragua, rose to speak, he was greeted by a standing ovation and enthusiastic chants in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution. He brought greetings from Arnoldo Guillén and Carlos Montenegro, two Nicaraguan artists who have helped paint and publicize the mural.

Guillén painted the figure of Augusto César Sandino and, in collaboration with other Nicaraguan artists, the image of Carlos Fonseca. Montenegro painted the figures of the six generals who fought under Sandino's command against the U.S. military occupation of Nicaragua in the 1920s and '30s.

Their activities, he said, "are just the beginning of the work that we hope to be doing with Pathfinder in the months to come."

Corea continued: "Just think! Mr. Reagan said he was tremendously afraid of Sandinistas coming to Harlingen, Texas, within a matter of hours. Imagine if he comes through New York and finds that the whole general staff of General Sandino is right there in Manhattan!"

Artists who support the mural project performed during the course of the event. Exiled South African Dennis Brutus read several of his poems. The Brazilian-born jazz composer, musician, and bandleader Gaudencio Thiago de Mello and members of his group, Amazon, along with a few other musicians, played several numbers. The Sechaba Singers, sponsored by the African National Congress, sang songs in Zulu and Xhosa — two of the indigenous languages of South African Blacks — and performed dances inspired by the struggle against apartheid.

Madeline Arterberg, a supporter of the mural project from its beginning, voiced strong backing for the project in greetings from Ventana. She described Ventana as an organization of "cultural workers in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution, in particular with our fellow artists." Ventana sponsors the production of murals in Nicaragua, and other cultural exchanges with the people of that country.

Ventana is the Spanish word for window, Arterberg explained. "The mural is truly a window onto the past, present, and



Gaudencio Thiago de Mello, at left mike, performing with the Sechaba Singers at celebration.

future of the international working class and its leaders, who struggle worldwide so that this window to a better life can be opened wide."

In presenting the slide show, Manuel explained that the mural project was first proposed to Pathfinder by Mike Alewitz, who had experience in creating murals with political themes in Nicaragua, in support of

striking meat-packers in Austin, Minnesota, and elsewhere.

"Alewitz," Manuel said, "outlined a proposal for painting a mural on the south side of the building that would highlight some of the authors that Pathfinder publishes and graphically demonstrate the process of producing the books and pamphlets that takes place inside the building." Since

Pathfinder decided to undertake the ambitious project Alewitz prepared the basic design and also has painted many parts of the mural.

The mural now includes portraits or portraits-in-progress of Sandino, Fonseca, Mother Jones, Thomas Sankara, Nelson Mandela, and Maurice Bishop.

Others whose works are published by Pathfinder and whose portraits remain to be painted include Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Malcolm X, and the team of leaders of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin who served on the Executive Committee of the Communist International in its first years.

'World without frontiers'

Along the bottom of the mural, Manuel pointed out, is the image of coal miners and other workers carrying banners proclaiming, "For a world without frontiers" in English, French, and Spanish.

The slides marked stages in the development of the mural. Many showed artists at work on portraits, painting the image of the printing press, which forms the centerpiece, or painting other parts of the mural.

Manuel cited the contributions of dozens of artists and hundreds of others to create and publicize the project. He described the continuing efforts to raise the tens of thousands of dollars needed to complete it. Many participating artists were present. They received an ovation

Continued on Page 13

Greetings to SWP convention

Reprinted below are excerpts from some of the greetings to the 34th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, which took place in Oberlin, Ohio, August 6-11.

Carlos Gallisá
General secretary, Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

From the information you've provided me on the activities that will take place during this time, it's clear this will be an important political and educational event.

The dates of the SWP convention and the discussion in the United Nations on Puerto Rico's colonial status coincide, which means I will have to be in New York during this time and will be unable to come to the convention.

Please excuse my absence at such an outstanding activity and extend fraternal greetings on behalf of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to the leaders of the SWP, as well as all the participants at the 34th convention.

Don Rojas
Member, Executive Committee of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada.

The internationalism of the SWP is one of your greatest strengths. It has helped you stand up to the blows from the ruling class. I can assure you that internationalism will continue to fortify you.

The first Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement convention was held [last May] on the fourth anniversary of the launching of our party and on the 44th birthday of Maurice Bishop. Our convention succeeded in reinforcing the magnificent legacy of comrade Maurice Bishop and of the Grenada revolution and now we have a stronger momentum going for us. We are better prepared to take up the historical tasks of liberating Grenada from neo-colonialism and putting it back on the path of revolutionary development and social progress.

This indeed was a victory for us, a victory for our party, a victory for our people, a victory for the masses of the Caribbean. But it was also your victory. It was also a victory for the workers and farmers of the

United States, the workers and farmers of the industrialized capitalist nations, the toilers and the oppressed and exploited of the so-called Third World.

Esteban Díaz Jáquez and José González Espinosa
General secretary and president, Dominican Workers Party (PTD).

The PTD extends its warmest greetings to the 34th convention of the SWP of the United States and wishes you the greatest success in your deliberations.

We are hopeful that the debates and resolutions of the 34th convention will contribute to the development of revolutionary work in the United States and to the unity of the working class of your country with the exploited and oppressed workers of all the Third World.

Mily Pérez
International Relations Department, Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.

For us, our participation has a special meaning because of the large number of Dominican workers that suffer and struggle side by side with North American workers in U.S. factories. For this reason, the indissoluble link that unites the workers of the world is accentuated in our case, making class solidarity more than simply important or necessary, but inevitable.

At this conference we have been able to confirm the spirit of struggle and solidarity of the membership of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the other organizations that are represented here.

We have been able to share with dozens of workers and internationalist fighters and we have felt the warmth of their solidarity with the struggle of our people.

When we return to our country, we will

Julio López Campos

Head of Department of International Relations, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua.

On the occasion of the 34th convention of the Socialist Workers Party, we extend the congratulations of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and we wish you success in your work and deliberations.

We trust this convention will contribute to the strengthening of the SWP and we're sure that the bonds of solidarity between the peoples of the United States and Nicaragua will be reaffirmed.

The FSLN and the Nicaraguan people will continue to struggle — for respect for and compliance with the Esquipulas II and Sapoá accords, because these are fitting mechanisms to achieve peace. And we will continue to fight on every battlefield until the immoral and unjust war that U.S. imperialism has imposed on us is totally defeated.

Let's struggle together so that the cause of solidarity and peace triumphs over the Reagan administration's policy of war and death.

let our people know that in the United States the North American workers struggle against our enemy, Yankee imperialism; and that the same thing is happening in imperialist countries like Canada, England, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, etc., as we have been able to see here.

Without a doubt, imperialism is surrounded by the peoples in struggle. And just as it was defeated in Cuba and Nicaragua, it will be defeated in El Salvador, Haiti, Panama, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Palestine, and in our country, the Dominican Republic, going from defeat to defeat, advancing toward its definitive liquidation.

Fidel Castro: 'Cuba will never adopt methods of capitalism'

Introduction

This month's *International Socialist Review* features the July 26, 1988, speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro in Santiago, Cuba.

We are printing major portions from the speech, focusing on Cuba's rectification process and the role of Cuban troops in the historic victory won this spring in southern Angola against invading troops of the South African apartheid regime.

In the opening of his speech, not reprinted here, Castro reviews the accomplishments of the working people of Santiago Province in advancing industrial and agricultural development, education, and health care. The province is one of the most working-class regions of Cuba and also an area with a very large number of Cubans of African descent.

As Castro notes, it was in Santiago that the revolutionary movement he helped found launched the July 26, 1953, assault on the Moncada Garrison, which opened the battle to bring down the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. In 1956, following his release from prison, Castro and a small number of other revolutionaries landed in Santiago Province on the boat the *Granma* and established their guerrilla front in the Sierra Maestra mountains.

Throughout the revolutionary war that followed, the working people of Santiago Province played a leading role in waging strikes, holding demonstrations, and launching other struggles in support of the July 26 Movement, as the forces led by Castro became known.

Santiaguans have also been in the vanguard in promoting the rectification process, Castro explains in the speech. Rectification is how the Cubans refer to the political campaign led by the Cuban Communist Party (CP) to uproot the bureaucracy, inefficiency, corruption, and privilege that had begun to infect the revolution in the 1970s.

As Castro has explained in earlier speeches, the Cuban revolution began to go off course when it increasingly counted on the blind functioning of economic mechanisms and plans to build socialism, rather than political mobilization and deepening the communist consciousness of the working class. Productivity and work quality began to decline; construction projects were started but never finished; the voluntary work brigades that characterized the early years of the revolution were abandoned. A social layer of administrators and functionaries grew up who began to act like capitalists. They counterposed their individual well-being to the social needs of Cuban working people as a whole and believed the only way to motivate workers was by showering them with unearned bonuses and special privileges.

In the speech below, Castro sharply assails those in Cuba who favor use of capitalist mechanisms — which appeal to workers on the basis of material self-interest — instead of the communist leadership methods being applied today through rectification. He points to the achievements of the volunteer work brigades, which have been revived and are shaking up all of Cuban society with a whirlwind of construction of child-care centers, clinics, roads, bridges, and housing.

The rectification process was launched out of the 1986 Third Congress of the Cuban CP. Several 1988 meetings mentioned by Castro below have shown the progress registered since then, including the July 6–7 convention of the National Union of Construction Workers; a July 7–8 meeting of the administrators, union leaders, and party and youth representatives from Havana factories and offices (called "enterprises"); and the July 14–15 meeting of the Central Committee of the Cuban CP.

In the final portion of the speech, Castro describes the momentous decisions made by the Cuban government early this year when a South African offensive directed at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, threatened a major defeat for troops of the Angolan government. The Cuban leadership not only sent thousands of soldiers to reinforce the Cuban troops already fighting in Angola, but reduced Cuba's



Cuban President Fidel Castro (above) and part of crowd at July 26 rally in Santiago, Cuba. Castro centered his speech on rectification process and Cuba's decisive role in recent victory over South African troops in Angola.

Photos by David Deutschmann

own anti-aircraft defenses by shipping its most modern weapons to Angola where they remain to this day. Cuban and Angolan troops, together with Southwest Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) forces, inflicted a stunning defeat on the apartheid army, reversing the relationship of forces throughout southern Africa. This would have been impossible without Cuba's role.

Shortly before July 26, a three-part TV documentary with footage of the combat in Angola was shown in Cuba. It was so popular that it was rebroadcast twice.

The documentary included several clips of Castro himself, in which he explained that "Africa's history will have one very important moment: before Cuito Cuanavale and after Cuito Cuanavale, because powerful South Africa . . . clashed against a small piece of territory defended by Blacks and mulattos — I call all Cubans mulattos — from Angola and the Caribbean."

The translation below is taken from the text published in the Aug. 7, 1988, English-language *Granma Weekly Review*. Readers interested in obtaining that issue with the full text of Castro's speech can write to *Granma Weekly Review*, Apartado postal 6260, La Habana 6, Cuba C.P. 10699.

Fidel Castro

Everywhere, and even being aware of the fact that perhaps we are simply beginning, the first fruits of the rectification of errors and negative tendencies policy are being seen. We were able to appreciate it at the construction workers' congress recently held in Havana. There was a marked change in the construction workers' mentality and spirit. We already know that a construction project can't be prolonged indefinitely, we already know that when a project is started it must be finished. San-

tiaguans have given us a good lesson on this.

I was able to see that spirit at the Havana and City of Havana provinces enterprise meeting, attended by more than 1,000 enterprises. There were notable changes in two years: from a situation in which there was no control whatsoever, distorted salaries, chaos, to a situation in which concepts of accounting, of cost, of efficiency are starting to appear.

Those of us who have had the privilege of participating in all three meetings — the first, two years ago; the second, a year ago; and the third, recently — have been able to see the profound changes that have taken place in the mentality of cadres. Certain really new, necessary, essential ideas are making headway: the need to apply scientific techniques in the organization and management of enterprises, broadly defined jobs, an appropriate concept of seniority and that years of service are not an essential element to assign a post, but that the essential element is qualification, and that the years of service should be taken into account when two workers have the same qualifications.

Socialism everywhere, and in our country as well, with excessive paternalism inherited from the old concepts and clashes between workers and capitalists, led to a number of soft standards and a series of concessions that became real obstacles for the development of the productive forces.

Recently, we saw an outstanding example of what applying the concept of broadly defined jobs means when we opened the country's largest thermoelectric plant in Matanzas Province, with a 300,000-kilowatt capacity: according to traditional standards, 531 workers were supposedly needed there, and applying this concept, the plant is working with less than 249 workers. The payroll was cut down to less than half. Imagine how much we save in transportation, in dining rooms, in everything, even in offices, because the big office that was planned

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

for the plant according to the old concept is being used as an engineering faculty for 200 students. Imagine the size of the office! And there is still enough room for the office workers that were to work there.

But it isn't only a matter of cutting down on the number of office workers, but of workers in the productive units. There is an enormous potential to raise the level of efficiency and productivity in our factories, and this must not only be applied to material production centers, but to service centers as well.

These ideas that are gaining force are really promising where efficient and highly productive work is concerned.

We don't want anyone jobless on the street, and the day we work well, with efficiency, and there is a surplus labor force, the solution lies in reducing the number of working hours. But beware of thinking about this for the time being, don't even dream of it! On the contrary, now is when we have to work the most.

What did we tell the construction workers who are going to build the Baconao dam? That they would have to work day and night, in two 12-hour shifts.

What did we tell the workers who are going to build the overpass? And I forgot to mention the project that we're also going to speed up to connect the new airport with important areas of the city. I have also failed to mention that construction feat, which is Santiago de Cuba's new airport, a sort of aircraft carrier along the entire coast; they are filling in the cliff that was there to make an international airport with a four-kilometer-long runway. Well, the overpass is already being built — construction was going on at a slow pace because they needed some equipment, but that was solved — Santiago de Cuba's overpass. What did we tell those comrades? Organize a contingent and work day and night, like those who built the stone road for the oil industry in Cárdenas Bay, or better yet, like those who have just built the 20-kilometer-long stone road from Turiguanó to Cayo Coco, in Ciego de Avila, in only 15 or 16 months, a handful of workers. And they have joined the coast, through shallow waters, with an island that has great possibilities for tourism, located more than 20 kilometers away from the coast. Quietly, silently, they started in March and today we received the news sent by the construction workers saying that either yesterday or today, I'm not sure when, they had joined the mainland with Cayo Coco in tribute to the 26th of July. [Applause]

'We must work hard'

Now we tell everyone: we must work hard, we must make good use of those machines. If a bulldozer costs \$100,000, there's not much point in using it five or six hours. If it costs \$100,000, we must have it working 15 or 20 hours every day, and the bulldozer won't have any problems if it is handled properly and given good upkeep.

We told the comrades: we don't have many bulldozers or loaders, we must get the most from that equipment.

"We don't impose anything on workers, we persuade workers. Issuing orders is easy, what's difficult is to do things with intelligent, political methods . . ."

The people who will build highways for the city, aqueducts for the city, agricultural projects for the city are being told: you must work hard and work a lot.

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the Third World countries is that they long for the level of consumption of the developed capitalist countries, working seven, six, or five hours. It is a dream, an illusion. If we want a lot of material well-being, the degree we need and want, we must work and work hard, we must increase labor productivity, we must make rational use of all human and material resources. There is no other way.

In recent days I was amazed to read some news reports that in Japan, the capitalist country that has advanced most in the last while, the most industrialized capitalist country which has surpassed the United States and the EEC [European Economic Community], and other mighty industrial sectors in the world, I read a dispatch saying the Japanese have an average of six days' vacation a year, six days!

It's not that I'm proposing that Cubans have six days of vacation. We already have some bad habits that won't be easy to change; I'm not proposing so much. I'm proposing that we work as hard as we have to on the work days of the year. [Applause] If you add up the month of vacation, the nonworking Saturday, the working Saturday which is half nonworking for some people, plus absenteeism under any pretext and narrowly defined jobs in factories, we find that people aren't actually working eight, seven and a half, or even seven hours. It is less. It would be demagogical and irresponsible to tell the people



Terry Coggan
Harvesting sugar outside Havana. Sugar cane workers have postponed their vacations this summer so as to bring in an extra large crop to boost Cuban economy.

or any citizen that a country can develop and obtain everything it needs working deficiently or working little.

Of course with those narrowly defined jobs, it is hard to find things for some people to fill eight hours. One of the main things about the process of rectification is the studies we have undertaken, the ideas being worked out for implementation in some new workplaces, since we don't want to create political problems. For if we were to apply this rigorously in all workplaces, we would have an excess of workers, and what we want to do is to use all the surplus workers in a rational and useful manner and not create traumas. For if someone is told he is not needed in his job, even if he is sent home on full salary, he'll be traumatized, and we don't want to solve problems that way. We don't want to traumatize anybody; but there are great possibilities if we are capable of implementing these principles.

