

Uncertain future for Nicaragua hurricane refugees

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Norma Velásquez is one of 1,300 refugees from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast who fled Hurricane Joan and are now living in a high school here. Velásquez and her children line up for meals at army field kitchens, wash out of buckets, and sleep with four other families in a classroom. There are some sports competitions and musical entertainment, but most of the time the refugees just wait, uncertain about their future.

"We would like to go back home right away, but the government says we have to stay in Managua for six months," Velásquez said. "They say back home the water is contaminated, there's no electricity, and there's nowhere to live."

Hurricane Joan struck Nicaragua October 22. The death toll from the storm now stands at 116 people. Tens of thousands of families are homeless.

The worst hit areas were on the Atlantic Coast — Corn Island and the towns of Bluefields and El Bluff — as well as the town of Rama, 30 miles inland from Bluefields.

On October 30 Lumberto Campbell, head of the government in the South Atlantic region and a Bluefields native, returned from a trip to Europe where he had sought large-scale financial aid. Upon arriving in Nicaragua, Campbell met with refugees in Managua and they went to Bluefields to join in the recovery work.

"We're going to need sustained help for several years to recover from the hurricane," Campbell said.

Continued on Page 11

What corporate buyouts reveal about economy

BY FRED FELDMAN

An accelerating wave of buyouts of major corporations is spurring financial speculation on Wall Street — and at the same time, fueling worry and fear.

On October 24 the firm of Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co., which specializes in buying out corporations, made a \$20.3 billion offer for RJR Nabisco. It is the largest attempted buyout ever. RJR Nabisco is the 19th largest U.S. corporation.

One week later, Philip Morris Companies bought Kraft, Inc., for \$13 billion — creating the world's largest conglomerate producing consumer goods.

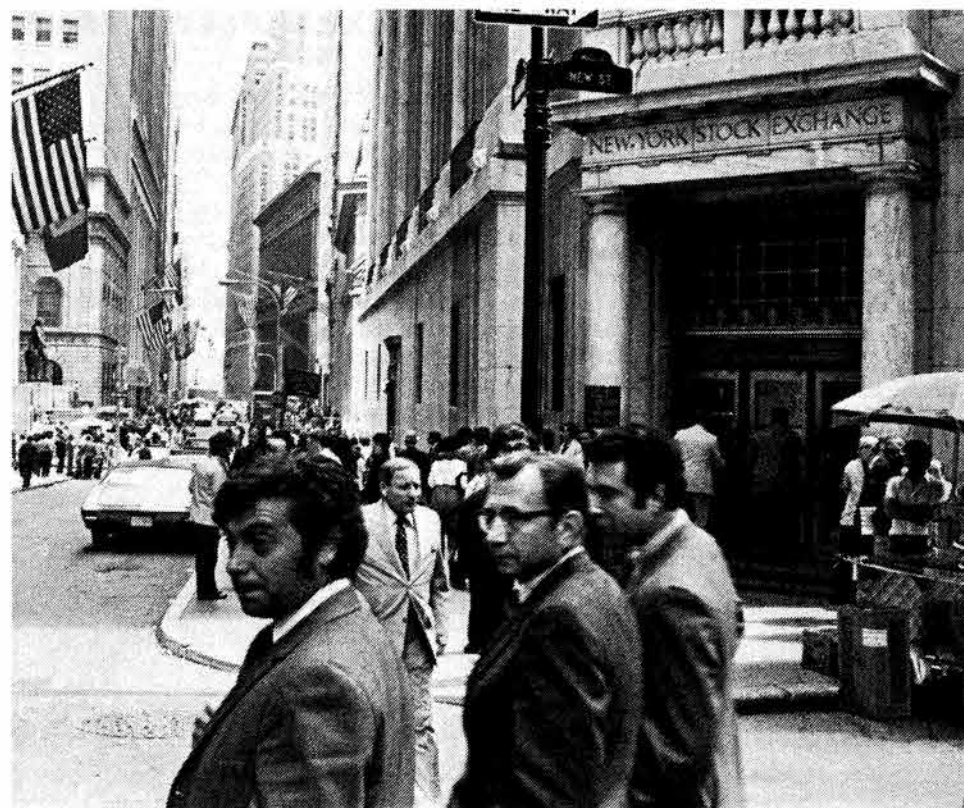
These were among 777 buyout offers since Labor Day — some of them competing bids for the same companies.

The proposed buyouts initially caused a sharp increase in prices on the New York Stock Exchange, spurred by these bids and by speculation on many other possible buyouts. The rally brought the Dow Jones Industrial Average of stock prices to the highest point since the October 1987 stock market crash. This was followed, however, by a sharp fallback in the stock prices of potential takeover targets.

Buyers on the bond markets — where banks, corporations, and government bodies raise funds by selling interest-bearing securities — responded with alarm to the latest takeovers. The prices of corporate bonds — particularly those of corporations thought to be buyout targets — found few buyers, and prices of some dropped sharply.

The reason for anxiety on the bond markets is that the buyouts are financed by massive increases in corporate debt. This in turn inspires fear that these debts may prove unpayable when the current economic upswing is succeeded by a recession.

Top corporate executives quoted by the *New York Times* as criticizing the takeover binge claimed that massive debt burdens



Militant/Ed Weaver

One year after worldwide stock market crash, corporate buyouts are fueling new speculative bubble — and fear about the future.

resulting from mergers, acquisitions, and buyouts make it more difficult to finance new plant and equipment.

The reason for the wave of buyouts, however, is that big investors judge that there is a higher rate of profit to be had from investments in such financial speculation than from money used to expand productive capacity. Bankers and other financial institutions make the same estimate when they advance big loans for corporate buyouts.

In the course of the current economic upturn, U.S. and other big capitalists have made huge profits. Yet investment in new plant capacity in 1987 was \$13 billion, down by 25 percent from the 1981 total. The drop is even steeper when inflation is taken into account.

Where are the big profits going? Buyouts, mergers, and acquisitions are one major arena of investment. In 1988 alone \$393 billion has been spent on mergers and acquisitions, up 300 percent since 1984. Another \$90 billion has been poured into what have become known as "leveraged" buyouts, up 500 percent since 1984.

The contest for ownership of RJR Nabisco is an example of a leveraged buyout.

In such deals, a group of investors — sometimes made up of top company managers — bids to purchase a company and, in many cases, to remove its stock from public sale. This is known as becoming "private."

The deal is financed by massive borrowing from financial institutions — averaging \$9 out of every \$10 invested — and by the sale of high-risk, high-yield "junk bonds" especially created to finance the purchase.

Kohlberg's \$20.3 billion offer for RJR Nabisco is an example of a leveraged buyout.

Continued on Page 13

Soviet gov't seeks foreign investment

BY FRED FELDMAN

In the face of growing economic difficulties, the Soviet government is stepping up its efforts to attract loans, investment, trade, and technology from the major capitalist powers.

Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev announced October 27 that the government anticipated a budget deficit equivalent to \$59 billion this year.

"This is not a problem that has cropped up all of a sudden," he told the Supreme Soviet, the chief legislative body in the Soviet Union. He indicated that the government has been operating at a similar annual deficit for a number of years. In previous years, however, officials had claimed a slight surplus.

Gostev warned that the deficits could contribute to inflation.

He blamed the shortfall on several factors, including subsidies to 24,000 enterprises operating at a loss and "parasitic attitudes" among the Soviet people.

He also cited the \$66 billion in exports that the Soviet Union has lost since 1985 because of the decline of oil prices on the world market. Oil is the Soviet Union's top export. The slash in oil income has forced the Soviet government to sharply reduce imports.

Gostev admitted that Soviet food production is not making headway. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had reported two weeks earlier that food production last year was only 41 percent higher than in the 1966-70 period, although investment in agriculture had increased 140 percent.

The chairman of the State Planning Committee reported October 27 that the supply of consumer goods had not improved.

At the root of these problems is the stagnant labor productivity in the Soviet Union, which stems both from technological backwardness and from low morale among the producing classes.

The technological lag, compared to the major capitalist powers, is particularly severe in the field of computerization, where the Soviet Union has yet to mass produce personal computers or computer controllers for factory machinery. The Soviet Union also trails in the production of semiconductors, accounting for only 3 percent of the world's total.

In recent years Gorbachev and his supporters in the Soviet bureaucracy have been admitting some of the problems that face the Soviet economy. The Soviet leader has proposed a policy of restructuring — "perestroika" in the Russian language — to overcome them.

Greater reliance on market forces, he argues, rather than the former emphasis on commands from an administrative center, should guide the Soviet economy.

The proposals include a degree of decentralization in planning, granting more authority to the management of individual plants to determine production plans and prices, and intensified competition among factories for shares of the market.

Economic incentives on the one hand, and the fear of possible plant closings and unemployment on the other, are counted on

to motivate workers and farmers to work harder and better.

To overcome the food crisis, Gorbachev has proposed leasing more of the land currently held by collective farms to private operators. This will deepen inequalities in the countryside and will intensify conflicts between workers and the farmers who profit most from this scheme.

Current steps

Finance Minister Gostev said that the main steps to combat the budget deficit will

Continued on Page 13

Campaign to send storm relief to Nicaragua gets under way

BY HARRY RING

From the United States and other countries, emergency relief is beginning to flow into Nicaragua in the wake of Hurricane Joan's devastation.

While Washington has refused to contribute, several governments have given some aid. Many private organizations are collecting relief supplies and funds.

In the wake of vigorous protests by humanitarian aid and Nicaragua solidarity groups, the Canadian government increased its contributions from an initially announced \$259,000 to \$1.68 million.

In the United States the Mennonite church is now loading a ship in Canada that will

carry 1,000 tons of rice, beans, and other foods to Nicaragua. A second ship will depart from a U.S. port with blankets, clothing, and 25 tons of canned food.

Quest for Peace, a pacesetter in providing humanitarian aid for Nicaragua, has organized six airlifts since the hurricane hit. It also bought quantities of medicine abroad, sending one plane load to Nicaragua from Panama, and a second from Denmark.

Two air shipments of relief supplies have also been sent by Walk for Peace, in Tucson, Arizona. (Departure of the second plane was temporarily delayed by Federal

Continued on Page 2

N.Y. police dragnet targets Dominicans

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

NEW YORK — The deaths of two cops here is being used to justify a massive operation to intimidate and terrorize Dominicans in Upper Manhattan.

The two cops were killed in separate incidents on the night of October 18. In one, the police shot and killed Miguel de la Rosa, a young Dominican.

By October 28 the police had arrested several suspects allegedly involved in the killings or of aiding the killers' escapes. The media immediately convicted them and labeled them "drug pushers" and "cop killers."

Immediately following the confrontations that led to the cops' deaths, large units of heavily armed police moved in to the Upper Manhattan area. They stopped subways to search the trains. They closed off streets and began door-to-door searches and interrogations in residents' houses.

Local TV stations interrupted their programs to bring live coverage of the cop operations and the police department's version of the incidents.

On October 20 police in the 24th and 34th precincts began rounding up Dominican youth. Busloads of cops arrived in the neighborhood who then pulled Dominicans out of homes, cars, laundromats, and stores.

Youths were held for as long as 10 hours without formal charges. Family members and lawyers were refused information

about the whereabouts or condition of those being held.

One young Dominican woman described the treatment she and others received in one of the precincts. The police interrogated her five times over nine hours. They threatened to deport Dominicans who did not cooperate with the investigation. They also beat a number of youths.

For several more days the police continued to systematically sweep through the community. Without warrants, they went from door to door interrogating families and demanding evidence of legal residence in the United States. Subsequently, authorities have initiated deportation pro-

ceedings against a number of individuals.

Virtually all the major TV and radio stations and newspapers highlighted the ongoing raids and government and prosecutors' statements.

Beginning the night of the cops' deaths, the media carried interviews with the dead cops' families, friends, and fellow cops. The wakes and funerals and accompanying massive mobilizations of cops were featured prominently.

A public forum to protest police brutality and racism was held October 29 at the Broadway Temple in Upper Manhattan. During the discussion an account was given of the police stopping and beating

youths on the streets during the raids on the Dominican community. Several other attacks were described, including the arrest October 1 of two Dominican activists who were distributing literature on the street.

Others spoke of recent cop murders in the community.

Related to this, in the context of the New York cops' campaign against the Dominicans, a Brooklyn judge dismissed a jury that for months has been investigating the murder of Dominican worker, Juan Rodríguez. The death of Rodríguez, who was beaten to death in his apartment by a group of police in January, had sparked an outcry of protest in the Dominican community.

Campaign to aid Nicaragua steps up

Continued from front page

Aviation Administration harassment.)

November 2 a half-page ad appeared in the Portland *Oregonian*. It featured a group of more than 100 residents of the area who have traveled to Nicaragua.

Explaining they have seen firsthand what Nicaragua was coping with before the hurricane, they appealed for emergency aid. They also demanded that the U.S. government aid Nicaragua and normalize relations with it.

At the Washington-area office of Quest for Peace, staff member William Callahan said that in addition to the eight planes already sent, the organization has scheduled 40 sea shipments of 20-ton cargo containers of relief by Christmas.

He said the organization's goal of \$10 million worth of emergency relief will be met and other groups will send an equal amount.

Callahan described some of the international aid that has gone to Nicaragua.

Sweden, he said, has sent \$2 million worth of roofing material and tools. The European Parliament has contributed \$1 million. Norway sent \$640,000 worth of foodstuffs, and Cuba a half million pounds of food.

Guatemala sent several hundred thousand units of antitetanus vaccine and Panama, a 6.5 ton shipment of relief supplies.

The government of Britain gave about \$360,000 worth of relief, and the Netherlands \$130,000.

In the United States the Nicaragua Network, a national solidarity group, shipped 20 tons of oats to be made into a children's nutritional preparation.

The network is undertaking a large direct-mail appeal and anticipates a good response. A spokesperson said that in the week following the hurricane, \$12,000 was received in unsolicited contributions.

Meanwhile, Oxfam America, an affiliate of the international relief organization, had a supply plane slated for departure November 4 from New York, with stops in Washington, D.C., and Miami to pick up a total of 25 tons of goods.