'We don't impose; we persuade'

We don't impose anything on workers, we persuade workers: this is in your interest as a citizen, in the interest of your collective and of your country, of your homeland and your people. We use persuasion, not diktat. Issuing orders is easy, what's difficult is to do things with intelligent, political methods. Often this obliges us to go slowly, but it is better to go slowly because you go further than if you run and don't get very far, or get nowhere, or have to turn back.

I think very important possibilities are opening up for our country and what we are seeing here in the provinces shows it.

I mentioned the meeting of enterprises in the capital and I could also mention the meeting of the Central Committee of the party where the state agencies reported on what they were doing and the results they were getting in the process of rectification, or the last meeting of the National Assembly, where the reports from provinces were really encouraging, impressive, progress is being made.

1987 and 1988 are very difficult years, and possibly the next two or three years will be the hardest of the revolution in terms of hard currency, as we have explained, because the prices of our basic exports dropped and the currencies of countries from which we buy became more expensive. Because the drought reduced sugar output by more than a million tons, and not only have we had to reduce our sugar exports to the hard currency area, almost to zero, but also we've had to purchase a million tons of sugar a year to fulfill our commitments with the socialist countries. A million tons of sugar imported annually in these years of drought! Never before has the revolution had more problems with hard currency, never!

In other times the merchandise had other prices, and there was credit. When there was drought and problems there was always a solution to find the hard currency; now there is none, now we must virtually pay cash for everything.

We have our trade with the socialist countries, which is normal: we supply them and they supply us, but we have very serious hard currency problems. However, just see what can be done: what can be done to reduce imports and save hard currency and increase exports.

That's why at the Central Committee meeting we said that since the rains in May, June, and July have been good, we had to take advantage of the opportunity, weed all the cane, that we couldn't speak of vacations while there was unweeded cane. We have asked agricultural workers to make a special effort, especially sugarcane

growers, so that it can all be weeded in July and August. This can mean the hundreds of thousands of additional tons of sugar the country needs.

The sugar workers' response has been excellent. More than 200,000 of them are in the fields weeding the cane, amidst the rigors of summer, the sun and July and August heat. We can't live in a dream world, we can't ignore reality, and if we can obtain another 500,000 tons of sugar we can't go off to relax and have fun. That's why I said there was an excellent response everywhere.

'Why we must develop tourism'

We are doing many things, much more than what we did when the amount of imports from the capitalist countries was incomparably greater. That's why we must develop exports in every possible branch and exploit two marvelous resources of the country, the sun and the sea. That's why we must develop tourism and are making a special effort in this field.

There is as great international demand for tourist accommodations in Cuba and you know about the wonders of our coasts and nature. There is Baconao Park, for example. There you can see what's been done in a short time with limited means, and there are three international hotels in Baconao bringing in hard currency.

Some people will say: "It's too bad that I can't go to such and such hotel," but we can't have everything. We can't have waterworks, schools, hospitals, health, food, transportation, everything, and in addition enjoy all the hotels. We have no choice but to export hotel services and deprive ourselves of some hotels. Although often those hotels during part of the year when there is no international tourism, especially in the hot months, will provide service for Cubans, except in the case of joint enterprises where that would mean a loss of hard currency for the country.

I say this because there are people who react unrealistically. I have heard petty bourgeois, genuinely petty bourgeois views from people who want to have the university, hospital, school, career, job, transportation, recreation, art, culture, everything! They say: "It really bothers me that in my country I can't go to such and such a hotel," which they view as a tragedy and the fault of the revolution. We could also say, "It's too bad we can't consume all the lobster we produce!" We produce more than 10,000 tons of lobster and we must export it to rich Japanese, to rich Spaniards, to rich Canadians so they can eat lobster while we go without. It is very tasty, no one doubts that, and it is served in some restaurants.

There may be no lobster, but the price of a ton of lobster on the world market enables us to buy 20 tons of powdered milk, and with those 20 tons we produce 200,000 liters of milk and those 200,000 liters provide milk all year long for many children in the mountains, many who never had milk before, many who were formerly undernourished. [Applause] We can say there is no lobster on the Cuban menu but there are no children begging in the streets. [Applause] There is no lobster but there are no undernourished or starving children in our country. All children get a liter of milk daily, which is why we have one of the healthiest peoples in the world. [Applause]

We can indeed say, let us export our lobster to make certain that we have the milk, beans, chick-peas, and the feed we need to produce eggs, poultry and other food. Or would we rather eat our lobster and give up, fail to get more than \$100 million? Afterward we wouldn't have

spare parts for anything, raw materials for medicines, surgical equipment, x-rays, and then when the day comes that we need all this, when a member of our family needs all this, that'll be the day when we're truly sorry that we lacked the medicine, when we lack the disposable material for an operation, the day when it comes time to save his life or restore his health.

Some people still can't understand that, they can't understand we must exploit our sunshine — and even our moonlight — shining down on us today. We're not living in the North Pole or in the South Pole, we're not living in a cold country; we live in a hot country, more so here in Santiago de Cuba.

That's one asset. Others have oil and they exploit it, export it. Much of that money went to an unknown destination. Very often it was wasted, but our wealth doesn't come easy, we must work very hard to get it. It isn't easy to grow sugarcane, it isn't easy to produce sugar — luckily, we have now mechanized that process in the harvest — and we must work hard to earn our bread, to get those resources.

Exports are hard and there's tough competition also in the field of tourism. Now tourism can be a source of employment for tens of thousands of our compatriots who must all be qualified workers, who must know how to treat tourists the way they should be treated. So, we're going to develop tourism and in everything that concerns national hotels or enterprises controlled by the country, in the absence of foreign tourists, we can use these during the hot months for Cuban tourists. But, of course, it would be an illusion to imagine that we're going to have a room in a tourist resort on every beach in the country for 10 million Cubans in the months of July and August.

Being very realistic and with plenty of common sense, we're developing our camping plans, for we must turn tourism into one of the sources of foreign exchange income for the country. And I think that in this Santiagos ought to be in the forefront. The traditionally hospitable city of Santiago must occupy a prominent place in tourism. We're building new hotels in Baconao and we're also going to build new hotels over there in the west. [Applause]

Naturally, many of the good things we have for foreign tourists are also enjoyed by the population: if we build an aquarium the whole population enjoys it and so do the tourists; if we build a zoo the whole population will enjoy it and so will the tourists; if we build children's and young people's recreational centers, like those we have in Baconao, all the children enjoy them. This tourist development is also going to help the population in many things and will bring the country substantial income.

'We still have spoiled young people'

I believe this is another of the ambitious plans we must boost in the province of Santiago de Cuba. And I think that the people understand it, the proletarian understands it, the worker understands it — but the petty bourgeois doesn't understand it. And we still have spoiled young people here who have been raised in a petty bourgeois environment and as such are far removed from reality. That's the truth. [Applause]

We must continue making new efforts in this process. I was explaining how in spite of the acute shortage of foreign exchange, we are making more things than in past years and our economy is growing. The Santiago de

Cuba economy grew by more than 7 percent in this semester, and the economy of nearly all the provinces grew by 4, 5, 6 percent, in spite of all the difficulties — and growing for real, mind you, not creating phony figures. You accomplish nothing in a factory that has 90 different lines and only makes 40 and gets so many millions with just 40. What good does that do if it doesn't make the other 50? Or else, make so many millions from buildings that are never finished. What good do they do other than waste cement, fuel, materials? Our economy is growing in spite of the drought we had last year. It must keep on growing. We must really manage, in spite of all these difficulties, to do things better and increasingly solve our problems and solve them better. This is what this rectification process is all about.

It isn't just us. We all know because we read in the papers that other socialist countries are analyzing their history, their performance, their work; they're trying to overcome their difficulties. There's never been a period in history in which a social regime, a social system has in such a short time achieved such huge accomplishments as socialism has; yet there'll always be, when it comes to any human endeavor, material for criticism, for analysis and for overcoming the difficulties. A revolutionary never feels satisfied, nor can he ever feel that way; he must be eternally dissatisfied.

It was following the third congress of our party, which very realistically, clearly, and courageously analyzed our difficulties, our mistakes, and our negative tendencies, that this process of rectification began. More or less simultaneously, the same thing happened in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, without anyone having agreed to do so beforehand.

There are some people who believe that what's being done in other places is what we ought to start doing right away, and there are also some brains around — people who have no confidence in themselves, no confidence in their nation, no confidence in their people, no confidence in their revolution — who right away say we have to copy what others are doing. [Applause] That's an incorrect stand, a wrong stand, because no two revolutionary processes are the same, no two countries are the same, no two histories are the same, no two idiosyncrasies are the same. Some have certain problems, others have other problems; some make certain mistakes, others make other mistakes.

If someone has a toothache, why would he use a cure for corns? Or if his corns hurt, why must he use a cure for a toothache? That's why our measures are not the same, nor can they be the same as those used by other countries and it would be entirely wrong for us to look for the same solutions or mechanically copy the other countries' solutions.

One thing I ought to say here: that this revolution was precisely characterized by a reluctance to copy from others but instead by creativeness. [Applause] Had we been willing to follow stereotypes, we wouldn't be gathered here today, we wouldn't have had a 26th of July, we wouldn't have had a socialist revolution in this hemisphere, perhaps there wouldn't have been any yet. Had we been willing to follow stereotypes, theory had it that no revolution could have been made here; that's what theory used to say, that's what the books used to say, what the manuals used to say. Let it be well understood: that's what theory, books, manuals used to say!

Our situation wasn't worse than that of other Latin American countries. Cuba's objective economic and social conditions, however bad they were — and they were indeed bad — didn't resemble the objective conditions of other Latin American countries much worse off. And today we see that no socialist revolution has yet been made in those countries.

Nicaraguan revolution

I make one exception here — and I'm not placing it in the category of a socialist revolution but in whatever category they may wish to place it in, but I consider it a true and profound revolution — I make the exception of the Nicaraguan revolution. [Applause] It is only up to them to know how things should be done there, how problems should be tackled.

Recently, Daniel [Ortega] spoke about the essence, the character or the socialist sense of the Nicaraguan revolution and that caused a lot of noise, and he was only speaking about the essence, the character, the sense of the pro-

“There are some people who have no confidence in themselves, their nation, their people, their revolution — who right away say we have to copy what others are doing . . .”

”

cess. He didn't say it was a socialist revolution.

So, then, there's been none other in the rest of Latin America, where all the problems that I was mentioning here remain. There are some places where every year 100 children die per 1,000 live births, and in some other places the number is 150 and even 200. Infant mortality in a very few countries there is below 60. Prostitution, drugs, begging, poverty are everywhere. Rickets, malnutrition, children without schools, young people unemployed and without universities are everywhere and there's been no revolution.

The thing is that a revolution depends on many circumstances and making one is not easy in any sense.

Had we said: let's wait for a huge economic crisis to break out in Cuba, like the one under dictator Machado¹ or even worse than that one, and let starvation drive people to rise up, we would still be waiting. Yet we did draw our own conclusions starting out from the principles of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism — not from pamphlets — and we said: there are objective conditions in Cuba for a revolution, what's missing are subjective conditions. Our people have special characteristics. The subjective conditions for the revolution could be created because there were objective conditions present.

It wasn't a whim, for we were thinking about the revolution even before March 10, 1952, (the date of Batista's coup).² We would have tried to follow the revolutionary path with or without the 10th of March. I meant it because there were some of us thinking about a true revolution even before March 10, [Applause] and in a revolution with the people, in a profound revolution, in a revolution that sooner or later had to become a socialist revolution — for we couldn't conceive a different type of revolution in our country, dominated by neocolonialism, dominated by imperialism, in this country where nearly all the sugar mills, railroads, mines, ports, best lands, electricity, telephones, rubber, everything, belonged to foreigners. We were but a colony, worse than a colony!

Starting out from, I'd say, two currents of thought, starting out — to be more exact — from Marxist-Leninist thought and Martí's³ thought, starting out from a true appraisal of our people, their characteristics, their history, the objective realities that afflicted them, even if they weren't as bad as those that afflicted other countries on our continent, we arrived at the conclusion that the revolution was possible in our country, which is why our country, which was the last one — the last one! — to free itself from Spain, became the first one to free itself from U.S. imperialism in this hemisphere, the first one! And the first one to carry out a socialist revolution. [Applause]

I'd like to know what some of those second-rate copiers and imitators would have done under circumstances similar to those that existed here before July

Continued on next page



Cuban child-care center. "There are no undernourished or starving children in our country," noted Castro, because nation's resources are used for needs of working people.

Militant/Elizabeth Stone

1. Cuban dictator Gerardo Machado, overthrown by a popular upsurge in 1933.

2. On March 10, 1952, Fulgencio Batista staged a coup against the Cuban government then in power, suspended all constitutional guarantees, and established a military dictatorship.

3. José Martí, Cuban national hero and a prominent writer, launched the 1895 war for Cuba's independence from Spain and was killed in combat.



Federation of Cuban Women

Volunteer work brigade in Cuba. "If we want a lot of material well-being, we must work and work hard," Castro told July 26 rally. "There is no other way."

Continued from previous page

26. We could place them in similar circumstances from which our revolution started out and see what they'd do.

That's why I say that the first major test that showed that ours was a creative revolution is that it didn't follow stereotypes and that in constructing socialism our revolution made many contributions while remaining faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism: the principle of combining study and work, for instance, proclaimed by [Karl] Marx stemming from the history of the British working class, whose exploited children were turned into a productive force. Marx conceived the idea that under socialism study and work could and ought to be combined; and Martí, on the basis of his familiarity with our people's characteristics and reality, said the same thing. Our country was the first one in the world to massively and reasonably apply those principles and today we see the fruits in the behavior of our youth, because it isn't by chance that our new generations display the revolutionary attributes we see in them.

This principle has been applied for the past 25 years. We have already whole generations — every young person 35 years old or under has in one way or another taken part in programs combining study and work. That's why when called upon to join a particular project, or do voluntary work, they are not afraid. That was proof of our revolution's creative spirit.

The powerful mass organizations created by our revolution also attested to that creative spirit: the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women — not as a committee at the top but a grass-roots organization — were created by the revolution; and the peasant organization. I'm not talking about something that already existed like the workers organized in trade unions. No other revolution had the mass organization that our revolution had, organizations that other revolutions that came later tried to use as an experience. The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution now exist in several Third World countries that have made their own revolutions.

The manner in which an agrarian reform was carried out in our country differed from the manner in which all the other socialist countries carried it out because they all divided up the land and we didn't. Had we divided up the big cattle ranches or the sugar plantations in small lots or tiny parcels, today we wouldn't be supplying calories for 40 million people. We kept those land units intact and developed them as big production enterprises. We gave land to the peasant who was in possession of it, to sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and others. We said to them all, here you are, the land is yours, and subsequently we

haven't forced any of them to join cooperatives. The process of uniting those plots has taken us 30 years. We've gone ahead little by little on the basis of the strict principle of it being voluntary. There can't be a single peasant in Cuba who can say that he was forced to join a cooperative, there can't be any! And yet, more than two-thirds of their lands now belong to cooperatives, and all of them are making headway, they are prospering. On the other hand, 80 percent of the land in our country belongs to state farms whose self-sufficiency is collective. The cooperatives are also self-sufficient. It was a different road they took.

Our revolution — and this no one can deny — has been kept going with tremendous ideological strength because who can defend us? Were imperialism to attack us, who is there to defend the island? No one will come from abroad to defend our island; we defend the island ourselves. [Applause] It isn't that someone might not want to defend us, the thing is that no one can, because this socialist revolution is not just a few kilometers away from the Soviet Union; this socialist revolution is 10,000 kilometers away from the Soviet Union.

Were the revolutionary process in Cuba to suffer a crisis, who would save it? Will imperialism come to save the revolutionary process? Were the revolutionary process in Cuba to be weakened, who would save it?

That's why all that we do has exceptional importance. It isn't that we want to be more virtuous than anybody

else or purer than anybody else, but that we are 90 miles away from the most powerful empire on earth and 10,000 miles from the socialist camp. We are two millimeters away from the empire, right there at the Guantánamo naval base and that's why the empire is trying to weaken the revolution ideologically, that's why it is campaigning so much, making so much propaganda, to try to sow distrust, doubt, division, weaken the revolution, and swallow it like a ripe apple. They said that in centuries past and devised the theory of the ripe apple. But they haven't succeeded despite all their planning and plotting, nor will they succeed in undermining it from within.

That's why I can only feel contempt for those who allow themselves to be carried away by silly things and illusions, those with a weak heart, a weak brain, a weak will who are unable to grasp these realities.

I believe that our country has carried out an extraordinary historical feat in building socialism in the geographical conditions in which it has done so and that's why we must watch over the ideological purity of the revolution, the ideological solidity of the revolution. [Applause] That's why we can't use mechanisms, any kind of tools smacking of capitalism; this is an essential question of the revolution's survival. That's why the revolution must resolutely stick to the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and Martí's thought, stick to them rather than playing around or flirting with the things of capitalism.

We believe in socialism and do so profoundly! [Applause] Because socialism has changed our nation, socialism has changed our lives, and socialism promises to do a lot more because the fact that we can speak today about these and other things — housing, shantytowns

“The revolution must resolutely stick to the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and Martí's thought, stick to them rather than playing around or flirting with the things of capitalism . . .”

that can be demolished in no time, water, food, education and health for all, industrial and agricultural development — is because we are the owners of our country. Socialism made us the owners of our lands, our sugar mills, our factories, our mines, of everything, and that's why we can say: let's get to work, let's do this or the other, anything. Could we do this in a capitalist society or in a caricature of capitalism like this country used to be, in a Yankee neocolony?

We believe in socialism and, therefore, we must be very careful when interpreting and applying the theory; we must be very careful in every step we take. And the revolution was always like that, it is now almost 30 and it looks healthy, full of pep, strong, 90 miles from the United States. [Applause]

That's why every country on the basis of its own history, its concrete experiences, must draw up its own formulas, and we respect the formulas drawn up by each country. We have the fullest respect for them. We are glad of the efforts being made by the socialist countries to overcome their difficulties, the problems that have been created for them throughout history. Yet there are many problems that arose in the other countries that didn't arise in our country. Our problems are different, of another type, precisely because we do not copy from others, because we were creative and didn't simply copy from others.

I've on occasion even criticized our having had so much zeal for applying our own interpretations that we neglected using the positive experiences of the socialist countries. But we also occasionally copied negative experiences of the socialist countries, and that's the truth. Now we'll go on searching for our own path, our own formulas; we'll always go on paying attention to what any socialist country does that can be useful to us, and we'll go on being reluctant to abjectly copy prescriptions to remedy ills we've never been afflicted with. And, needless to say, we not only wish but need the socialist countries to succeed in their efforts to overcome their difficulties, and I trust they'll be successful, for I've never been pessimistic. I have great confidence in socialism and I believe we all do because we have proof and reasons for that confidence.

I believe that socialism has accomplished extraordinary things — what the Soviet Union did has no precedent, what the Soviet people did has no precedent, starting with the Great October Revolution; their resistance against generalized invasion by all the capitalist countries following World War I; their industrialization; their resistance against fascism; the 20 million lives they lost in saving socialism and saving humanity from fascism; a country that had hardly been constructed when it was destroyed and they rebuilt it again; a country that achieved

More speeches by Castro

The following speeches by Fidel Castro have appeared in earlier issues of the *Militant*:

1988	
'Volunteer work brigades lead revolution forward'	Jan. 29
1987	
Speech to Young Communist congress	May 29
'Socialism cannot be built without a communist party'	July 3
'Material incentives are secondary to revolutionary work'	Aug. 7
Speech on rectification in Havana Province	Oct. 16
Fidel Castro honors Che Guevara	Nov. 13
To order, send \$1 per speech to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.	



Castro and July 26 Movement fighters arrive in Havana with 1959 triumph of revolution. "Theory had it no revolution could have been made here," said Castro, "that's what the manuals used to say."

nuclear parity with imperialism, an incredible feat; a country whose spaceships are right now headed for the satellites of Mars.

We're familiar with their successes. That more can be achieved? Yes, that's true. That we must try to do better? Of course. But we do not deny nor will we ever permit others to deny the colossal successes achieved by socialism. I say this because the imperialists, on the basis of the self-criticism now going on in the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, are bent on discrediting everything that socialism has accomplished. They're trying to discredit everything that socialism has done, to detract from the

“Had we been willing to follow stereotypes, we wouldn't be gathered here today, we wouldn't have had a 26th of July, we wouldn't have had a socialist revolution in this hemisphere . . .”

historical merits of socialism and demoralize it.

If I were asked, I know the flaws that, in my opinion, it has, and some of them I have thought over many times. But it is not up to me to proclaim the problems of others because everyone has to analyze and solve their own problems. I could even say what equipment has difficulties, but I can also speak about many good and marvelous things about socialist technology and socialist equipment. Those cane harvesters, for instance, the thousands of cane harvesters we now have that are designed and manufactured with the cooperation of the Soviet Union and with which we have reduced the number of cancutters from 350,000 to 70,000. [Applause]

Of course we can make them better, and we're trying to make them better and more productive; with hydraulic and nonmechanical mechanisms, we're trying to do all that. We're already manufacturing a second-generation harvester and will later start with the third. And eventually we will have increasingly better harvesters, starting with that factory and those machines supplied to us by the Soviet Union.

Our country is producing sugar mill tandems and is manufacturing nearly 60 percent of our sugar mills in the machine plants supplied to us by the Soviet Union. Our

country here in Santiago increased the capacity of this refinery to 3.7 million tons and regenerates the fuel and lubricants with Soviet technology. It is producing lubricants, plastic grease, and naphtha and will be turning out 180,000 tons of oxide asphalt, that is, of much better quality, with which we can pave 2,000 kilometers of roads a year using socialist technology.

Next to it, in Renté, the former Renté, is the Antonio Maceo thermoelectric plant that with Soviet equipment can generate 500,000 kilowatts, in addition to the one that formerly existed and the previous expansion work. The generators are there for all to see. Thanks to them we have lights and electricity here. And not just thanks to them but also thanks to our trade on a fair basis with the Soviet Union, thanks to the oil it supplies us and that we pay for with the reasonable prices we get from for our sugar, our nickel and other products; that is to say, a trade devoid of unequal exchange. I believe that here lies a great historical merit of the Soviet Union.

We have here Cuba's largest textile mill, equipped with Soviet machines, and in Ariguanabo we have the second largest, also modernized with Soviet machines. Practically all the tractors working our lands, a large portion of our means of transportation carrying our commodities and raw materials, a big part of our construction equipment are all Soviet-made.

And our weapons are Soviet weapons, which we have used to defend our country; [Applause] and also Soviet weapons are those others — land-air missiles, anti-aircraft weapons — all effective and modern — the MIG 23s and the T-55 and T-62 tanks, with which our fighters have gloriously fulfilled their internationalist mission in Angola. [Applause]

Lined up against us are capitalist Mirages of Western origin; against us is modern military technology, but the Soviet weapons are there in the hands of our present-day *mambí* fighters,⁴ who are proving they can outperform the imperialist weapons. [Applause]

I say this, I repeat, because the imperialists are trying to reap a good harvest with this process of criticism and self-criticism now going on in the socialist countries and they are bent on sowing demoralization. Many capitalists believe that the socialist will have no choice but to adopt methods, styles, and even motivations and a certain kind of idiosyncrasy of a capitalist nature. They're indulging themselves in this kind of wishful thinking, trying to fish

4. The term *mambí* refers to Cuban fighters in the independence wars against Spain.

in troubled waters. They're even trying to blame us for the fact that we're not doing things exactly the same way that the Soviets are doing them, in order to create intrigue, to try to divide us.

Of course, it would be in their interest to pit us one against the other or drive a wedge between Cubans and Soviets. However, never before has our communication been greater, our communication with the leadership of the Soviet party is excellent, we understand each other perfectly, we speak a frank and clear language, and it has never occurred to us to think that we simply have to copy what the Soviets do. Nor has it occurred to the Soviet leadership to think that we have to copy what they're doing. That's clear.

Returning to the essential idea here: everyone must have the right to do what is convenient for them.

I am hoping that in this process the socialist countries, if they make mistakes, are capable of correcting those mis-

“Socialism can't be built without the party. Without the party, capitalism, which stands for chaos, can be built, it doesn't need anyone to organize it . . .”

takes. Because they will unquestionably make mistakes in the process. Yet I'm confident that they will try to rectify them. And that's what we said concerning what we're doing: we must be able to rectify not just the mistakes made and the negative tendencies but also rectify the mistakes we may make in the process of rectification itself!

What I can indeed tell the imperialists and the theoreticians of imperialism is that Cuba will never adopt methods, styles, philosophies or characteristics of capitalism. That I can indeed tell them! [Applause] Capitalism has had some technological successes, some successes in organizational experiences that can be used, but nothing more! Socialism and capitalism are diametrically different, by definition and by essence.

We're proud of the ideological purity, of the ideological strength of a country that has confronted imperialism. And not just confronted imperialism but a country where hundreds of thousands of its people have fulfilled internationalist missions, a country where one only has to raise his hand and if 10,000 teachers are needed for Nicaragua, all 10,000 teachers turn up to go to Nicaragua; [Applause] if doctors are needed, doctors go there; a country that when fighters were needed has always had 10 times more fighters willing to fulfill the mission than the number of fighters actually needed.

That's why today, on this 35th anniversary, one very basic idea is never to forget where we are located. We're not in the Black Sea but in the Caribbean Sea, not 90 miles from Odessa but 90 miles from Miami, with our land bordering on imperialism in an occupied portion of our territory. Our people are responsible for our country and our party is responsible for its policy, its line, its defense.

Our party is aware it can make no mistakes that will weaken it ideologically. That's why in our rectification process the role of the party is not weakened, the role of the party is made stronger; in our rectification process the role of our party becomes increasingly essential. There will be nothing to weaken the party's authority! Without the party no revolution is possible. Without the party no construction of socialism is possible!

And we must say here, once and for all, that we need just one party, in the same way that Martí needed just one party to wage the war for Cuban independence, [Applause] in the same way that Lenin needed just one party to make the October revolution. I say this to stop the wishful thinking of those who believe that we're going to start allowing pocket-size parties, to organize perhaps the counterrevolutionaries, the pro-Yankees, the bourgeoisie? No! There's only one party here, and that is the party of our proletarians, our peasants, our students, our workers, our solidly and indestructibly united people. That's the one we have and will have! [Applause] I hope that by the time we are celebrating the 70th anniversary, the 100th anniversary, history will prove and demonstrate this.

We don't need capitalist political formulas, they're just trash, they're good for nothing, what with their incessant political scheming. I was telling you here how a voting card was demanded to get medical attention; none of these phenomena exist here now. We have created our own political way to suit the country, we have not copied it, these are our own political ways to organize people's power.

As you know — because that's the practice among you — the candidates to delegates for the circumscriptions⁵

Continued on next page

5. Circumscriptions are election districts in Cuba from which delegates to local bodies of People's Power, Cuba's municipal governing assemblies, are elected.

Continued from previous page

are not proposed by the party. They are proposed by the people gathered in free assemblies in the circumscription and they select the best in their opinion. They can choose up to eight candidates and a minimum of two, and if one of them doesn't get 50 percent, a new round of voting must start. You don't have to tell me — I haven't been able to escape even once from that second round of voting in the elections in my own circumscription. We all know that and we know that the party doesn't finger anyone or propose anyone, it's the people who do it. It is those circumscription delegates who make up the Municipal Assembly, the ones who set up and constitute the provincial assemblies. Those delegates of the people, nominated by the people, and elected by the people are the ones who make up the National Assembly of People's Power. [Applause]

We have to rectify absolutely none of this. Ours is a superdemocratic system, more democratic than all the bourgeois systems of the millionaires, the plutocracy, the real rulers, generally speaking, of the capitalist countries.

We have nothing to learn from them and we will not stray one iota from this road, where power emanates from the people. And you all know how our party emerged from the people, it didn't drop from heaven, and

“All that was done in Cuito Cuanavale could never have been achieved without the reinforcements sent from Cuba. Therefore, the balance of forces changed in southern Angola, it changed in our favor . . .”

how our party members are chosen among the best in the youth and among the best workers. That was also an innovation, something absolutely new in the way of creating and expanding the party and that is very much present in the history of our party, which always subjected admission into its ranks to the will of the masses, the opinion of the masses, the support of the masses. That's why our party stands so close to the masses. [Applause]

'Not a party of privileged people'

I know that outside the party there are millions of extraordinary men and women and Communists, we're a people of revolutionaries, yet the party must be made up of a selection of them and it can't be otherwise because they must be the vanguard. And you know very well what it means to be a member of the party: he or she must be the first in everything when there's a difficult job, an internationalist mission, a sacrifice to be tackled, a risk to be taken; there the first turn, the first possibility goes to the party member. It's not a party of privileged people but a party stemming from the midst of the people, whose members must set an example. And when they don't set an example the party sees to it that they are expelled from its ranks. [Applause]

In this rectification process the party will have increasing strength because, I repeat, socialism can't be built without the party. Without the party capitalism, which stands for chaos, can be built. It doesn't need anyone to organize it, it is self-organized with all its rubbish. Socialism is not created by spontaneous generation, socialism must be built and the basic builder is the party.



Another essential point in our rectification process: we will not weaken the role of our plans or the role of our development programs. We are convinced and are very aware of the importance of planning our development, of how important our plans are; our main problem is to draw them up well. But not only that, we must avoid turning the plans into straitjackets. That's why, while we make sure that we are capable of planning well, we must also create the necessary conditions to cope with new problems, new situations, and new possibilities.

When the dengue epidemic broke out, for example, we couldn't sit and wait for the next five-year plan to come around to purchase the equipment we needed to fight the disease. But immediately, in 24 hours, over the phone, we flew it over from wherever it was. And if it wasn't available in a socialist country, we brought it over from Japan, from the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany], from wherever the equipment was to be had. The country must always have a certain amount of reserves to give a quick and immediate response to new problems and new situations. This means that we have to improve our ideas as to how to carry out our economic development; but planning and development programs are inherent to socialism, and we cannot allow these ideas to weaken. That's clear and you understand it.

We have spoken of Santiago de Cuba Province's successes and I wonder, and I ask you with all my heart, could they have been possible without the work of the party? [Exclamations of "no!"] All these hundreds of projects, the miracle that has been created, would not have been possible without the party. The administration alone, the state alone, cannot solve these problems, they cannot work these miracles, which are political miracles. And the party does not try to supplant the administration, on the contrary, it tries to strengthen it. It doesn't try to weaken the state but also strengthen it so it can fulfill its tasks. But the administration cannot carry out political tasks, it cannot mobilize and organize the masses; the state cannot carry out purely political, ideological tasks, mobilize the people, direct the mass organizations. Those tasks can only be carried out by the party.

I wonder if the tremendous success the Santiagans are so proud of today would have been possible without the party leadership; would it have been possible without Comrade Lazo's⁶ tenacious, constant, vigorous, intelligent efforts closely linked to the people? [Exclamations of: "no!" and prolonged Applause] We are aware of the role of the party and its cadres play, and how important the link between the party and the masses is, how important the link between its cadres and the masses is.

That's why after seeing all that we have seen, we have a good example. Take this mass rally for instance. Could you find anything like it anywhere else? I'm not speaking of its size, I'm mainly speaking of its attention, I'm speaking of its education, I'm speaking of its spirit, I'm speaking of its discipline. [Applause]

This is the fruit of the revolution, this is what the work of the party has reaped, despite whatever errors we may have committed, which we are honestly and bravely struggling against. Whatever our mistakes or our weaknesses may be, we'll fight tenaciously and vigorously against them.

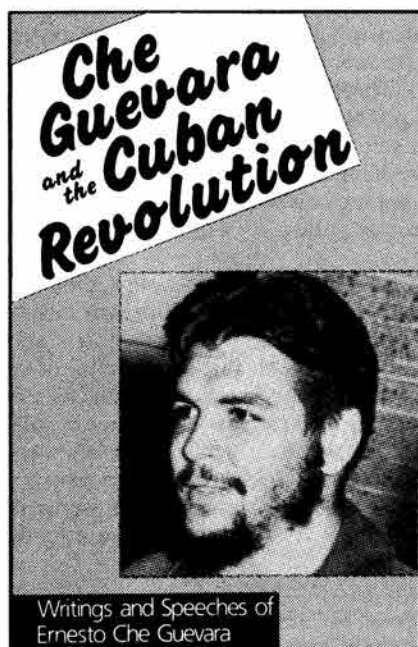
I believe that on a day like today, which I said invited us to reflect and talk about these topics, these are the most essential things that can be said.

Cuba's role in Angola

Perhaps I've left something out. It's inevitable. I realized it the day the ceremony took place in Contramaestre where I was asked about Angola, about how things were going in Angola. That's why I'm going to take up a little of your time to speak of the matter.

You will understand that I have to be very careful, that

6. Esteban Lazo Hernández is the first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party in Santiago Province and a member of the party's Political Bureau.



Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara

As part of the rectification process going on in Cuba today, Castro has urged a deeper study of Guevara's political and economic ideas. Published 20 years after his death, this selection includes articles and speeches on the Cuban revolutionary war, Cuba's efforts to overcome economic backwardness in the face of U.S. attacks, the task of developing a new social consciousness in a society on the road to socialism, and Cuba's commitment to freedom struggles throughout the world.

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we must try not to touch on susceptible points, for we are now in a process of negotiations, one must be very careful of what one says. Because when in these processes of negotiations, one is committed not to make the steps that are being taken public, and we wish to do nothing to break this commitment.