Oxfam voiced concern about possible U.S. interference with the flight. Officials in Washington have suggested that housing material and other supplies might be in violation of the U.S. embargo against Nicaragua.

In New York, Nicaragua solidarity groups and humanitarian aid organizations established a coalition and set a goal of raising \$100,000 by December 1. A telephone bank was organized at the offices of United Auto Workers Local 259. On the first weekend of solicitations, \$12,000 was pledged.

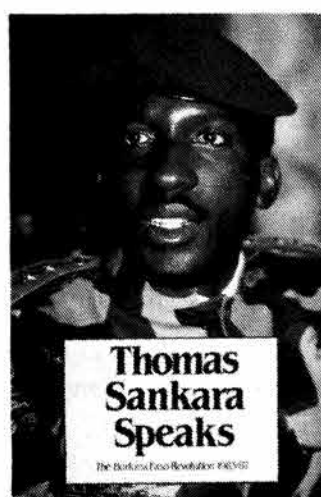
In the Minneapolis-St. Paul area a broad range of organizations established the Nicaragua Hurricane Relief Committee. Preparations are under way for a direct-mail appeal, a fund-raising dance, and other activity.

On November 9 at 4:30 p.m., the coalition is holding a picket at the county government building in downtown Minneapolis to protest Washington's refusal to grant hurricane relief to Nicaragua.

Pastors for Peace in Detroit bought two Mercedes diesel trucks, loaded them with relief supplies, and dispatched them to Nicaragua. Along with their contents, the trucks will be left there to help Nicaragua rebuild.

In Miami a hurricane relief coalition is focusing on support to the Pastors for Peace convoys. One diesel truck, bought by an individual, is being loaded with medicines and other essentials, and more will be collected.

Gary Kettner in Toronto, Markie Wilson in Portland, Estelle DeBates in New York, Argiris Malapanis and Ramona Olson in St. Paul, Jeff Powers in Detroit, and Pete Seidman in Miami contributed to this report.



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For Texas students, hearing Warren 'was an experience'

BY JON HILLSON

HOUSTON — "I agree with what you said about the stock market crash," the University of Houston student said. He was speaking during the question and answer session that followed Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren's speech on campus.

The October 1987 Wall Street collapse "is one of the most significant events of our time," the student continued. "I don't think we're going to need an impetus to mobilize people. There'll be deep, turbulent developments because of the depression that's going to come. It'll be the same situation as the 1930s. I think we have to see that suffering isn't created again."

Warren nodded in agreement and urged the dozen or so students present at the October 24 meeting to get a copy of the SWP's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. The socialist candidate had described the program in his speech. Five students did just that. Most of the rest of the discussion also centered on the crash and what it signals for working people and youth.

One student — a young woman from Singapore — had gotten a leaflet for the meeting half an hour earlier at the campus student center. She explained to the SWP campaign supporter who gave it to her that she wanted to attend but had a class at the same time. She changed her mind, though, and came anyway. She took notes throughout the speech and discussion, bought an *Action Program*, and thanked Warren for the talk and giving her a chance to hear his ideas. "This was an experience," she said.

Warren's visit was the first event sponsored by the newly recognized Young Socialist Alliance group at this state university of 20,000.

Winding up his Houston tour, Warren spoke at a meeting at Texas Southern University, a predominantly Black and Chicano state university of 10,000.

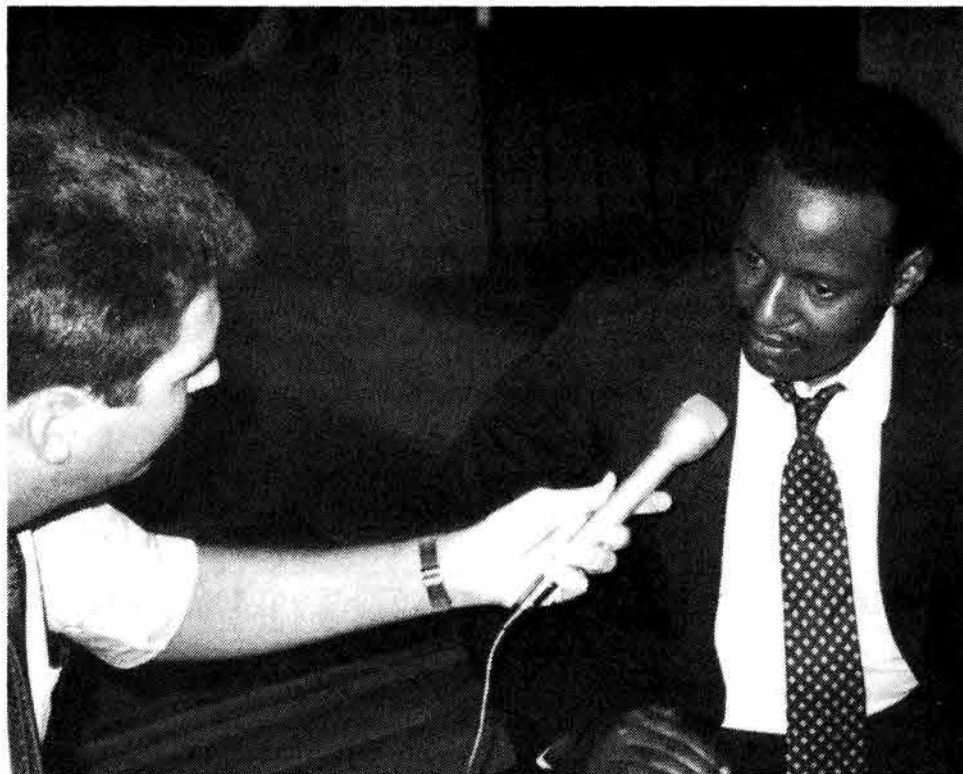
The socialist candidate's talk was jointly sponsored by the Chicano Law Students Association and the Student Bar Association at the Thurgood Marshall School of Law. About 90 students and several faculty members attended a reception for Warren, which was followed by a short presentation.

The discussion at TSU focused on whether or not to vote for Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis as a "lesser evil." The exchange was initiated by a faculty member who supported Dukakis.

"I respect you," Warren replied. "It's better that you have progressive opinions than being a reactionary. But that has nothing to do with what the Democrats are, what the Democratic Party stands for, has done, and will do. They could care less about what you think and believe. You hope Dukakis is a lesser evil, you want him to be that, but it's just a wish. You have to face reality, not run from it."

A Black student spoke up to agree with Warren. "I love my people," she said. "But we have to be realistic. This is a class thing. There are two classes, the 'haves' and the 'have nots.' I would love to say there's a 'lesser of two evils,' but it holds out a hope. But we're going to be hurt by this economic crisis. And who gets hurt depends on what class they're in. And we are not in the upper echelon."

More than 25 students signed up to find out more about the Young Socialist Alliance at Warren's two campus engagements here.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Warren's visit to University of Houston was covered by campus TV, radio, and newspaper.

'No' vote urged on Mich. antiabortion measure

DETROIT — Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan, has been urging a vote against Proposal A when he's spoken around the state this fall. Proposal A on the Michigan ballot seeks to outlaw the use of state funds to pay for Medicaid abortions.