Toward the end of last year, a difficult, critical situation was created in Angola. I'm not going to explain what determined it. It is better for history to speak for itself, and I believe that one day history will reveal it all: where the mistakes lay, why those mistakes were made. I shall only limit myself to saying that Cuba was not responsible for those mistakes. However, a difficult, complex, and critical situation arose as a consequence of an enormous military escalation by South Africa, which intervened because of an offensive the Angolan forces were carrying

“We're proud of a country where hundreds of thousands of its people have fulfilled internationalist missions . . .

out in a faraway region of southeastern Angola against the forces that are fighting the government of Angola, against the UNITA forces.

Powerful Angolan forces gathered there, in an area that is far from the extreme of the strategic line that our troops were defending. And the South Africans intervened because of this Angolan military operation, not far from the northeastern border of Namibia. They intervened with their tanks, infantry, planes, and Namibian mercenary forces, and they created a difficult situation, dealt the Angolans military blows, for they had remained without food, fuel, or ammunition, south of Longa River.

That was when the Angolan retreat began. The same thing had already happened once before, in 1985, when the South Africans openly intervened. But in 1985 they repelled the Angolan offensive, on Angolan territory. Keep in mind that all this is Angolan territory, and the South African military operations were carried out on Angolan territory.

But this time they pursued the Angolan forces and besieged them at Cuito Cuanavale. There were thousands and thousands of men from Angola's best units and they were in danger of being wiped out. That would have been disastrous for Angola; it would have meant the possibility of destroying independence and the revolution in Angola.

The Angolans requested our help, and our help was essential — essential! — for either the efforts made throughout the years were lost, or the help was given. But moreover, help was essential not only to collaborate with Angola to get out of a difficult situation, but also for the security of our own troops. We drew the conclusion that if South Africa was allowed to carry out that operation, to wipe out the Angolan troops, the situation could become dangerous for our own troops as well. Therefore, without hesitation, the leadership of the party decided to help the Angolans solve the situation.

But it was impossible to do so without reinforcements. The troops that had been in Angola for years were not enough to guard a long strategic line and also solve the situation that had been created in Cuito Cuanavale. That's why we had to reinforce the troops. But this kind of operation cannot be done only partially. How many troops had to be sent to Angola? All that we needed to solve the situation. They couldn't be small groups of reinforcements but all those necessary.

The South African enemy had been superior in men, the balance of forces had been favorable for years. The balance of forces had to be changed, and once again our people had to carry out a feat, and they did. I said our people, for our people are really the heart and soul of our Revolutionary Armed Forces. [Applause]

‘The human factor was decisive’

It was really impressive to see how our soldiers, the reserves, the units responded, impressive — despite the fact that we've been fulfilling this mission for years, a really admirable fact. An action of this kind does not depend on techniques, on money, on resources, or anything else; it depends on the human factor; and the human factor was decisive.

You have just seen a documentary that explains a lot about it, that's why I needn't talk that much. Of course, certain principles were followed: it was necessary to choose the scene of action, not to act where it was most favorable for the enemy, but where it was most favorable for our forces.

The South Africans had chosen Cuito Cuanavale as the scene of action, a far-away place, where logistics becomes extremely difficult. They had chosen that field; we had to draw up another strategy. We had to accept the challenge of Cuito to keep them there, to stop them. We had to get into Cuito to support the Angolan forces and at their side, wage the historical actions of Cuito Cuanavale, where the enemy was stopped, where it really crumbled against the Angolan-Cuban resistance. I believe that it was really a historical battle of great importance. Some day it will be put down in writing and much more will be said about it.

But the essence of the Cuban-Angolan strategy was the advance in the western region of the southern front. That way the Cuban and Angolan forces advanced more than 250 kilometers toward the frontier with Namibia without stopping, creating a new situation.

All that was done in Cuito Cuanavale as well as in the western part of the southern front could never have been achieved on a solid basis without the reinforcements sent from Cuba. They were essential. A powerful force was created. Therefore the balance of forces changed in southern Angola, it changed in our favor. [Applause]

I must say that in Cuito Cuanavale as well as in the western part of the southern front, the Angolan soldiers, who are so accustomed to our company, so closely bound to us, maintained an exemplary conduct, a heroic conduct, an extraordinary conduct. [Applause] The military situation changed completely.

On advancing more than 200 kilometers, our armored units, which were strongly supported by anti-aircraft weapons, were getting far from our air bases. We had to build an air base as fast as we could, and I can tell you with satisfaction that if there was ever a place where a greater

effort than the one we have seen here in our country during the last few days was made it was there in Cahama. In a matter of weeks, our troops and construction workers built an airfield 3,500 meters long, and since one wasn't enough, in a matter of weeks a second one was built, [Applause] with concrete and all — the parts that had to be made of concrete — apart from those made with asphalt; with all the shelters for the planes and all the necessary installations for the base.

Yesterday, the southern front military command sent us a telegram saying that in tribute to the 26th July, the second strip had been finished. [Applause] So they not only achieved a military feat, but also a construction feat and our powerful forces, reinforced in anti-aircraft weapons, with air support, began taking all the necessary fortification measures against any type of surprise, against any enemy attack by air or land. Thus the Cuban-Angolan troops advanced until they were near the frontier of Namibia. There the really experienced, powerful units have gathered, with a tremendously high morale.

Negotiated, political solution

But our objective was not to achieve a humiliating and destructive military victory over our enemy. If we had to wage the battle, we had to be ready to do so with all the conditions for success and for victory, which are the conditions that were created there; but we were not looking for military glory, or military victory, we were looking for a political, just solution to the conflict. That was the main objective, and that's why the possibilities of negotiation were not discarded, the alternatives for a negotiated political solution were not discarded and we worked seri-

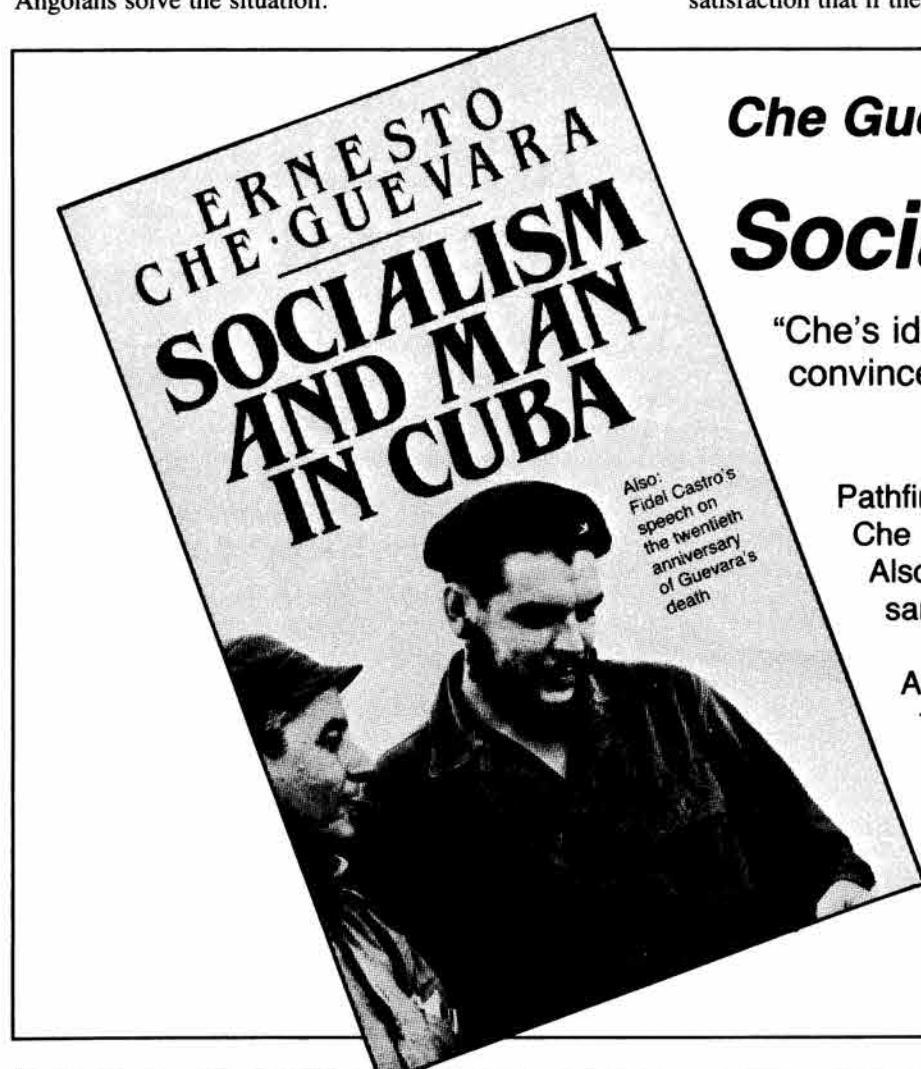
“You know very well what it means to be a member of the party; he or she must be the first in everything when there's a difficult job, an internationalist mission, a sacrifice to be tackled . . .

ously and responsibly to take advantage of the slightest possibility of a solution of the kind.

We had to act calmly and serenely, for when such powerful forces meet, the leaders and those responsible have to be more serene than ever. They must act cold-bloodedly. That's why we also worked in the diplomatic field. Reaching the objective with no bloody battles was already an extraordinary success. To do so from so far and with a minimum of casualties was a real feat in the political and military field. The precision and efficiency with which our troops advanced on the southern front was really impressive, as was the way they thwarted the enemy's action in Cuito Cuanavale. It was necessary to run risks, and we did, but we are really on the threshold of a political solution. We have come a long way.

The people have been quite well informed concerning

Continued on next page



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David Deutschmann

Crowd in Santiago July 26, with billboard of José Martí in background. Castro reported that 6,000 Santiaguans are currently on internationalist missions, most of them in southern Angola.

Continued from previous page

the military situation through the documentary and through what has been published on the agreements in New York. The bases for a political solution already exist and progress is being made. Therefore there is a real possibility of finding a just, dignified, and honorable solution for all those concerned, which include the security of Angola and the independence of Namibia. [Applause] On the basis of this global solution, Cuba and Angola will be ready and in fact, if the agreement is fulfilled, if the agreement is achieved, if the agreement is signed, in common agreement, Cuba and Angola will proceed to gradually and totally withdraw the contingent of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola. [Applause]

The withdrawal cannot be abrupt. There is a minimum of time that is necessary for the Angolans to take over the areas, the installations, the positions we defend. But based on the principles and the points included in the agreement, our military presence will no longer be needed in Angola.

We are working seriously and we will strictly abide by what we should. The fulfillment of this historical and honorable mission as a test of firmness and tenaciousness will soon have lasted 13 years.

It was possible not only because of the merits of our party, but mainly because of the merits of our people. Such loyalty, such will is only possible when one can rely on a people like ours. So when the time comes when our mission is considered complete, we will gladly welcome our troops back; we will gladly welcome those who built our fortifications and military bases; we will gladly welcome our brave army when it returns to our homeland; we will gladly welcome the tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of men who will then take part in this other colossal battle, the battle to develop our country, the battle to strengthen our revolution. [Applause]

Perhaps the most outstanding thing about all these years is that they were difficult years, years when very big efforts proved necessary to strengthen the country's defense, when it became necessary to conceive and organize a strategy calling for the war of all the people. Perhaps no one ever thought that a country directly threatened by imperialism like Cuba would remain loyal to the fulfillment of those international obligations; perhaps no one ever thought that a country as threatened as Cuba would be able to ship out the combat gear it shipped to Angola, because that's where many of our anti-aircraft weapons, our most modern anti-aircraft weapons are.

Now, why were we able to do so? Why were we able to ship out tens of thousands of fighters, hundreds of tanks, guns, etc., etc.? Why? Because we had the people with us, because our concept of the war of all the people makes us very strong, because the defense of the country is in the hands of the entire people! And only a people with that spirit, with such a concept could be able to accomplish the feat of remaining faithful to those commitments and shipping out the reinforcements sent over without fear or hesitation, because had imperialism wanted opportunistically to take advantage of the situation to attack our country, it would have clashed with our people here and would have experienced — we're certain of it — another Girón [Bay of Pigs], two Giróns, three Giróns, 100 Giróns. [Applause]

This is what I can tell you.

Our duty, from this podium, on this 35th anniversary, is not to fan animosity nor passion, to be careful rather than boastful, to refrain from using triumphant language. We're confident we're headed along the right road to

peace, yet we'll remain alert, we'll remain strong, and we'll go on strengthening ourselves right up to the minute the negotiated peace solution is signed. It'll be then that it can be said that the problem has truly been solved. [Applause]

Fourth party congress

To the Santiaguans I ask that they carry on, that they go on working as they've done so far. Awaiting them are the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the revolution, the fourth party congress. Let the city of Santiago de Cuba be worthy of creating the atmosphere, the spirit, the optimism, and the zeal that ought to permeate the fourth congress, where a full account can be rendered of the rectifying effort we're now carrying out and the advances we have set our sights on and the accomplishments we're making.

I think it'll be hard to find a better audience, a better city, a better people, a better spirit to hold a congress to be attended by guests from all the world's revolutionary, Marxist, socialist, progressive, and democratic organizations.

We're already working feverishly on the construction of the theater, we're already working feverishly on the construction of the hotel and in many other buildings. That theater will be one of the country's best, that hotel will be for international and domestic tourism, also as

one of the country's best. They won't be the only projects — there are many others, some known and others in the drawing board stage. I'm certain there'll be some surprises — there'll be more things than those mentioned and that the entire country will make big efforts to cooperate with Santiago de Cuba in making the preparations for that historical event, not only in honor of Santiago but also of Granma, which shared with us the battlefield of all that past fighting. It'll also be in honor of the remaining eastern provinces that formerly were one single province; it'll be in honor of the whole country.

It wasn't by chance, comrades all from Santiago, that the eastern provinces were chosen to stage the start of the last war of liberation of our nation. It was in the eastern provinces that the first war of independence began; it was in the eastern provinces that that insurmountable deed of heroism, the Baraguá Protest, took place; it was in the eastern provinces that the second war of independence began, the so-called Little War; it was in the eastern provinces that the third war of independence began; it was in the eastern provinces that José Martí shed his blood; it was in the eastern provinces where throughout history our people waged countless struggles; it was in the eastern provinces where the nation's last war of liberation started on July 26, 1953; it was in the eastern provinces where the November 30 uprising, the *Granma* landing, the Sierra Maestra epic and the second Eastern Front took place; it was from the eastern provinces that the glorious columns led by Camilo Cienfuegos and Che Guevara started out to central and western Cuba. [Applause]

It makes us proud to think that this new generation of easterners now has, concerning the nation's preparedness for defense and the fulfillment of internationalist missions, more than 6,000 Santiaguans, 6,000 sons and daughters of this province, fulfilling internationalist missions at this time, plus 24,000 sons and daughters of the other eastern provinces, fulfilling internationalist missions, most of them on Angola's southern front. [Applause] Such are the fruits of the Moncada attack, such are the marvelous young people in the new generation who are now reenacting and rebuilding the Moncada Garrison, the November 30 uprising, the *Granma* expedition, the fighting in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, January 1, October 10 and February 24; the ones at the forefront, at the vanguard. And we all hope that in honor of Cuba, in honor of our people, they'll go on being at the vanguard of our struggles for freedom, our struggles for justice, our struggles for socialism!

¡Patria o Muerte!
¡Venceremos!
[Ovation]

7. Camilo Cienfuegos was a leader of the July 26 Movement and became the Rebel Army's chief of staff; his plane was lost at sea in 1959. Ernesto Che Guevara, also a July 26 Movement leader, became a central leader of the revolutionary government in Cuba and of the Cuban Communist Party. He was murdered by CIA-organized troops in Bolivia in 1967.



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Washington's Caribbean policies run into resistance

Central to the U.S. government's policies in the Caribbean during the Reagan years has been the pacification of labor. The aim has been to try to make the region "safe" for the transnational corporations to reap their superprofits and for the ever-present conflict between capital and labor to be blunted.

Key to this pacification is the role of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which ironically receives 90 percent of its funding from the United States Agency for International Development



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

(USAID) and the transnationals doing business in the region. Through the Caribbean Basin Initiative the Reagan administration added \$2 million above its normal operating budget for AIFLD, to enable it to increase its activities in the Caribbean.

Throughout the region AIFLD, which also receives funding from the CIA, has prevented the development of a united and progressive labor movement.

In spite of this, however, the tide is beginning to turn as we read out the chapter of the 1980s. Under the severe impact of the regional economic crisis, large segments of the Caribbean working class are becoming more militant in resisting the superexploitation by local and foreign capital.

The progressive labor movement in Trinidad and Tobago grows stronger every day. Female workers in the tax-free economic zones where the transnationals have set up sweatshops in Jamaica stage weekly demonstrations for higher pay and better working conditions. Workers in Guyana recently brought the vital sugar industry there to a standstill in a bitter one-month strike. In the Dominican Republic thousands of workers took to the streets earlier this year to protest the oppressive policies of the International Monetary Fund.