"Passage of this vicious measure would be a blow to every woman's right to choose abortion in this state and throughout the country," he commented in a recent statement. "But those hit hardest by its passage would be those women who are already the most vulnerable. Poor women — Black, Latino, and white — and young women, those with no other resources to draw on, would be denied the right to control their

own reproductive lives."

"This is an issue for all working people and other supporters of democratic rights," Friedman added. "It's not just a 'women's issue.' For workers — male and female alike — it's a major question of class unity. If the capitalist rulers and their point men in the so-called 'right to life' movement are successful in denying part of our class the democratic right to control their bodies, all of us will suffer, including men. It's similar to how the employers use racism. All workers are weakened if the bosses get away with using racism to deny those who are Black their right to equal treatment. Racial oppression is not just a question for Black workers."

"And the question of abortion is important for our class as a whole in another way," Friedman continued. "Passage of this amendment would be one more victory in the capitalists' effort to restrict and stigmatize abortion in general. This makes it easier to discriminate against women, pay them less, keep them in 'women's jobs' — all because they aren't 'real workers' like the rest of us, their 'real role' is as wives and mothers."

"As the economic crisis deepens, the employers will deepen their attacks on women along these lines," the socialist candidate said. "That's why it's crucial for all workers to look at this issue as their own and campaign for the labor unions to defend abortion rights."

Mickells talks to immigrant workers in California

BY SELVA NEBBIA

OAKLAND, Calif. — "Workers from Mexico and from further south come to the United States with the illusion that they will be able to make a living and send some money home to their families. How is it possible to get these workers to become active in politics?" José asked Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Kathleen Mickells.

"What more and more workers have found out is that they can't survive, and that the only choice they have is whether to fight or not," answered Mickells.

The socialist candidate was talking with a group of campaign supporters here October 30. They are immigrant workers from Mexico. José, who is 17 years old, came from that country in May and has been working as a farm worker in Watsonville, about 95 miles south of Oakland.

"All workers — whether they come from Mexico, the United States, or Jamaica — want a job and a decent standard of living," replied Mickells. "And everybody has to fight their way through the fear and the divisions that the bosses and the government foster."

"I think that it is very important for all workers in the United States to take up the struggles of immigrant workers," she continued. "It is something that we need to take to our unions, like the fight against the deportation of undocumented workers. And those who understand this should play a leadership role and help generalize this lesson."

"I think that all those people who come to this country with the illusion of finding a job are aware that they have to fight, but they don't know how to," said Sergio, a 16-year-old unemployed worker. He met José in Watsonville while taking an English class and brought him to meet the socialist candidate.

"I think that we must reach them, and explain our ideas to them, so that they too become part of the struggle," he continued.

Carlos, another campaign supporter who recently moved here from Watsonville,

said, "I think that to reach Mexican workers, we have to start from their own values, from their own cultural perspectives."

Theresa, another supporter who is also from Watsonville, added, "We have different problems than other workers who were born in this country."

"Well, my opinion is that we can reach these workers and get others to understand their plight by starting from the experiences we all share as workers, our commonality," Mickells said. "The situation in which you live is similar to the situation of many other workers. Capitalism and the crisis this system brings drives us together," she added.

The next day, Mickells had a discussion in one of the airport lounges with a group of campaign supporters who work at the San Francisco Airport. One of them was Kevin, a 21-year-old Black ramp worker and member of the International Association of Machinists. He had been reading the SWP's *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

"In these elections, neither of the major candidates have been addressing the question of the stock market crash or of the depression that is coming," he said. "There is going to be a depression, and this is not a trivial thing."

"It's hard to convince some of these people who have homes and good jobs that there are a bunch of people out there who are not bums, who maybe have a part-time job or no job at all, but who don't have a home to live in," said Kevin. "We need a system that fights just as hard for the homeless as for other working people."

"Workers who are better off deny reality out of fear that it's going to happen to them," responded Mickells.

"The homeless are workers just like the rest of us," she continued. "They are workers who have been pushed out of productive life."

Kevin explained that he agrees with many of the ideas presented in the *Action Program*, but wondered how working people are going to get to know the SWP since

the campaign receives so little publicity in the capitalist media.

"It's not like you turn on your TV set and hear about the SWP," he said. "I found out about it here, from some friends at work."

"We are a small party," Mickells replied. "We begin as a minority, not as a majority. We are trying to build that vanguard that will be able to unite working people in the fight for our rights."

"That is why it is important for people like you to join the Socialist Workers Party now," she told Kevin.

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Curtis support meeting held in Stockholm, Sweden

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international protest campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

"Mark Curtis is in jail because he fought for unity among all workers to fight back against the

against it that immediately preceded Curtis' arrest last March.

"Mark did not get justice," Tirsén said, referring to his September trial. "He was not allowed to present important evidence, and he was not judged by a jury of his peers.

"It's hard to get justice here, too," Tirsén said, pointing to the case of nine Kurdish immigrants who are under "town arrest" — not allowed to leave the towns where they live. They haven't been informed of what crime they are accused. One of them sent a

in California after an incident in which a cop was shot during an armed chase by the police on Croy's reservation.

Gunnel Bergström, a member of Amnesty International, sent a letter to Amnesty in Stockholm and London urging them to take up Curtis' case:

"As I see it, Mark Curtis is to be regarded as a prisoner of conscience. All the facts that I have learned about the case, together with information from Swedish people who know Mark Curtis personally, convince me that he is far from a violent person, and that the charges against him are false."

Other support from Sweden includes protests from the Socialist Party of Sweden.

"The Mark Curtis case has been covered by mass media in Sweden during the last months and many people are upset because of the mistreatment of Mr. Mark Curtis," read a letter of protest from the SP branch in Eskilstuna, in the southern part of Sweden.

A mailgram demanding Curtis' immediate release from jail was sent by Stellan Hermansson, general secretary of the Young Communist League, youth group of the Left-Communist Party, which has members in Sweden's parliament.

Black farmers gave a warm welcome to supporters of the Curtis case at the Sixth Annual Conference of Texas Black Farmers and Ranchers.

A hundred people attended the conference, which took place the weekend of October 14-15 in Dallas. About half the participants were Black farmers and the other half staff people from the Texas Agriculture Department.

During the Saturday luncheon there was a panel of speakers, including Jim Hightower, Texas commissioner of agriculture. After the last speaker on the panel, Martin Burrell from the Dallas Department of Agriculture introduced Greg Rosenberg, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1303, who explained the frame-up of Curtis.

A Curtis literature table was set up. Thirty-four participants signed petitions, and nine became sponsors of the defense committee.

Among those who signed up were: John Vlcek, assistant commissioner, marketing division of the Texas Department of Agriculture; James Muse, Waller County commissioner; Maurice Owens, member of Hampstead Small Farmers Confederation; and farmer Ben Burkett.

At an October 1 Jobs with Justice rally and a United Mine Workers of America social the next day, 48 people in Sheridan, Wyoming, signed Curtis petitions. About half were from UMW locals 1972 in Sheridan and 2055 in Big Horn, Wyoming. The social marked one year since their strike against Decker and Big Horn coal companies began. The strike ended in June.