If imperialism succeeded in putting the brakes on the class struggle in the early and mid-1980s, U.S. capital has failed to arrest it as the decade comes to a close.

Less than six months before Reagan's term ends, the record of U.S. imperialist policy in the Caribbean shows mixed results, with the balance of successes and failures tilting in the direction of the latter.

The principal political and economic objectives of this aggressive policy — consolidation of U.S. hegemonic control; marginalization, if not liquidation of the left; increased surplus value transfers to the empire's center; integration of the region's economy more fully into the realm of U.S. capital; and creation of a right-wing, anticommunist bloc of states in the Caribbean — have all fallen short of their target.

The regional political climate today is no less volatile and no more stable than it was in the early 1980s. The popular uprisings of the Haitian masses against Duvalierism are continuing. All polls indicate that by the end of this year or in early 1989 left-leaning social democrat Michael Manley will replace the proimperialist regime of Edward Seaga in Jamaica.

Polls also indicate that the pro-Washington govern-

ment of A.N.R. Robinson, which came to power in a landslide victory in Trinidad and Tobago just one and a half years ago, would resoundingly lose if an election were to be held tomorrow. The Yankee puppet Herbert Blaize regime in Grenada is by all objective evaluations even more unpopular than the Gairy dictatorship was at the time it was overthrown by Maurice Bishop and his freedom fighters in March 1979.

A victim of its own built-in contradictions and of the deepening crisis of U.S. capital, Reagan's much-touted Caribbean Basin Initiative has failed to deliver what it promised. Its military aid has not made the region any more secure for imperialist interests. Moreover, its three main components — more grant aid, increased duty-free imports from the region, and stepped up investments in the islands — have all registered steady declines since the middle of the decade, much to the chagrin of the supplicant leaders in the region whose criticism of the initiative has become surprisingly strident in recent times.

With the domestic economic crisis of U.S. imperialism aggravated by enormous trade and budget deficits, by a national debt larger than the combined foreign debts of all Third World countries, and by a loss of economic competitiveness in the global economy, the U.S. ruling class has on its plate not a few knotty problems to digest.

Reckoning that the Caribbean is once more firmly in its grasp, that no threats to its "vital interests" are imminent and that "communist adventurism" is unlikely at a time of Washington's growing rapprochement with the Soviet Union, the rulers of the empire have apparently scaled down the Caribbean on its list of geo-political priorities. In other words, the backyard is not worth losing much sleep over, at least for the time being.

Jamaica economic crisis central to coming elections

BY JEAN ARMBRUSTER AND MARK FRIEDMAN

MONTGO BAY, Jamaica — This country's economy will be the central issue in elections to be held here later this year.

The candidates for prime minister are Edward Seaga from the Jamaica Labour Party and Michael Manley of the People's National Party (PNP).

Jamaica is the largest and most populous English-speaking island in the Caribbean, with a population of 2.5 million. Located near Haiti and Cuba, it has rich deposits of bauxite — a key ingredient in aluminum production. The economy also relies on the sale of bananas, sugar, coffee, and fish.

Manley was prime minister of Jamaica from 1973 until 1981. During those years the PNP sought to develop Jamaica's capitalist economy while bringing some gains to the country's workers and farmers. At the same time, Manley sought to avoid class confrontations that could lead to a direct challenge of imperialism.

As a vice-president of the Socialist International in 1978, he urged that organiza-

tion to pay more attention to the problems of the semicolonial countries.

Friendly relations with Cuba

Washington became increasingly angered over anti-imperialist positions adopted by the Manley government. This included maintaining friendly relations with Cuba's revolutionary government, and defense of the 1979 Grenadan and Nicaraguan revolutions.

In March 1980, amidst growing resistance from Jamaican workers and farmers to the International Monetary Fund's demands for the imposition of harsh austerity measures, the PNP severed relations with the IMF.

With elections set for later that year, Washington stepped up its destabilization of the Manley government. This included pressuring U.S. corporations and investors to halt assistance to the government. CIA-backed Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) thugs attacked and killed Manley supporters while the country's media whipped up a campaign against his government.

Failing to mount an effective fightback against Washington and the JLP, the Manley government was swept out of office in the October 1980 election.

Offensive during 1980s

During the 1980s, Jamaican working people have been forced to bear an increasing share of the burden for keeping up payments on the foreign debt. They also suffer from the effects of unequal trade relations imposed by Washington and the other imperialist powers.

In 1980, Jamaica's foreign debt was \$1.9 billion. By the end of 1986 it had grown to nearly \$4 billion.

Austerity measures imposed by the government include higher taxes; the elimination of food subsidies; cuts in education, medical care, and youth job programs; and widespread layoffs at state-owned companies.

The Jamaican dollar has been devalued to one-fifth the U.S. dollar.

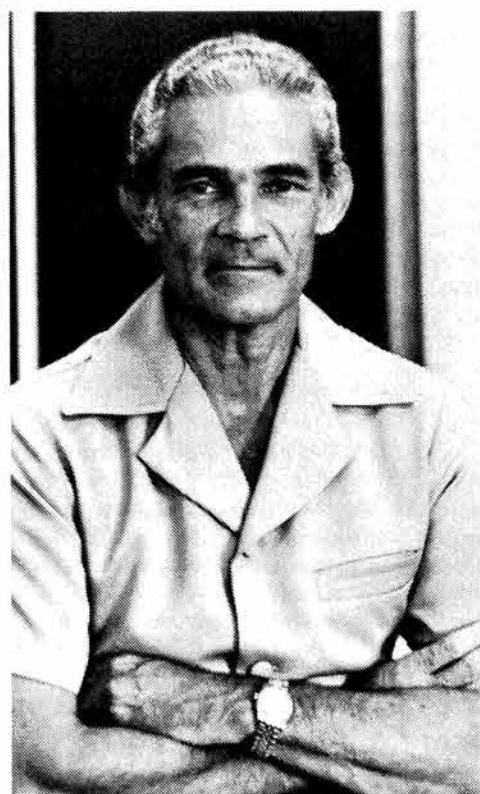
In 1983, the Reagan administration and Congress began the Caribbean Basin Initiative. Washington promised that this would lead to substantial new investment in the region and the creation of thousands of jobs.

But life for the vast majority of Jamaican working people has continued to deteriorate.

U.S. companies dump surplus food products, fish, and manufactured goods on the local market at prices below the local cost of production. This results in many



Michael Manley of People's National Party is candidate for prime minister in elections to be held later this year. Manley was prime minister from 1973 to 1981.



Garth Morgan

local farmers and fishermen being wiped out.

In their quest for profits, U.S. corporations are also deforesting the countryside.

"Since 1980, Jamaica has been a mirror image of the Reagan economic era," said Ken McNeill, a PNP leader and former government minister. "Subsidies for farmers have been cut, there has been an influx of U.S. capital and IMF loans, and the hotels that were nationalized under the Manley government have now been reprivatized. We are also the victims of lower world prices for our bauxite, bananas, and sugar. And," McNeill added, "our fishing industry has declined while we grow more house plants for exports."

A recent PNP policy paper describes other blows against working people. "After nearly eight years of Jamaica Labour Party government, real per capita income is 6 percent less than in 1980. Moreover, Jamaica has become, on a per capita basis, the most indebted nation in the world. Our per capita external debt is twice Brazil's. About 50 percent of our export earnings and 40 percent of the national budget is absorbed by the servicing of this debt. Our largest single creditor is the International Monetary Fund."

Manley, meanwhile, has been trying to mend fences with Washington. "I think we now have relations with the State Department on a very healthy basis... and good relations with the people in the drug enforcement agencies and that sort of thing. I

think we have much better relations with Congress now," Manley told the *Miami Herald* in June.

Seaga supporters point to a 5 percent growth rate last year — the result of increased tourism and bauxite sales — as signs of economic health. They also claim that the 20 percent unemployment rate is the lowest in that country in 11 years.

Union resistance to offensive

In 1985 six unions waged a general strike over the declining living standard.

Many workers and farmers are also looking to a PNP victory to provide relief from economic devastation. That party got 57 percent of the votes in municipal elections in 1986.

A rally of 25,000 unionists — mainly sugar workers — was held at the Frome sugar factory near Negril in May. It was both a PNP campaign rally and a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the labor struggles that led to the formation of many Jamaican trade unions.

The National Workers Union here in Montego Bay is making the election campaign a central part of its activities. The NWU is also challenging the actions of foreign companies in the "Free Zone" set up as part of the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

The union says these companies are failing to provide adequate safety equipment and rest room and eating facilities. They are also violating overtime and piecework pay rates and arbitrarily firing unionists.



Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83

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Ohio tomato pickers have been a major part of FLOC farm worker union since its formation.

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

TOLEDO, Ohio — Under a banner reading, "Democratize, organize!" 300 delegates and 200 observers met here August 6 for the fourth convention of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

The convention marked FLOC's 20th anniversary in the struggle for justice for farm workers and its first convention since the union won unprecedented three-way contracts between the farm workers, growers in Ohio and Michigan, and three giant food processors. The contracts were won in 1986 and 1987 with Campbell Soup Co., Vlasic, and Heinz U.S.A.

Despite the drought, which has devastated farm workers throughout the country, FLOC members made big sacrifices to participate in their union's convention. Forty workers from Florida traveled for two days without food to attend. Twenty-five came from Illinois and carloads arrived from Texas and Missouri. For the 150 delegates from Ohio and Michigan, participating in the convention meant missing work and a day's pay after months of little or no work at all because of the drought.

Baldemar Velasquez, who was enthusiastically reelected president of FLOC, devoted much of his report to the work the union has done to combat the effects of the drought. He also explained how the union will fight to extend the gains won through union contracts — in wages, day care, and medical insurance.

The Constitution Committee proposed

eight changes to the convention, all aimed at increasing the involvement of the membership. The length of time a worker must be a member of the union before being able to become a convention delegate was changed to three days, for example.

A striking feature of the gathering was the role of women. A sizeable percentage of delegates were women and several women were elected to leadership positions in the union, as in the past. Eva Leon was elected second vice-president to cheers of "¡Viva mujeres!" (Long live women). Women played a visible role in the proceedings — giving reports from the committees, and making motions and speaking to them.

Perhaps even more startling was the role of young workers in the union.

The harsh conditions farm workers face mean that often all family members except the youngest children must work in order for the family to survive. A FLOC organizer explained that youth represent 30 to 40 percent of the work force.

One of the union's policies, she said, is to encourage young workers to become leaders of FLOC. The union's youngest organizer, Fernando Cuevas, Jr., for example, is 16. Cuevas has been part of the organizing team in Florida and was assigned to work with the delegation of union leaders from Mexico who attended the convention.

Of the 300 delegates to the convention, one-half were between 16 and 25 years old.

Farm labor convention discusses gains, plans expansion

FLOC sees democratizing the union as a key factor in the union's ability to organize. The convention made several important decisions on further organizing efforts.

The union will continue to fight to renew its contract with Campbell's, due to expire this year. It is also working on winning the remaining nonunion Vlasic growers and workers on their farms as part of the contract with that company.

The convention voted to organize not only in Ohio and Michigan, but in Illinois, Indiana, and Florida as well. Delegates decided to work with two other farm workers' unions in Florida in securing contracts — the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, and the Farmworkers Association.

Delegates also voted for an organizing drive at Princeton Farms in Princeton, Illinois. This factory of 380 workers, mostly Mexican and Asian, grow mushrooms, working from 10 to 16 hours a day with no overtime pay.

The workers first began organizing a year ago. About six months ago they contacted FLOC. The union has launched a boycott of Princeton Farms products, with the support of labor and church groups. The central leader of the workers there, Juan Villegas, was fired by the company and is now an organizer for FLOC. He was elected to the union's executive board at the convention.

The gathering heard from several guests. Perfecto Arredondo, general secretary of the union representing Campbell Soup workers in Mexico — the Farm Workers and Salaried Agricultural Workers Union from the state of Sinaloa — spoke. He offered his union's support to FLOC's efforts. "What we really need," Velasquez noted after Arredondo addressed the convention, "is one international union coordinating our struggle so when wages go up in Ohio, they go up in Sinaloa too!"

Arturo Mendoza, national executive board member of the United Farm Workers of America, brought greetings from the UFW and its president, Cesar Chavez. Chavez has been on a water-only fast since July 17 to draw attention to the continuing deaths of farm worker children from cancer caused by pesticides.

The convention passed a resolution on affiliation with the AFL-CIO, reaffirming a 1985 vote in favor of unity with the UFW.

A resolution was also adopted opposing the 1986 Immigration Act. A "Declaration in Support of the People of Central America" described the gains made by the Nicaraguan people, particularly farm workers, under the Sandinista government and called on the U.S. government to end its war against Nicaragua and end all aid to the contras.

Linda Joyce, Larry Lukehart, and Ignacio Meneses also contributed to this article.

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Drought bill won't replace losses, farm activists say

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — "It doesn't come close to replacing losses," Darrell Ringer, an organizer for Rural Outreach Coalition of Kansas (ROCK), said about the \$3.9 billion drought-relief bill signed by President Reagan August 11.

While the bill has received praise for targeting farmers hardest hit by the worst drought in the United States in 50 years, many farmers cannot balance out losses with past good years. Under the bill, farmers are not eligible for relief until they lose 35 percent of their crop. Farmers who have lost between 35 and 75 percent of their crops will receive only 66 percent of the value of the lost portion of their crop. Those with more than 75 percent damage will be compensated for 90 percent of the damage.

"Prices are up, but not enough to cover the cost of production," Ringer said, "because there are less bushels to sell. The first of the year, we will see the real effect of the drought, when farmers pay their bills."

Small livestock producers who do not produce their own grain for feed will not be covered by the emergency aid at all. Roger Allison, director of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center, a 1,000-member farm organization, explained the impact of the drought on hog producers who buy feed.

"It was government lending policy that encouraged hog producers to go to feeder-type operations (where farmers purchase grains from other farmers) in the first place," Allison said. "These farmers have

held on through eight years of farm crisis, by their fingernails. Three months ago, a 50 pound feeder pig sold for \$50. This wasn't a lot of money, but it paid the bills. This summer, because of the drought, the price that they received was \$18 to \$20 a head. The price is now \$20 to \$30 a head.

"Feed costs have gone up," he added. "Soybeans are \$10.90 a bushel. The grain traders have the soybeans. Farmers sold theirs to pay operating expenses at \$4.50 a bushel last fall. Missouri has already lost 50 percent of its hog producers since 1981."

Referring to the overwhelming vote by both Democratic and Republican legislators for the drought relief bill, Allison said, "Bipartisanly, marginal livestock producers and other family farmers will lose their farms."

Allison posed the following question: "Think of what a second year of drought would mean? There is already hunger in the world. There will be a lot more. Who eats, who doesn't, we all know the answer to this question — the poor, the homeless, the next-to-homeless, the unemployed, the underemployed."

Allison foresees "an even more rapid takeover by corporate agriculture. It isn't enough for farmers to be strong. What Cargill, ConAgra, Dreyfus, Bunge are doing is not in the interests of consumers."

Ringer also pointed to the grain merchants who "maintain the legitimacy of the marketplace but are like Las Vegas, turning grain for a profit 10 to 20 times over."

3,400 Northwest woodworkers settle strikes

Another 5,400 still out against 6 companies

BY CONNIE ALLEN

DALLAS, Ore. — Some 1,300 woodworkers ended their strike at 13 Willamette Industries mills in Oregon, after voting August 4 to accept a new contract. Shortly after, 2,100 workers at Boise Cascade mills also voted to end their strike.

Strikes by 5,400 woodworkers at six other companies throughout the Pacific Northwest are continuing. The strikers are members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and Western Council of Industrial Workers.

The workers went on strike in early June to regain substantial cuts in wages and benefits lost during a strike in 1986.

The new four-year contract with Wil-

lamette includes a \$1,400 bonus the first year, a 3 percent wage increase the second year, and 4 percent wage increases the last two years. It also restores two of five holidays lost in 1986. The contract with Boise Cascade is similar, but only runs for three years.

The strikers were unable to force the company to get rid of the two-tier wage setup under which new hires work for \$7 an hour for the first 90 days. The new contract also gives the company the right to schedule workers on 10-hour days, four days a week, without paying overtime. Some vacation time was restored.

These agreements are to set the pattern for settlements with the remaining companies. At Georgia Pacific, which is not being struck, a tentative agreement has also been announced.

Members of Western Council 2714 here in Dallas thought the strike strengthened the union, even though they didn't like the settlement. "The union got stronger than two years ago. People gained a lot of confidence from staying out so long," one striker said.

"The good thing was we stuck together and we'll stick together from now on," said another. One worker explained how the strikers made an effort to convince, not coerce, fellow workers who began to waiver toward the end of the strike.

Opposition to bonuses instead of wage increases continues to be a major objection to the companies' proposals. One striker explained, "The bonus setup is a joke. The company set it up so they wouldn't have to pay the 3 percent [wage increase] over the next three years. I'll never work overtime again. If they can't pay us a decent wage, they can stuff it."

Most strikers didn't like the settlement, but many thought it was the best they could get. Larry Wilson from Willamette's Sweet Home mill said, "To me it's an insult. I always thought America was where



Willamette's Bauman Mill plant gate



Militant photos by John Charbonnet

Pickets at Willamette Industries' mill in Oregon during woodworkers' strike

you went forward, not backward. But at Willamette, that's not true. It's backward all the way."

Another striker from Sweet Home, Joe Jenkins, said, "It's just a matter of trust, that's all. And there isn't any. We've been burned too often to feel very good about any of this." The contract was approved by a 60 percent vote.

Forest products is the largest industry in Oregon. Since the 1982 recession, however, many mills have been closed. Some of these were later reopened as nonunion operations. In the last eight years, the IWA and Western Council have lost one-half their memberships.

BY LISA HICKLER

SWEET HOME, Ore. — When woodworkers struck Willamette Industries here in June, they entered the fight with a weapon they didn't have during their 1986 strike: the Women's Hardship Auxiliary of Millworkers, better known as WHAM.

WHAM was initiated by wives of striking woodworkers. According to WHAM leader Gayle Davis, "We made up our minds that we weren't going to sit home and cry like we did in 1986."

The group's first meeting drew some 300 strikers and spouses to the IWA hall here. Women from Halsey, Oregon, spoke to the gathering. They described organizing food and clothing banks and other projects to help the five-week paperworkers' strike at James River Corp.'s Halsey mill during the spring.

WHAM organized bake sales and car washes, set up collection cans, and solicited donations from area businesses. Other union locals also helped out. An IWA local in Springfield, Oregon, delivered a truckload of supplies for the food bank. Over the course of the nine-week strike, WHAM raised some \$5,000 in cash and food donations.

On a visit to the bustling IWA hall here during the final days of the strike, Donna Yunke told us that the impetus to get more organized this time came from the experience of living under the concession contract for the past two years. The level of community support for the strike also helped put pressure on Willamette Industries, she added. Yunke is a leader of WHAM and coordinator of the food bank.

The most important thing, she pointed out, is the impact of WHAM's activities on keeping strikers' morale high.

Oregon newsprint strike holds firm

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

OREGON CITY, Ore. — Since early July, more than 500 paperworkers have been on strike against Smurfit Newsprint Corp. at two mills, one here and another in Newberg, Oregon.

Smurfit Newsprint is a subsidiary of Jefferson Smurfit Corp., a multinational that operates almost 100 packaging and other plants in six countries. Smurfit acquired the two Oregon newsprint mills in 1986.

The company is demanding the paperworkers accept a five-year contract that includes cuts in medical coverage, loss of holidays, and changes in job-assignment work rules, along with a substandard pension plan.

"Smurfit is the most profitable newsprint corporation in the United States," explained Bill Osburn on the Oregon City picket line. Osburn is chairman of Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers Local 68's bargaining committee.

Osburn noted that Oregon City police arrested seven union members in the first three weeks of the strike for "disorderly conduct" and "impeding traffic flow." "That is, walking across the street," he said. "There's nothing to compare this to in past strikes." He pointed out surveillance cameras at three locations, all trained on the picket line.

Local 68 has called for a boycott of the Monarch Motor Hotel, which is housing scabs hired by Smurfit.

"They underestimated us," Osburn said, noting that no local members have crossed the picket line.

He also reported that the Smurfit mill

here had recently turned the Willamette River white with discharges. Despite union demands, the Department of Environmental Quality has not taken action against the company.

Alabama steelworkers vote to strike rail car plant

BY TOM BARTON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Steelworkers at the Pullman-Standard plant in Bessemer, Alabama, voted unanimously to go on strike August 7.

The workers won a union representation election in April. Since then they, as a local of the United Steelworkers of America, have unsuccessfully been trying to get the company to negotiate a new contract.

The company, which manufactures rail cars, shut down the plant in 1980. At that time nearly 3,000 worked there. Trinity Industries based in Dallas bought the Pullman-Standard plant and reopened it nonunion in 1984. Now it employs some 600 workers.

The strikers are demanding pay increases, health-care benefits, seniority rights, and safer working conditions.

The average pay is about \$6 an hour. Those who worked at Pullman-Standard before the 1980 shutdown are making less an hour now than they did 10 years ago.

Workers are also angered over the company's arbitrary firings.

The Steelworkers established successful picket lines the first days of the strike. A local supermarket has started a food bank and the strikers are reaching out for solidarity from other steel locals.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Honduran gov't guilty in death of student

The Inter-American Human Rights Court ruled at the end of July that the Honduran government was responsible for the disappearance of Manfredo Velásquez Rodríguez, a student leader abducted by plainclothes army agents in 1981. The court is an arm of the Organization of American States.

"Manfredo Velásquez was ... kidnapped, presumably tortured, executed, and buried in a clandestine way by agents of the Honduran armed forces," the ruling stated.

The court found that Velásquez's case fit a pattern of disappearances in which up to 150 people vanished between 1981 and 1984 during the military regime of Gen. Gustavo Alvarez. The court ordered the Honduran government to investigate the systematic violations of human rights and to pay indemnity to Velásquez's family.

During the trial, which met in two sessions over the past year, the court heard testimony revealing a systematic campaign during the early 1980s by the Honduran military to physically eliminate opposition leaders dubbed "subversive."

In Tegucigalpa, the Honduran government said it would respect the ruling by the court. Juan Mendez, a prosecution lawyer and director of the Washington office of the Americas Watch human rights monitoring group, said of the ruling, "Hopefully it will have an immediate chilling effect on disappearances."

Downed Iran airliner gave civilian signal

According to an ABC News report, a Pentagon investigation into the shooting down of an Iranian airliner by a U.S. warship has found that the airliner was emitting only a civilian signal. The report,

quoting officials familiar with the Pentagon report, claims the cruiser USS Vincennes mistook a signal from a distant C-130 military plane for the signal from the airliner.

The Vincennes, one of 27 U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf, shot down the airliner over Iranian waters on July 3, killing 290 people. Among the casualties were 66 children. The victims included people from India, Pakistan, and other countries in addition to Iran. At that time the Pentagon claimed that the airliner had emitted both a civilian and military signal.

U.S. congressmen seek canal treaties' repeal

Illinois congressman Philip Crane and Sen. Steven Symms of Idaho, both Republicans, introduced legislation in Congress on August 10 seeking the repeal of the 1977 Panama Canal treaties, which would turn the waterway over to Panama at the end of 1999.

Crane and Symms said they submitted the bill mainly to revive the issue in Congress during an election year and before a Panamanian assumes the canal's top administrative position. Under the treaties a Panamanian will succeed the U.S. canal administrator in 1990, 10 years before the canal is turned over to Panama.

A two-year campaign against Panama by the U.S. administration and Congress has included cutting of economic aid, blocking of international loans, an economic embargo, military threats, and indictments against Panamanian officials for drug smuggling.

From the start, Panamanian government leaders have explained that this campaign is the result of Panama's refusal to back Washington's efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government and the insistence by Panama on the implementation of the canal treaties.

Capitalism, it cares — At least four California contractors hired hundreds of the homeless to scrape asbestos from buildings. The dead-



Harry Ring

ly fiber causes stomach, lung, and colon cancer. Former scrapers said they worked without safeguards.

Bon appetit! — In a confidential report, the British Ministry of Agriculture voiced alarm at the health hazard from pesticide residues on

fruits and vegetables. They noted that many pesticides used in stored crops like apples and potatoes can't be washed away because they penetrate deeply into the flesh.

Watch that "f" word — In one program, the Australian Broadcasting Corp. used "management-initiated retrenchment" as a euphemism for "fired."

The system works — Westland, a British firm, was bought by a U.S.-Italian combine with a proviso that Westland first unload 21 obsolete helicopters. An obliging British government dumped them on India in an "aid" deal. The choppers' engines are too powerful for the frames. One has crashed, the others are in constant

need of repair. A rigged contract bars redress.

That'll do it — The Israeli military barred Gaza Strip gas stations from selling car fuel in containers.

Chutzpah, American style — The U.S. military headquarters in South Korea sits on 699 acres in the center of Seoul. Taken over from Japan at the end of World War II, the U.S. occupies it rent-free. Now, in deference to Korean sentiment, it's been agreed to move it to a less prominent location. But the Pentagon wants Korea to pay the costs of the move.

Extremist demand — MacGregor Sporting Goods is moving its baseball plant from Haiti to

Mexico. Haitian unionists are demanding that the minimum wage be raised from \$3 a day to \$8.

For the friend who has nothing — From Faux Systems of California, the Cellular Phoney, a copy of the real, expensive car phones. But \$15.95, it offers "status without the static."

Quality garbage — Denver residents complain garbage is being tossed into their neighborhood dumpsters by suburban freeloader in classy cars. The culprits are said to be from prosperous areas that don't provide free trash removal, and they apparently don't relate to paying.

Adding insult to injury — A study showed that 16 percent of

the letters sent to taxpayers by the IRS contained incomplete or murky information. Another 31 percent included serious errors. Answers to phone queries were wrong 36 percent of the time.

No police donor? — Michael McNair-Wilson, a British member of Parliament, joined the debate on the ethics of using animal organs in transplants. A kidney patient on dialysis, he is willing, if need be, to accept a human kidney transplant. But he doesn't want to go to his grave "Part man and part pig."

He knows — Jimmy Swaggart who was defrocked for failing to resist the temptations of Satan visited Israel and denounced the Palestinian uprising as the work of the devil.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Nicaragua Today: Report Back and Slide-show of the Alabama Peace Tour. Panel of tour participants. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Rally for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting for permanent residency in the United States; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. ILGWU Hall, 675 S Park View. Sponsor: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 380-8749.

Picket for Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Free Puerto Rico. Release the Hartford 15. Stop FBI repression against the Puerto Rican independence movement! Picket Tues., Aug. 30, 12 noon to 2 p.m., Federal Courthouse, 312 N

Spring St. Sponsor: Casa Puerto Rico. For more information call (213) 380-8749.

San Francisco

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.

CONNECTICUT

Hartford

Rally to Support Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. Commemorate the third anniversary of the arrest of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Speakers: Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Juan Segarra Palmer, Humberto Pagan, Oscar Collazo, and Lucy Santana. Will include cultural event. Sun., Aug. 28, 12 noon to 5:30 p.m. Betances Park.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Cuban Revolution. Speaker to be announced. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Struggles of Working People in the South Pacific and the Fight for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific. Speaker: Oyen Lepou, Pathfinder, New Zealand. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Rally to Support Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. Demand an end to political grand juries and commemorate the third anniversary of the arrest of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Sun., Aug. 28, 5-7 p.m. Met-

ropolitan Correctional Center, 150 Park Row. For more information call Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, (212) 927-9065 and 795-0379, or (718) 972-7361.

Turning Point in the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa. U.S. premiere showing of Cuban TV documentary on battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola where Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian troops defeated South African army. Translation to English and French. Sat., Sept. 3, 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Justice for Juan Rodríguez, Dominican Worker Killed by Cops. Citywide rally. Thurs., Sept. 8, 4-6:30 p.m. City Hall. Sponsor: Latino Coalition for Racial Justice. For more information call (212) 614-5315.

Caribbean Political Unity: A Public Discussion. Speakers: Eusi Kwayana, leader of Working Peoples Alliance of Guyana and opposition member of Guyana Parliament; Dr. James Millett, Caribbean historian and president of Trinidad and Tobago Anti-apartheid Committee; Don Rojas, executive member of Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and of Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America; Michael Douglas, leader of Dominica Labour Party and opposition member of Dominica Parliament. Fri., Sept. 9, 7 p.m. Hunter College Playhouse, 68th St. at Park Ave. Donation requested. Sponsor: Coalition for Caribbean Unity, Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. For more information call (212) 929-0066 or (718) 941-2087.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Abolish the Death Penalty. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The FBI Frame-up of Leonard Peltier. Speakers: Eric Simpson, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Aug. 28, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Profits, Leaks, and Explosions: The Kanawha Valley Chemical Industry. Speak-

ers: Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 656; others. Sat., Sept. 10, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Victory in Southern Africa. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Open House at Pathfinder Bookstore. Meet Patricia Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Aug. 27, 4-6 p.m., program to follow. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Decline of the U.S. Empire and the Road Forward for Working People. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Wed., Aug. 31. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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Missouri auto workers win relief from heat

BY JIM GARRISON

FENTON, Mo. — In renewed protest over unhealthy and dangerous working conditions due to an intense heat wave, auto assembly workers walked off the job at Chrysler Corp. plant here August 8. This action follows a series of walkouts in late June when a Chrysler worker collapsed and died in the paint department of an adjoining plant during the summer's first heat wave.

In the June walkouts the workers, members of United Auto Workers Local 110, won extended break time and reduced overtime. These gains were strengthened as a result of the August 8 action.

The St. Louis area, where the plant is located, was entering its third official "heat alert" of the summer as second-shift workers reported for work August 8. Heat alerts are accompanied by warnings from public health officials to avoid extended, strenuous activities. Inside the plant, workers reported being approached by company men they had never seen before, giving them "direct orders" not to leave the plant. In other areas foremen were warning workers they would be fired if they joined a walkout.

Many workers have been overcome by exhaustion and nausea brought on by working in temperatures well over 100 degrees. The medical department has been backed up to the point where some workers waited

up to two hours for attention. The 15 minutes of additional break time and the cut from nine- to eight-hour shifts won in June were not sufficient to compensate for the heat.

The walkout began in the body shop, which is one of the hottest sections of the plant due to the heavy machinery operated there.

Eventually, workers throughout the plant joined the walkout. The company sought to punish selected workers who were among the first to leave. Two workers were fired and several more "put on notice." They were warned that they would be fired in any future incident.

Steel workers on a continuous production crew at the nearby Granite City Steel mill asked themselves if someone would have to die in their mill before they would win extended relief breaks. Citing the situation at Chrysler, they demanded and won extended breaks during the hottest days in late June. Mine workers in Illinois expressed support for the walkouts.

August 16 was the hottest day of the summer so far in Fenton. On this day as second-shift workers approached the plant they saw two TV news crews waiting nearby. Everyone assumed they had come to film another walkout. The outside temperature was 106 degrees.

Under this pressure and negotiating with the local union officials, plant management granted further concessions to avoid a walkout. Each worker was told that for 15 minutes of each hour, the line would be stopped for a break — 20 minutes in the paint department. This amounted to more than twice the normal break time. Previously scheduled overtime work on Saturday was canceled due to the heat.

Workers also learned that the two workers who had been fired August 8 had been reinstated and would return to work following a 30-day disciplinary layoff.

The increased break schedule was con-

tinued on a day-by-day basis for the next two days while temperatures remained above 100 degrees.

Chrysler announced a return to what had been a standard nine-hour shift schedule beginning August 22. Overtime on two of every three Saturdays is also planned. But workers in the plant have expressed doubts as to whether the company will be able to do this, noting forecasts of hotter weather on the way.

Jim Garrison is a member of UAW Local 110 and works in the body shop of Chrysler plant No. 2 in Fenton.

Oil union delegates hear Curtis and Marroquín

Continued from front page

too, is a longtime Marroquín backer.

Denis Stephano, financial secretary of Local 8-234 in Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, who was a supporter of Curtis' case before the convention, circulated a Curtis defense committee petition among the delegates. He returned to the table with 30 signatures. Among those signing was OCAW Vice-president Robert Wages.

Many of the delegates work in the oil refineries and chemical plants while also serving as officers of their locals. For most it was their first time hearing about the two cases. More than a few commented on experiences with the cops that made them supportive of Curtis. Several delegates took Curtis petitions home with them.

Marroquín and Curtis met briefly with OCAW President Joseph Misbrenner. The union's secretary-treasurer, Michael Ricigliano, then made an announcement to the convention about the two activists. Ricigliano explained that Curtis was a union meat-packer who had defended his Salvadoran-born and Mexican-born coworkers after they were arrested during an immigra-

tion cop raid on the Swift packing plant in Des Moines. Because of these activities, Curtis was framed up and beaten.

Ricigliano said delegates could meet Curtis and Marroquín, who was asking for support for his fight for permanent residency, at the defense committee table.

Another 30 signed the Curtis petition after the announcement, bringing the total number of signers to 180. By the end of the convention 125 delegates had also signed Marroquín's petition.

New supporters of these fights came from nearly two dozen states.

The two activists have also participated in other union conventions this summer.

Two hundred delegates signed the Curtis petition at the American Postal Workers Union convention in Chicago at the beginning of August. Several postal workers took the petition and signed up their entire delegation. Curtis also got a good response from members of the Iowa delegation when he met with them.