Each person who Curtis supporters talked to had a story of their own, whether it was harassment from the Baker security firm, the union-busting outfit the company hired to break the strike, or frame-ups by the local cops or the "strike task force" controlled by the county government.

"A year ago I might not have believed you, but after what has happened here, I have no problem," was the response of a number of workers. Some unionists got their friends to sign the petitions.

Meredith Rinker, a leader of the strike committee and former local president in Sheridan; James "Fred" Wright, a UMW International board member; and Bill Thompson, president of the Rocky Mountain Farmers Union, all signed the petitions.

Catharina Tirsén and Mary Selvas contributed to this column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

attempts by the cops and the bosses to victimize foreign-born workers," said Dag Tirsén to a meeting held in Stockholm, Sweden, to protest Curtis' frame-up.

Prior to the meeting, Curtis supporters had collected more than 50 names on the streets of Stockholm demanding justice for Curtis.

Tirsén had met Curtis at an international active workers and educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, in August. Tirsén told the meeting about Curtis' activities as a unionist in the meat-packing industry and about the immigration raid at his plant and protests

support letter to the defense committee.

Elisabet Rydell-Jansson of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee in Sweden told the story of the frame-up of the Indian leader in the United States. "When I hear Dag talk about Mark Curtis I recognize many details that are similar to Leonard's case," she said. "Leonard was not judged by his peers, and false evidence was used against him. He could not use the evidence he wanted to present."

Robert Decompo, a representative of the Patric Croy Defense Committee, also spoke. Croy is an Indian who has been on death row

Curtis backers plan petition drive, Marroquín speaking tour

BY SANDRA NELSON

DES MOINES, Iowa, — Supporters of framed-up political activist Mark Curtis crammed into defense committee headquarters here October 28 to adopt perspectives for the next few months. Participants came from Des Moines, Perry, and Carlisle, Iowa; Omaha, Nebraska; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Chicago; and Detroit.

John Studer, outlining proposed perspectives on behalf of the committee's officers, noted that the authorities were successful in railroading Curtis to jail. But they failed to close people's minds or silence Curtis and his supporters, he said. "For the last month we have received new backing, including from William Bywater, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers; Zenaida Uy, the general secretary of Bayan, the largest mass

organization in the Philippines; and many others.

"What we need now," Studer continued, "is to build a long-term campaign to convince and recruit growing numbers of union members, farmers, political activists, students, and supporters of democratic rights. We must build a defense that will grow until it is powerful enough to force the release of Mark Curtis."

Studer outlined a set of proposals for the defense campaign.

The first is an international drive to sign up 5,000 endorsers for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee by March 4, 1989, the first anniversary of the frame-up and beating. "This drive will help focus discussions and win people all over the world to be public supporters," Studer said. "Many

will also decide to become activists in the fight."

The campaign will help broaden the financial base of the defense, Studer noted. "Everyone who signs up as an endorser can also make a financial contribution."

The second proposal is that the committee organize a national speaking tour for Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. The tour, Studer said, will celebrate the victory in Marroquín's 11-year fight against government efforts to prevent him from living and working in the United States because of his political activities and membership in the SWP.

Marroquín plans to urge his supporters to join the effort to win freedom for Curtis. Studer explained that Marroquín's victory was possible because of the growing fight for immigrants' rights, which is a central issue in the Curtis case.

The tour will start in Des Moines on November 19, Studer reported. The United Mexican-American Cultural Center here has been secured for the meeting, and Alfredo Alvarez, chairman of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, is scheduled to speak.

Marroquín will also go to Omaha, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Washington, D.C., and New York.

Following Studer's report, Jason Redrup, a defense supporter who works at Fawn Engineering in Des Moines, reported on initial efforts to sign up endorsers on the job and in his union, Local 270 of the United Auto Workers.

"I've already signed up a number of people and gotten a couple of contributions," he said. "I've got appointments later this week to sign up the president and vice-president of the local."

Kathleen Fitzgerald reported that the International Association of Machinists lodge in Detroit that she is a member of had voted to support the defense committee and to donate \$100.

"We received invitations from 17 other union locals to address their next meeting," she added. "We spoke last week to the United Transportation Union, which voted to endorse and send a contribution."

Fitzgerald also described opportunities to win support from farmers.

Joe Swanson, a steelworker from Oma-

Oscar Mayer to close hog slaughterhouse in Iowa

BY NAN BAILEY

PERRY, Iowa — October 6, Oscar Mayer Foods Corp. announced it will close its hog slaughterhouse here on Feb. 3, 1989. Plant manager and company Vice-president Roger Kinson said the reason is economic. "The profit margins just aren't what they should be," Kinson said. He said Oscar Mayer, which is owned by Phillip Morris Co., is getting out of the slaughter business and will concentrate on meat-processing.

Almost 800 workers, 600 of them production workers, will be out of a job when the plant shuts down.

At least three times over the last several years the company has threatened a plant shutdown in order to wrest concessions from workers at the plant. In 1982, presented with such a threat, workers accepted a wage cut and a three-year freeze in wage increases. In 1983 additional concessions were demanded by the company, under threat of a shutdown again. Workers accepted a \$2.44-an-hour pay cut.

Then in 1986 another shutdown was announced. Members of United Food and

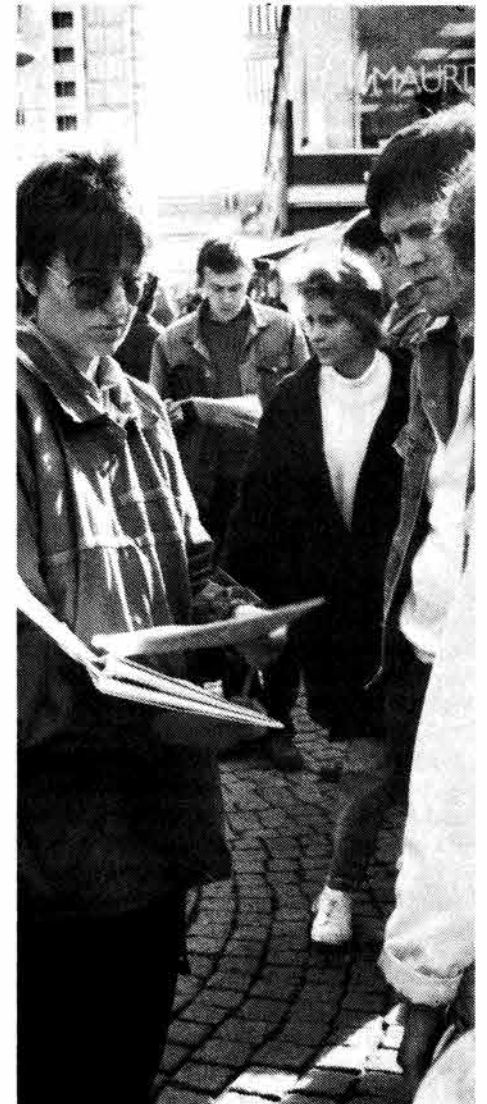
Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149 approved further concessions. Most notable among these was a three-tier wage scale providing newly hired workers with a \$6 an hour wage. It now takes production workers two years to earn the base pay of \$9.20 an hour.