Joanne Kuniansky is a member of OCAW Local 4-227 in Houston.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢
Sept. 1, 1978

PHILADELPHIA — "We're fired up, we can't take no more," was the chant of nearly 3,000 marchers who jammed the courtyard of City Hall plaza. The mostly young, Black demonstrators were fired up over the savage police assault August 8 on MOVE, a Black collective. The cops totally wiped out MOVE's communal home.

The attack was ordered by Mayor Frank Rizzo, a rabid racist.

The MOVE compound was located in a multiracial area near the center of the West Philadelphia Black community.

The bloody attack came after a long, increasingly tense standoff between Rizzo's cops and MOVE that began nearly 15 months ago, when police were unsuccessful in attempting to serve arrest warrants on MOVE members.

Hundreds of residents of the area — rightly fearing a bloodbath — had then surrounded the commune, chanting, "Leave MOVE alone." They successfully blocked the police from entering.

Then, under Rizzo's orders, a massive police occupation was established, giving the neighborhood around the MOVE site the appearance of an armed camp.

In May, after surviving a police blockade designed to starve them out, MOVE agreed, under duress, to vacate by August 1.

A week after that deadline, several hours before sunrise, the police moved in for the kill.

Tear gas guns were made ready. More than 300 cops, backed by snipers and mounted police, were poised for action.

At a signal, they began battering the house down. A crane smashed out windows.

Twelve MOVE adults and 11 children, including infants, were barricaded in the basement. High-powered hoses flooded the basement to flush them out like animals. Suddenly, the cops opened fire.

When the smoke cleared, one policeman was dead and seven cops and six firemen injured. Two MOVE members and three of their sympathizers were also injured.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
Sept. 2, 1963 Price 10¢

WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 29 — The massiveness — a quarter of a million people is the best estimate — was the outstanding feature of yesterday's March for Jobs and Freedom.

The Negro people were exhilarated by the record-breaking turnout. It was also a source of great encouragement to those whites who are dependable allies of the Negroes, and who constituted about 10 percent of the marchers.

The march dramatized the readiness of the Negro masses to struggle, to go all the way in the fight.

A moment of general attention in the crowd came when Martin Luther King was introduced and given a great ovation. Another dramatic moment was the reading of the speech of Congress of Racial Equality National Director James Farmer, who is still in jail in Donaldsville, Louisiana.

A brief speech by Chairman John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee was interrupted by applause a number of times because of its militant tone. He began: "We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. Remember there are thousands in the South who can't be here because they are working for starvation wages. . . .

"We support the [Kennedy] administration's civil rights bill but we support it with grave misgivings. This bill will not protect the citizens of Danville from police-state rule.

"We can't vote for the party of [Democratic Senator] Eastland or the party of [Republican Senator] Goldwater. When will we have a party of our own?"

Socialist candidates demand release of Nelson Mandela



Militant/Lou Howort

Anti-apartheid protests around the world have demanded that South African regime free Mandela and all other political prisoners.

Continued from front page

being drafted to repress and murder their Black sisters and brothers. It has inspired the unions in South Africa and Namibia to organize massive mobilizations against the employers and the government. And this victory should spur every person, organization, and government to redouble their efforts to fight for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners.

Working people in the United States

have a special responsibility in this regard. Washington, Wall Street, and the Pentagon are the most powerful source of political, economic, and military support to the ruling rich of South Africa.

Humanity's long march to freedom will be given an enormous impulse when the apartheid system is brought crashing down by the people of South Africa. The fight to release Nelson Mandela from prison is a central battle in this fight.

Free Nelson Mandela now!

Gala celebrates Pathfinder mural

Continued from Page 8

from the audience when Manuel asked them to stand.

He described the attempts by city officials to block or harass the project, including by imposing \$3,000 in fines for posting leaflets publicizing the mural. "Although the final hearing on the fines has not been held," Manuel said, "we have been suc-

cessful in beating this attack back. Our prompt and public response has so far ended further city government attempts to interfere with production of the mural."

Manuel protested the refusal of the U.S. State Department to permit Irish muralist Gerard Kelly and Salvadoran artist Camilo Minero to enter the country to participate in painting the mural.

Drop charges against Hartford 15

"Most Americans don't even know that an incredible trial is about to begin in a Hartford [Connecticut] federal courthouse of 15 Puerto Ricans and one other person accused of conspiracy in the \$7.2 million robbery of a Wells Fargo depot," wrote New York *Daily News* columnist Juan González August 18.

González assailed what he called the "circumstantial silence" of the major media around this trial and the sweeping violations of the defendants' rights that have occurred. "... it's in colonialism's nature that the lives, well-being, and rights of its subjects are never regarded with the same importance as those of the people of the colonizer nation," he commented.

"And the island of Puerto Rico, no matter how fancy the name you give it, has always been a classic colony, ever since Uncle Sam captured it 90 years ago in the Spanish-American War and turned it into a piece of wholly owned real estate inhabited by human beings."

On September 6, jury selection is scheduled to begin in the trial of seven of the Hartford defendants.

It is because they oppose U.S. colonial rule of Puerto Rico that the Hartford defendants have been framed up on phony conspiracy charges. On Aug. 30, 1985, more than 200 FBI agents swooped down on the homes of 11 independence supporters in Puerto Rico, seized personal belongings, and kidnapped them to the United States where they were thrown in jail. Later, the other defendants were arrested.

Accused of conspiracy in the 1983 Wells Fargo robbery in Hartford, Connecticut, and labeled "terrorists," most of the activists were denied bail for more than a year. Defendant Juan Segarra Palmer was kept locked up for two and a half years, and when released last spring, was ordered to always wear an electronic bracelet so federal marshals can monitor his every move.

Defendant Filiberto Ojeda Ríos was kept behind bars even longer — for a total of 32 months, the longest pre-trial detention for any prisoner in the United States since World War II.

In a further flouting of constitutional rights, U.S. government lawyers submitted into evidence 1,500 hours of illegal electronic surveillance of the defendants. As *Daily News* columnist González pointed out, "The island buggings were done despite the Puerto Rican Constitution's prohibiting any kind of electronic eavesdropping — a violation of Puerto Rican law that U.S. officials do not feel obligated to respect."

In July, the judge in the case threw out 50 of these tapes after the defense established evidence of tampering by the government. The government is appealing this decision.

Now with the trial opening, the government has announced plans to subpoena some 400 witnesses, many of them people sympathetic to the anticolonial struggle in Puerto Rico who have no connection to this case. Why are they being called as witnesses? To further harass and intimidate supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

The U.S. government's goal in this case is not only to maintain its colonial domination of the Puerto Rican people but also to set new precedents for its "right" to deny democratic rights to those it labels "terrorists." Today's victims may be Puerto Rican independence activists; tomorrow's will be trade unionists on strike, activists fighting racial discrimination, or opponents of U.S. military intervention in Central America.

All supporters of democratic rights should take up the demand to drop the charges against the Hartford defendants now. One important way to make your voice heard is to join the march in their support scheduled in Hartford for September 24.

Foreign debt squeeze in Asia

The economic crisis that is ravaging Asia, Africa, and Latin America is one of the driving forces behind the struggle being waged by hundreds of thousands in Burma today.

The soaring debt owed by the countries of the Third World to the billionaire bankers in New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, and other imperialist financial centers is one of the main symptoms of the economic crisis.

Since the Burmese government began to borrow substantially from abroad in the 1970s, the country's foreign debt has risen by more than 1,500 percent to nearly \$4 billion.

Burma is far from being an exception. In the Philippines, the annual interest on the country's debt of about \$30 billion is being paid for at the expense of millions of working people in the countryside and urban slums who suffer malnutrition and disease.

The foreign debt of Malaysia has grown from about \$2 billion in 1975 to some \$20 billion today. Since 1980, Indonesia's debt has more than doubled to over \$40 billion, as has India's. Thailand's debt has doubled to \$18 billion in the same time period, while South Korea's debt stands at over \$45 billion.

In a few Asian countries like South Korea, the impact

of the soaring debt to the imperialist banks has been cushioned for a time by an economic upturn. But as signs of the approach of a severe economic downturn multiply in the United States and other centers of capitalism, the squeeze on these countries is tightening as well.

The foreign debt allows the big bankers of the major capitalist countries to siphon ever more wealth out of these countries. It is also a mighty political weapon in the hands of the imperialist powers, enabling them to undermine the degree of political independence that these countries have won in decades of struggle.

In Burma the soaring debt — and the need for ever more loans just to keep abreast of annual interest payments — has emboldened Japanese creditors to demand that the government adopt economic policies that give top priority to the interests of imperialist creditors and investors.

Working people in the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Japan, and other imperialist countries have an interest in defending our fellow workers and farmers in these countries against the loan-sharking of the big financiers.

Our voices should be raised to demand that the immoral and unpayable debt of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America be canceled now.

Answering slanders against Curtis

A package of letters in the *Des Moines Register* on August 20 hostile to framed-up political activist Mark Curtis is part of the campaign being marshaled against him.

An official of the American Postal Workers union in Des Moines wrote that Curtis should not be considered a union activist because he never held an elected post in his union, Local 431 of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

That criteria would exclude millions of workers from being considered union activists. More to the point is the fact that a crucial kind of union activity that workers must take to defend their unions is unifying behind the demands of the most oppressed workers and mobilizing the power of the ranks in action.

That's exactly the kind of union activity Curtis was involved in at the Swift meat-packing plant where he works. At the time of his arrest he was fighting to get Local 431 to defend 17 Latino workers at Swift who had been arrested by immigration cops.

A letter written by a woman from the Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault asserts that Curtis and his supporters are using the charge of police brutality to "cloud the issue of the criminal charges of sexual assault against him."

She also claims, "The last charge the police would choose to fabricate would be sexual assault."

Rape and other forms of violence against women are a

pervasive part of every society which is divided into hostile social classes. Because of this, rape victims are treated with hostility by cops, prosecutors, judges, and some juries.

But the government will — and does — use real or manufactured instances of rape as a pretext for victimizing workers — especially workers who are Black and Latino. And you don't have to look beyond the history of the packinghouse union to find an example of rape being used to frame up a political and union activist.

At the end of 1935 the employers and government took out their vengeance on Minnesota union activist Frank Ellis. They had him arrested and convicted on the trumped-up charge of abducting two young women, one of whom was later supposedly raped in a hotel room.

Two years earlier Ellis had been a leader of the powerful sit-down strikes that led to workers being organized into a union at the Hormel meat-packing plant in Austin, Minnesota.

Curtis is a longtime defender of women's rights. In his remarks to the Young Socialist Alliance conference earlier this year he said, "... as communists we fight to stop violence against women that this society fosters so much. ... Society must take responsibility to help the victims of rape. And the individuals who perpetrate this violent crime should be investigated, arrested and prosecuted."

Who fights Washington's wars — and for whom?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Sen. Dan Quayle got out of a stint in Vietnam by pulling strings to get into the National Guard where he safely rode out the war. We can hardly fault the man for wanting to stay out of the war, but the big majority of draft-age youth at that time did not have Quayle's options. The son of a powerful multimillionaire Indiana newspaper family did what many rich kids before him have done — wielded wealth and influence to stay off the battlefield.

During the U.S. Civil War, for example, youth could evade being drafted into the Union Army by getting someone to take their place or putting up \$300 — a big

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

sum in those days. This discriminatory policy, favoring those with some financial means, was a factor in fueling antidraft protests during the war.

In all the wars since, legal deferments, exemptions, and influence-peddling have given better-off youth more opportunities for staying out of the military forces. Those that do end up there usually become officers or are placed in less hazardous behind-the-lines positions.

There's no way around it. The wars waged by the U.S. government are fought by working-class youth. They do the fighting and dying and bear the physical and mental scars. And the more oppressed and poorer workers are, the more likely they are to find themselves on the front lines.

During the Vietnam War, for example, Blacks suffered nearly 17 percent of all deaths between 1961 and 1967, although the percentage of Black troops in Southeast Asia during those years was around 12 percent. In 1970, while they were 11 percent of the troops in Vietnam, Blacks took 22 percent of the casualties.

The worst thing about this situation though is not that working-class and farm youth do most of the fighting, but that the wars they are mobilized to fight in are not in their interests.

The Union Army's fight to suppress the slaveholders' rebellion in the 1860s, which led to the abolition of chattel slavery, was clearly in the interests of all working people. But this has not been the case for any war Washington has waged in the last 90 years. In 1898 the U.S. rulers entered the business of empire-building by conquering the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba from Spain. And they have been at it in one form or another ever since.

The few dozen ruling families, which dominate industry, commerce, and banking in the United States, conduct wars in order to defend their interests. They seek to protect sources of raw materials, markets, and arenas for investments in order to maintain and expand their profits. But there are too few of them, even if they were so inclined, to actually fight wars and police the world themselves. Can you imagine the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Weyerhaeusers, Mellons, and other capitalist families mobilizing their sons and daughters in infantry brigades to beat back the revolution in Vietnam or revolts in Lebanon or the Dominican Republic?

Even if they mobilized every family member, they can't do it. That's why they have to try to convince us that *their* wars are in *our* interests and that we should send our youth to do the fighting.

While Quayle was content to let others fight in the war, he was no opponent of the U.S. rulers' goals in Vietnam. At least "he did not burn his draft card," Vice-president George Bush declared somewhat defensively. "And he damned sure didn't burn the American flag."

Quayle actually was more affirmative. "I supported my president and I supported the goals of fighting Communism in Vietnam," he told reporters. And if his National Guard unit had been sent to Vietnam — highly unlikely at the time, "I would have been proud to go."

Washington's goals in Vietnam were to try to prevent the workers and peasants from ending capitalist rule and tearing another country out of the world capitalist orbit. The rulers' horrendous war of aggression, which Quayle supported, attempted to prevent the Vietnamese from determining their own future. But Washington failed and working people worldwide registered a big victory.

Quayle says the thing that most troubled him at the time about Washington's war effort was its "no-win policy aspect." He hasn't publicly explained what he thinks should or could have been done to win the war for the U.S. ruling class.

But it's hard to believe that he could outdo his Democratic opponent for vice-president, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen from Texas. When he was a freshman congressman Bentsen proposed that the administration "win" the Korean War by lobbing some A-bombs into North Korea.

I take issue with those who argue that Quayle, only one heartbeat from the presidency, if elected, would not be "qualified" for the job. His hypocrisy and use of family influence scarcely disqualifies him to be a loyal servant for the ruling rich who dominate politics in this country.

Foes of legal abortion press "fathers' rights"

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"Suit Argues Fathers' Rights in Abortion."

That headline in the August 23 *Wall Street Journal* caught my eye, partly because I had just finished writing an article (see back page) on laws that give parents "rights" when the pregnant woman seeking an abortion is under 18.

The *Journal* article, written by staff reporter Martha

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Brannigan, tells the story of Jennifer Reynolds, a 19-year-old grocery cashier from the Salt Lake City area. It's quite a story.

Reynolds was "stunned when, upon answering the door one day in March, she was served simultaneously with divorce papers and a court order halting her abortion." A Utah state district court judge issued a temporary restraining order barring the abortion but lifted it a few days later, after a hearing on the issue. Reynolds had the abortion shortly thereafter.

According to Brannigan, Reynolds is one of at least 11 women around the country "who in the past six months have been sued by their mates in efforts to stop their abortions. While some of the men have won temporary injunctions, they have consistently lost their cases on appeal."

A case in Indiana is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. Erin Conn claims he has the right to force his estranged wife to carry her pregnancy to term. Conn lost an earlier battle last month when the Indiana Supreme Court

ruled that he had no right to veto his wife's abortion because it "concerns only her."

The instigator in this type of lawsuit is rarely some desperate expectant father who will do anything to force his wife to have "his" baby. It is right-wing antiabortion organizations that organize and finance these cases as one of many angles to attack the right to legal abortion.

Conn's lawyer, for example, James Bopp, who just drafted and distributed a "Father's Rights Litigation Kit," is also general counsel of the National Right to Life Committee, a group which opposes legal abortion altogether.

One of the immediate dangers of this kind of harassing litigation is that delays in obtaining abortions as a result of court proceedings — 36 days in the Conn case — increase the health risks to the woman.

Some men admit, in fact, that they file the suits to bide time. "I guess I thought the more time that passed, the chances were greater that she wouldn't go through with it," said Timothy Anderson, who obtained a temporary injunction in July from a Minnesota state district court to halt his wife's abortion. The injunction was soon lifted by the court, which noted that "the Supreme Court has made it crystal clear that a pregnant woman, without the permission or consent or advice from anyone else, may undergo an abortion if she chooses to do so."

On July 1, 1976, the Supreme Court struck down state laws giving a woman's parents or husband a veto over her decision to have an abortion.

Should a husband have the right to veto his spouse's decision to have an abortion?