Each concession was accompanied by increases in production and line speed.

Most meat-packers at the plant reacted to the shutdown announcement with bitterness and anger. The company did not even directly inform workers of the closing before publicly announcing it. Most heard about it on the evening news after leaving the plant. "It was really rotten how the employees were told," one worker said.

Most workers are convinced this latest shutdown notice is not a bluff. Over the last few weeks, Con Agra and Excel, two companies rumored to be considering buying the plant, have toured the facility and held meetings with company officials.

Nan Bailey is a member of UFCW Local 1149, and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 4th C.D., Iowa.



Militant Supporters of Mark Curtis in Sweden gathered 50 signatures on petitions for Curtis in downtown Stockholm.

ha, urged maximum use of the proposed endorser drive. "I served as the Midwest representative for the Political Rights Defense Fund a couple years ago," he said. "I traveled throughout this area, visiting with union members, farmers, and political activists to explain the importance to the defense of all our political rights of the SWP's lawsuit against FBI spying and disruption. A big part of this effort was to convince them to sign up as endorsers of the PRDF. It was a big help in getting them to understand that case and to commit themselves."

Nan Bailey, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers and SWP candidate for Congress in Des Moines, reported that packinghouse workers who support the Curtis fight are organizing teams to visit meat-packing plants around Iowa to win support.

How Curtis got truth out, rallied support after cops framed him

BY MARGARET JAYKO

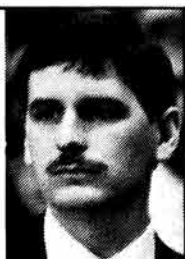
(Sixth of a series)

DES MOINES, Iowa — On March 12, 1988, a week after Mark Curtis' arrest on phony rape charges, he participated in a demonstration in support of 17 Latino co-workers who were arrested when immigration cops raided the Swift meat-packing plant here.

At that march, for the first time, Curtis and supporters distributed a leaflet, in English and Spanish, describing the frame-up and asking people to come to a meeting at the Pathfinder bookstore after the demonstration. Curtis was interviewed by the media at the rally.

Among those who first met Curtis there was Hazel Zimmerman. She lives on a farm south of Des Moines, in Carlisle, Iowa. She works for the Internal Revenue

The Mark Curtis Story



Service and is a member of the Committee On Social Justice of the Scotch Ridge Presbyterian Church. Zimmerman was one of several character witnesses called by the defense at Curtis' September trial.

She told the court that the reason she showed up at the March 12 protest was that she was "incensed that the government stabbed people in the back who applied for amnesty." Several of the undocumented workers arrested during the raid at Swift had applied for the government's amnesty program. "If I don't protect others' rights, mine will be taken away," she explained.

In an interview last summer, Zimmerman said that when she saw Curtis at the demonstration — his face all bruised and cut up — "I went looking for the facts." After she found them, Zimmerman said, she began "looking for justice."

More than 40 people came to the meeting that Saturday afternoon. Participants included workers from Swift, several of whom were Latinos; members of the Iowa Citizens Action Network; students from the University of Iowa and Drake University; and Jane Curtis, Mark's mother.

They decided to organize a news conference for the next weekend to get out the truth about Curtis' arrest and beating by the cops.

Curtis urged everyone to send telegrams to Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder demanding that the charges against him be dropped, protesting his brutalization by the cops, and demanding an investigation into the beating.

Supporters then put out another piece of bilingual literature and issued a petition with the demands to the police chief on it.

Frame-up

The press conference was Curtis' first opportunity to explain publicly to a broad audience what had actually happened the night he was arrested. In an article head-

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist in Des Moines, Iowa. On Sept. 14, 1988, he was convicted on sexual abuse and burglary charges, and is currently being held in the Marion County Jail. He is scheduled to be sentenced on November 18.

Unionists, farmers, and youth around the world recognize that Curtis is one of those workers who are starting to stand up and fight back against the employers and their government. In their thousands, working people are beginning to join the fight for justice for Curtis.

The Mark Curtis Story is a multipart series that describes what happened to Curtis, where it fits into the class struggle, and the big stakes for working people in the fight against this frame-up.

lined "Rape charge called frame," the *Des Moines Register* stated, "Curtis said the incident began when he stopped his car for a traffic light at Harding Road and Forest Avenue the night of March 4. A young woman 'flagged me down and asked me to drive her home because a man from a nearby tavern was after her,' he said. [Curtis actually told the *Register* that he was stopped at Harding and Clark St.]

"Curtis said he drove the youth to a house so she could call police. She asked him to accompany her to the house, he said, while she checked to see if it was safe. He waited on a porch while she went inside, he said.

"Police officers arrived within minutes, he said, and one grabbed him, took him into the house and handcuffed him. The officer then pulled down Curtis' pants, he claimed.

"Curtis said he denied to the officers that he tried to rape the teen-ager. 'One of them said, 'You're one of those Mexican-lovers and you love those coloreds, too,'" he said."

Then, said Curtis, the police beat him, shattering his cheekbone.

At the March 19 news conference, Curtis made public the files that had been kept on him by the FBI when he was an antiwar activist in Birmingham, Alabama, from 1981 to 1985. These files were part of the FBI's covert spy operation against the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

On January 27 the Center for Constitutional Rights had made public some of the 1,200 pages of documents it had squeezed out of the government through a lawsuit under the Freedom of Information Act. The FBI refused to release another 2,400 pages.

Victim of FBI spying

The FBI's spy operation was far-flung indeed, targeting hundreds of individuals and 150 organizations solely on the basis of their political views and activities.

The FBI used informers and undercover agents to identify those who attended CISPES-initiated activities, opening files on each of them and any organization they represented. The FBI relied on secret presidential guidelines for authority to target CISPES and then expanded the operation to go after other opponents of the U.S. war drive in Central America, including unions, church groups, and political organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Curtis is a member of the SWP and former YSA national chairperson.

In 1984 Curtis was a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with Central America in Birmingham, Alabama. Like thousands of other youths, Curtis, a union member, helped organize and participated in protest activities against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

One heavily censored letter to FBI headquarters from the Birmingham FBI lists Curtis as one of those identified "as acting in the leadership role in the Birmingham area." Curtis' name was on the national cop computers from then on.

The FBI file described the Birmingham organization as follows:

"Group is led by students from University of Alabama in Birmingham (UAB) and have had several peaceful protests in Birmingham area. . . . Last known protest in area was Veteran's Day, 11/11/83. Captioned group advocates 'peace — not just absence of war, but nurturing of human life.'"

"Captioned group believes U.S. foreign policy of late advocates the overthrow of any foreign government, which is not in agreement with the Reagan Administration. While this group does not favor civil disobedience, they will ally themselves with any group, violent and non-violent, in order to further their goals."

In a speech to a Socialist Youth and Activists Conference last April in Pittsburgh, Curtis talked about his participation in the



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis, showing signs of his beating at hands of Des Moines cops a week before, talks to media at March 12 demonstration. It was here at rally to defend his Latino coworkers caught in immigration raid that Curtis began to enlist support against frame-up.

Birmingham Committee in Solidarity with Central America:

"We didn't like the fact that the U.S. government was sending guns to the dictatorship in El Salvador," he said, "guns that end up in the hands of the death squads who torture, rape, and murder unionists and farmers who dare to speak out."

The group also opposed the U.S.-run contra war against Nicaragua. "Far from 'terrorism,' which is what the FBI claimed they were investigating, our group put on slideshows, organized peaceful demonstrations, etc.," said Curtis.

In addition to the news media at Curtis' press conference, some 50 workers, students, antiwar and antiracist fighters, and women's rights activists packed into the room in Hawthorne Hill social services building in Des Moines where Curtis spoke. They came to hear him give his account of the beating and the frame-up.

Antiwar activists get involved

Antiwar activists made up a large part of Curtis' supporters at the March 19 press conference. Many had heard about the case from Curtis and others at a March 17 demonstration against Washington's decision to send 3,200 troops to Honduras, which was an escalation of the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua.

Among those who first heard about the case at that protest were Robert Berry and Nellie Berry. I talked to them at the defense committee office here on October 1. They both were born in Kansas, Nellie in 1918 and Robert in 1912. Nellie's parents were farmers and Robert's were workers. The Berrys moved to Des Moines in 1948.

"I was always a Democrat," Nellie told me. "And that doesn't mean that on occasions I haven't voted Republican because I didn't like what the Democrats were doing. But hopefully I can vote Socialist this year."

Robert's father and mother were very interested in socialism. His father was an active socialist in the 1920s and was involved in the unemployed movement in the '30s. His father didn't drive and so Robert used

to take him to meetings. Robert read a lot about socialism when he was a young man and has always considered himself a socialist. He said he's also an avid reader of the Bible. Both Nellie and Robert joined the Iowa Socialist Party in the 1980s.

Nellie is a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She joined because of her opposition to U.S. wars. She demonstrated at the statehouse in Des Moines against the Korean War in the 1950s. Eight hundred to a thousand people participated, including a lot of teenagers. Some GIs were involved as well. She also protested the U.S. war in Vietnam, Star Wars, and Washington's intervention in Central America.

Robert worked for 30 years as a press operator for the *Des Moines Register*. He was an active unionist for decades.

Nellie described a 1940s protest at a drugstore in Des Moines against anti-Black segregation. "Edna Griffin, by the way, was in that protest," she said, referring to the longtime Des Moines civil rights activist who's also a supporter of the Curtis defense effort. "I didn't know what they were protesting about, but I didn't cross the line," said Nellie. The store only served whites at the lunch counter and civil rights activists were picketing it.

How did they get involved in the Curtis case? Robert attended the protest against the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras. Curtis supporters were passing out a leaflet. Robert read it, got interested, took it home to Nellie, and they decided to go to the next meeting of the defense committee.

They've been involved ever since. Commenting on the cop beating of Curtis, Robert said, "Whether the man was guilty or not, the police had no legal, constitutional, or moral right to abuse someone that way."

The more they found out about Curtis and the defense campaign, the more involved the Berrys got, especially when they learned about Curtis' active involvement in the struggles of immigrant workers. "Mark was effective" in fighting for

Continued on Page 13

How you can help

• **Raise money.** The Mark Curtis Defense Committee needs to raise \$60,000 by December 31 in order to cover the expenses of the defense effort. Funds are urgently needed right away. More than 1,000 people have donated money to the defense effort to date.

Contributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. (Checks for large tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.)

• **Get out the truth.** A combined petition and fact sheet, with excerpts from messages protesting Curtis' conviction on sexual abuse and burglary charges, are available.

Buttons that read, "Justice for Mark

Curtis! An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!" can be gotten from the committee for \$1 each.

Representatives of the defense committee are available to speak at meetings.

• **Endorse the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.** Send your name and how you'd like to be identified to the committee.

• **Write to Mark Curtis.** His address is Marion County Jail, Knoxville, Iowa 50138. Copies of the letters should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee.

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

Target week boosts int'l sales drive

BY JIM WHITE

Reports from our supporters indicate that the international circulation campaign is picking up steam during the first days of the target week, which began October 29. As we enter the last three weeks of the drive, sustaining and building on this momentum is the key to fighting to make the goals by November 19.

The scoreboard, which includes week-end results from only a handful of cities, shows that the drive slipped another percentage point behind and now stands at 64 percent of the goal of winning 10,400 readers for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazines *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

We also aim to sell more than 20,540 copies of *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a Pathfinder pamphlet that contains proposals put forward by the Socialist Workers Party. Our supporters have reported sales of 10,051 copies of the pamphlet, 49 percent of the goal.

Initial reports indicate the kind of boost the target week is giving to the drive.

Our supporters in Newark, New Jersey, sold 27 copies of the *Action Program* at their first all-day table downtown since winning a fight with the city administration over the right of political activists to sell literature from tables in that city. Their totals for the day were 105 *Action Programs* and 25 subscriptions, 13 to the *Militant* and 12 to *PM*.

We reported last week that our distributors in Birmingham planned to send teams to the nearby coalfields while carrying out an intensive phone calling campaign to get renewals. Tuesday an overnight express package arrived in New York with 24 new subscriptions and eight renewals.

Helen Meyers reports that six international volunteers sold 15 *Militant* subscriptions in the first two days of the target week at the All People's Caribbean Book Fair in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. In the course of the 12-day event, they have won 35 new subscribers to the *Militant* and one to *Perspectiva Mundial*. They have also sold 25 copies of *New International* and 39 of the *Action Program*, along with some \$1,500 worth of Pathfinder books.

Kipp Dawson reports from Pittsburgh that the biggest successes there came after the weekend. A team on Monday to Edinboro State University sold 12 subscriptions to the *Militant* and one to *PM*, along with six copies of *NI* and 10 of the *Action Program*. Another team on Tuesday to Penn State University sold 16 subscriptions to the *Militant* and three to *PM*, and 21 copies of the *Action Program*. Students at both campuses expressed interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

Special steps are being taken to sustain this campaign spirit through November 19.

Our supporters in Auckland, New Zealand, who have been ahead of the pace throughout the drive are raising their goals in all categories a total of 45 percent. Other areas that are doing well can help the whole drive by reaching for higher local goals.

Our distributors in New York City have the largest numbers to sell in the remaining days. James Harris reports that they are going all-out to fight for 100 percent of each goal. One full-time team traveled to Albany early in the week, as another was preparing to spend three days at upstate

campuses. Additional teams are going to campuses in the city.

Two full-time teams are hitting the road in the United States for the final two weeks of the drive to reach hundreds of workers, farmers, and students. One team will travel to the coalfields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. The other will tour the Midwest, focusing on the meat-packing industry, farm areas, and campuses.

During the final stretch of the drive, many areas will also be selling the French-language *Lutte Ouvrière*. Published in Montréal, it is now appearing in a new monthly magazine format. Sales of the new issue, which features the *Action Program*, will count toward that goal.

LO has an attractive introductory subscription offer that can be used to build a readership among those in the working class who speak and read French.