Both law and social progress dictate a negative answer to that question.

While male sperm is necessary in order to fertilize the egg that produces a child, it is the woman who must live

with the pregnancy for nine months, with all the biological, emotional, economic, and social consequences that entails. It is the woman who then gives birth to the baby and begins nurturing it. And it is the woman, in almost all cases, who ends up raising the child.

No man can have the same stakes in a pregnancy as the woman. That a male companion should have veto power over whether a woman has an abortion is, therefore, outrageous indeed.

Forcing a woman to continue a pregnancy and then give up her baby because she has signed a marriage contract is similar to surrogate motherhood contracts, which require the same thing for financial remuneration. Called by its proper name, it's involuntary servitude. And it is the worst and most dangerous kind of state interference into the private lives of individuals.

When the Supreme Court struck down state antiabortion laws in 1973, it did so on the basis that the "constitutional right of privacy is broad enough to encompass woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

Access to safe, legal abortion has saved the lives of thousands of women. And the ability of women to control their own bodies is a precondition for the achievement of real equality with men.

"Not the church, not the state; women must decide our fate!" is a popular chant at abortion rights protests. It captures the importance of women — not fathers, husbands, boyfriends, judges, priests, or brothers — deciding what they do with their bodies and their lives.

Every measure that chips away at this principle — whether under the banner of "fathers' rights" or "parents' rights" — is a blow to democratic rights and should be opposed by all working people.

LETTERS

Drought

In the August 5 *Militant* article "Socialist candidate: government must act on drought relief for farmers now," the presidential candidate's statement on the drought includes the assertion that Illinois is "the number one corn-producing state."

I have heard Iowa referred to on several occasions as the number one corn producer. Enclosed is an article from the business section of the *Chicago Tribune*. It refers to Illinois as second after Iowa.

Pat Smith

Des Moines, Iowa

Editor replies: Smith is right.

Hiroshima

The reprint of Fred Halstead's 1965 article on "U.S. guilt at Hiroshima" reminds us that Halstead was more than a great orator and organizer. As a scholar he took care to read widely and get his facts straight.

Halstead quotes from seven sources in this brief article. Another excellent point is added by William Appleman Williams in *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Dell, 1962).

Williams agrees with Halstead's central contention that the U.S. dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945, to block the projected Soviet attack on Japan on August 8. "The decision to bomb Japan as quickly as possible was made during the Potsdam conference and at the time of the toughest decisions about Eastern Europe. . . . The United States dropped the bomb to end the war against Japan and thereby stop the Russians in Asia, and to give them sober pause in Eastern Europe."

At Potsdam the United States wanted to block the Soviets from receiving reparations from Germany as a whole. It also wanted to lay the groundwork for excluding the Soviets, its wartime ally that had suffered 20 million dead, from any future U.S. aid program. It later successfully structured Marshall Plan aid in such a way as to be unacceptable to the Soviets. Finally, the U.S. wanted an "Open Door" for trade with Eastern Europe on terms favorable to itself, and to contain the Soviets with hostile forces on its frontiers.

By bombing Japan, the U.S. showed the Soviets its ruthlessness and determination, and for these nefarious motivations hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians paid with their lives. As Halstead concludes, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the opening shots of the cold war.

Mark Schneider

Somerville, Massachusetts

Palestine

Very nice series of articles on Palestine. Quite useful for someone like myself who was not around in the late 1940s or early '50s and is not familiar with a lot of the historical background.

K.C.

Oakland, California

Editor replies:

The series of eight articles, "Palestine and the Arabs' fight for liberation" appeared in the *Militant* from March 25 to June 3 of this year. Pathfinder plans to publish the series as a pamphlet.

British injustice

After reading many copies of the *Militant* and finding myself better informed of world events, I would like to see more reporting on the struggle in the north of Ireland.

The everyday occurrence of British injustice and oppression must be shown to the readership.

Nationalist people who resist and fight back against the forces of occupation need support. I'm sure coverage in your paper would go a long way to see that help is given.

Kevin Dunlea

Marlow, England

"Ride-in" for gay rights

On July 27 some 65 supporters of gay and lesbian rights in Portland, Oregon, joined together in a "ride-in" on the city's buses. The protest was designed to increase public awareness and support for the demand that Tri-Met, the city-owned bus company, once again display public service ads encouraging safe sex and AIDS education.

The ad portrayed two men embracing and smiling. Tri-Met officials removed the ads, claiming they had received 20 calls complaining that the ads were "offen-

sive" and promoted homosexuality. During the ride-in, protesters held posters of the banned ads and leafleted bus riders with information protesting bigotry. Most people responded positively to the protest.

The action was organized by QUAC (Queers United Against Closets). This group formed two months ago in response to a right-wing initiative that aimed to overturn a law prohibiting discrimination against gays and lesbians in state government.

QUAC organized a picket line of 150 to protest the policies of the city's largest newspaper, the *Oregonian*, on July 14. The paper had run a vicious column by a member of their editorial board against the AIDS ad on Tri-Met, had published attacks on women's studies and Native American fishing rights, and had not one word of coverage on the June lesbian and gay pride march, which drew more than 4,000 participants.

Deborah Higdon
Portland, Oregon

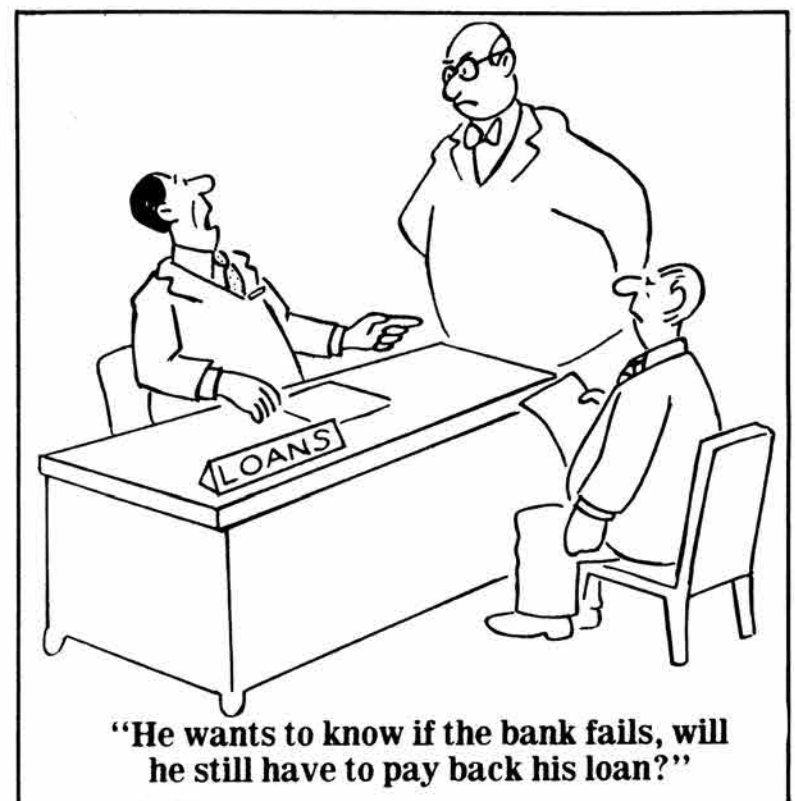
Alvaro Luna Hernández

Alvaro Luna Hernández is a Chicano who is a prisoner in Texas and chairperson of Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education. PURE is an organization of Texas prisoners who struggle to educate prisoners for a militant involvement for prisoners' rights, and for changing the unjust social conditions that caused most prisoners to become "criminals" in the first place.

In more than 10 years of imprisonment, Luna Hernández has helped many men and women imprisoned in Texas and elsewhere. Such involvement has cost him dearly. It was only just recently that he was released into the general prison population after more than eight years in punitive isolation.

Today, Luna Hernández needs our help: year after year he is being denied release on parole so he can continue on with his life. The only reason he is routinely denied parole is because of his political beliefs. He is therefore a political prisoner.

His next review for parole release is in September. Letters can be sent to the Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles, P.O. Box



13401, Capitol Station, Austin Texas 78711, and to Bill Clements, governor of Texas, State Capitol, Austin, Texas 78711.

Send copies of your letters to Committee to Free Alvaro Luna Hernández (Gloria Rubac, chair), P.O. Box 52115, Houston, Texas 77052.

Committee to Free
Alvaro Luna Hernández
Houston, Texas

Farrell Dobbs

In 1941, when I was 19 years old, the newspapers of Minneapolis depicted Farrell Dobbs as a menace to society, and the Teamsters as a band of desperadoes.

Today I have only admiration and appreciation for Dobbs' ability to survive the attacks of the "establishment." Thank you for the coverage of the victory in court over the FBI. Please renew my subscription.

Thomas Kendell Rother
Crystal, Minnesota

Only news I trust

I don't know what I'd do without the *Militant*. It helps keep me sane and in touch with the real world. It's the only news I trust. For the nearly 15 years that I've subscribed, each issue has proved

that my trust is well founded. C.R.C.
Boone, North Carolina

'Missing' facts

In the past few weeks that I have been receiving the *Militant* I have come to depend on it to provide those "missing" facts or details that produce so many questions for me after reading my two daily papers. I hate how slowly it comes though. It seems slower every week, but it could be I'm just more anxious to receive it!

K.J.

El Cajon, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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.

Young women and abortion rights Federal courts split on parental notification laws

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Two contradictory federal appeals court rulings involving the right of teenage women to abortion were recently issued within one week of each other.

On August 8 the appeals court in St. Louis upheld, by a 7-to-3 vote, a Minnesota law that requires women under the age of 18 who want an abortion to notify both parents or get special approval from a state judge.

Four days later, a three-judge panel in Cincinnati struck down as unconstitutional an Ohio law that required doctors intending to perform abortions on unmarried minors to notify their parents.

The opposite conclusions of the two federal court rulings increase the likelihood of review by the Supreme Court. These two decisions reflect both the stepped-up attempts by ruling-class foes of legal abortion to restrict that right, and the majority support for the right of all women to control their own bodies, a support fortified by the experience of 15 years of legal abortion.

The Minnesota restriction was passed in 1981. That was the same year the Supreme Court upheld a Utah law requiring doctors to notify a teenage woman's parents before performing an abortion.

Five years later, in November 1986, Federal District Judge Donald Alsop ruled the Minnesota statute unconstitutional. This was the first case in which the results of how such a law worked in practice had a bearing on the decision. Alsop suggested that the evidence from Minnesota contradicted the Supreme Court's stated assumption in 1981 that such laws could foster helpful consultation between pregnant teenagers and their parents.

After hearing evidence during a five-week trial, Alsop found that the law had traumatized teenagers without serving any legitimate purpose.

Because the 1981 Supreme Court ruling allowed some laws that require parental notification, Alsop struck down the Minnesota law on the basis that two of its provisions were unconstitutional. These provisions required that minors who do not obtain special judicial approval notify not just one but both parents, even in cases of divorce, separation, or desertion. They then must wait 48 hours after the notification.

The appeals court ruling, reversing Alsop's decision, upheld all the provisions of the law. It said the legislation was constitutional because it included a "judicial bypass" that enables a minor to seek an expedited, confidential court hearing as an alternative to notifying her parents.

American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Rachel Pine told reporters that no decision has been made as to whether the ACLU would appeal the negative ruling to the Supreme Court. "On the one hand, we have a very powerful case here. On the other hand, we're a little worried about the current Supreme Court," she said.

The Ohio law is one of those that has never been enforced. Enacted in 1986, the Akron Center for Reproductive Health, two young women, and Max Pierre Gaujean, a doctor who performs abortions at the Akron center, filed suit immediately to block it. A federal district judge struck it down, and the recent appeals panel upheld that ruling.

Linda Soggs, a Cleveland attorney who argued against the Ohio law, called the ruling, "a constitutional victory of some great importance for young women, for the privacy of their bodies, and for adult women and their bodies."

One month before, on July 11, for the second year in a row a federal judge struck down a Georgia law requiring a minor to tell her parents of her intention to get an abortion.

The last time this issue was reviewed by



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

the Supreme Court was December 1987. By a 4-to-4 vote (there were only eight members of the court at the time), the judges let stand an appeals court decision striking down an Illinois law that would

have restricted the right of teenagers to have abortions by requiring them to notify their parents. The evenly split decision with no accompanying opinion meant the court could reconsider the issue when it

Cease-fire, talks in Iran-Iraq war

BY FRED FELDMAN

A cease-fire, requiring an end to combat between Iranian and Iraqi forces in the nearly eight-year Persian Gulf war, officially went into effect August 20. The cease-fire date was proclaimed by United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on August 8.

Under the accord accepted by the Iranian and Iraqi governments, direct talks between diplomats of the two sides will open in Geneva, Switzerland, on August 25. Withdrawal of troops from occupied territory and exchange of prisoners-of-war is supposed to take place soon after the cease-fire begins. A 350-member UN unit will monitor the truce.

According to some estimates, 1 million people have been killed and 1.7 million wounded in the course of the war, which began when Iraqi forces invaded Iran in 1980. Another 1.5 million were forced to flee their homes.

Despite the accord, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci said it would be some time before the U.S. armada of 27 warships in the gulf was reduced. The U.S. naval operation has been used to heighten military pressure on Iran, strengthen the Iraqi rulers' hand in the fighting, and assert Washington's military dominance in the region.

Carlucci said the U.S. presence might, however, eventually be cut back to "three, four, or five ships."

The announcement came after Iraqi President Saddam Hussein dropped his demand that the Iranian government open di-

rect negotiations with the Iraqi rulers prior to a cease-fire.

Pérez de Cuéllar announced August 1 that he would soon officially proclaim a cease-fire, whether or not Saddam Hussein agreed to it.

The Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti governments, which have helped bankroll the Iraqi war against Iran, reportedly also pressured Saddam Hussein to agree to halt the fighting. U.S. diplomats reportedly took a similar stance.

Following the Iranian cease-fire offer,

again had nine members.

Currently some 25 states have laws that require minors seeking abortions to notify or obtain consent from at least one parent.

Only 10 of the states enforce their laws. Some of the others are under injunction to delay enforcement, while others are not enforced because they are clearly unconstitutional or because they have not yet taken effect.

The fight over the right of teenagers to abortion takes place in the context of continuing efforts by the White House and right-wing opponents of abortion to restrict availability of abortions for women.

In Atlanta fundamentalist preachers have since July 19 organized picket lines at clinics that perform abortions, intimidating patients and clinic workers. The demonstrators have also tried to invade clinics in attempts to disrupt their functioning. Termed "Operation Rescue," the right-wing forces have organized to get hundreds of their ranks arrested and jailed hoping to evoke their self-proclaimed image of a new civil rights movement.

Meanwhile, the White House announced on August 12 that it will start enforcing Department of Health and Human Services antiabortion regulations for federally funded family planning clinics.

The new rules would prevent a clinic from using federal funds to inform a woman that abortion is one option for handling an unwanted pregnancy or from referring her directly to an outside abortion clinic even if she requests it. The regulations apply to new grant applications or renewals that come up after October 1.

Federal court orders issued in Denver and Boston in February and March blocked the regulations from going into effect for Planned Parenthood and National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association clinics nationwide.

Iraqi forces opened a military offensive on July 22 in an effort to add to the military gains they had scored in recent months.

On August 3 the Iranian government reported that Iraqi forces had used poison gas in an attack on the West Azerbaijan district in Iran, injuring 1,000 people. Three days earlier, a UN team sent to the Persian Gulf region reported that the Iraqi army had been using chemical weapons since 1984. The Iraqi use of these weapons had lately become "more intense and more frequent," the report stated.

'Independence for Puerto Rico!'

BY ARTEMIO CAMACHO

NEW YORK — Chanting "Independence for Puerto Rico" and "Neither jail nor bullets will stop this struggle," nearly 500 protesters marched from the barrio in East Harlem August 15 to the United Nations. They came from Philadelphia, Chicago, New York City, and Hartford, Connecticut, to demonstrate in support of independence for Puerto Rico during the UN Decolonization Committee hearings on the colonial status of the island.

Both this demonstration and a forum two days earlier attended by 200 people were sponsored by the Committee to March Before the UN. The broad coalition included the National Liberation Movement, National Committee to Free the Prisoners of War, Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression, Office of International Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico, Juan Antonio Corretjer Cultural Centers,

Puerto Rican Socialist Party, United Committee Against Repression, and others.

At the UN rally, Carlos Gallisá, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, said that even Rafael Hernández Colón, governor of Puerto Rico, has said that elections in Puerto Rico don't represent support for Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Elizabeth Quiñónez Ramírez, wife of imprisoned Puerto Rico activist Nelson Ramírez, condemned the harassment of the Puerto Rican liberation movement by the U.S. government.

Jorge Farinacci spoke about the need to "organize those who suffer capitalist exploitation — in production, in education, in health." He is one of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants, who are being framed up by the U.S. government for being proindependence activists.