We need the help of every reader in this last push. Talk to your coworkers and friends. Or if you want to join us on the streets, look us up on page 12, or call our business office in New York at (212) 929-3486.

SWP veteran Oscar Coover dies in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — A meeting to celebrate the life of veteran socialist Oscar Coover will be held here Sunday, November 20, at 2:00 p.m. Coover, a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Los Angeles October 28 at age 68 following a long fight against cancer.

Speakers at the event include Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International*.

Coover grew up in Minneapolis, then a center of the 1930s labor radicalization. He participated as a teenage supporter in the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes.

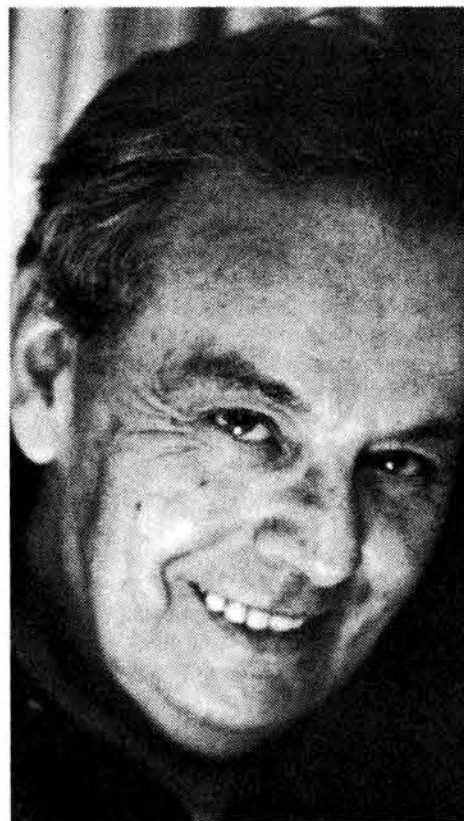
A merchant seaman in his youth, Coover served in the late 1940s as an official in the National Maritime Union in the port of Baltimore until the McCarthyite witch-hunt led to the screening out of socialists

and communists by the government.

Coover worked as a carpenter in Hollywood movie and television studios from the mid-1950s until his retirement five years ago.

An early opponent of the U.S. war in Vietnam, he was a leader of the Spring Mobilization Committee, which in 1967 organized one of the largest antiwar demonstrations on the West Coast.

Coover served on the SWP National Committee for many years and was the organizer of the Los Angeles branch of the



Militant/Della Rossa

Oscar Coover

party from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s. He was the SWP candidate for governor of California in 1962 and for mayor of Los Angeles in 1965.

Elizabeth Stone, chairperson of the Los Angeles SWP, said party members, supporters, and others are planning to come to the Los Angeles meeting from throughout California, including the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area and San Diego, and from Phoenix, Arizona.

For information on where the meeting will be held call (213) 380-9460. Messages can be sent to: SWP, 2320 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. Telephone (213) 380-9460.

A meeting in tribute to Coover will also be held in New York, Friday, November 18 at 7:30 p.m. Waters and Barnes will speak at the event to be held at 79 Leonard Street in Manhattan. Telephone (212) 219-3679.

French-language socialist publication appears in new format

The first issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, published in Montréal, is just off the press in its new monthly magazine format. The socialist publication was previously a tabloid that appeared biweekly.

The magazine features, for the first time in French, *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. The program contains the proposals put forward by the Socialist Workers Party for how working people can unite to defend themselves from the economic crisis announced by the stock market crash of October 1987.

The cover price is \$2 in Canada and the United States, or 12FF. A four-month introductory offer is \$4 in Canada, \$5 in the United States, or 30FF.

The contents also include an introduction to the new magazine; a report on the defense campaign of Iowa frame-up victim Mark Curtis; an article on the tour in Montréal and Toronto of Socialist Workers Party U.S. presidential candidate James Warren; and a joint statement by the candidates of the SWP and the Revolutionary Workers league of Canada on the Akwesasne and Cree Indians' struggle.

This issue also carries a report on the participation of Canadian workers and students in voluntary work brigades last July in Cuba.

To subscribe in Canada write C.P. 280, succursale de Lorimier, Montréal, Québec H2H 2N7. In the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific write 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 U.S.A. In Britain, Europe, Africa and the Middle East: 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England.

Or contact the nearest Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12.

Sales drive scoreboard

Area	Drive Goals			Militant subscriptions		New International* single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES									
Portland, Ore.	140	123	88	100	98	25	20	15	5
Cleveland	165	141	85	110	91	40	38	15	12
Salt Lake City	125	98	78	90	75	20	15	15	8
Pittsburgh	250	192	77	185	137	45	46	20	9
Newark	530	379	72	275	177	140	131	115	71
Oakland, Calif.	215	152	71	120	110	45	6	50	36
Philadelphia	250	173	69	160	120	40	27	50	26
Birmingham	185	125	68	145	104	30	17	10	4
Omaha	135	91	67	90	74	25	4	20	13
Price, Utah	70	47	67	50	36	10	5	10	6
Boston	350	230	66	230	145	50	46	70	39
St. Louis	220	144	65	170	111	40	28	10	5
Atlanta	220	143	65	160	107	40	12	20	24
Greensboro, NC	145	93	64	110	75	20	16	15	2
New York	1,200	742	62	600	410	300	179	300	153
Milwaukee	170	104	61	110	65	35	14	25	25
Seattle	275	168	61	200	132	25	12	50	24
Morgantown, WV	175	104	59	135	81	30	20	10	3
Los Angeles	700	414	59	375	227	125	42	200	145
Charleston, WV	105	62	59	85	54	15	5	5	3
Twin Cities	350	205	59	270	169	50	13	30	23
Austin, Minn.	110	63	57	85	51	15	3	10	9
Miami	300	171	57	185	104	55	35	60	32
Detroit	265	140	53	200	121	40	11	25	8
Des Moines	210	110	52	150	87	40	16	20	7
Chicago	460	233	51	300	172	60	20	100	41
Kansas City	120	60	50	75	42	20	8	25	10
San Francisco	350	157	45	200	108	75	14	75	35
Phoenix	160	68	43	80	42	25	1	55	25
Houston	215	89	41	140	52	30	16	45	21
Washington, DC	250	97	39	150	61	50	15	50	21
Baltimore	215	79	37	175	69	30	2	10	8
National teams	200	58	29	130	54	20	0	50	4
Columbus	25	3	12	25	3	-	-	-	-
Denver	24	9	38	15	7	2	0	7	2
Louisville	5	1	20	5	1	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	52	-	-	37	-	13	-	2
U.S. totals	8,884	5,320	60	5,685	3,609	1,612	850	1,587	861
AUSTRALIA									
	50	27	54	35	22	5	4	10	1
BRITAIN									
London	145	110	76	75	74	30	14	40	22
Nottingham	61	34	56	35	29	20	2	6	3
Manchester	70	27	39	50	18	5	9	15	0
South Wales	80	23	29	40	18	30	1	10	4
South Yorks	90	25	28	50	19	20	3	20	3
Other Britain	54	64	-	25	47	20	14	9	3
Britain totals	500	283	57	275	205	125	43	100	35
CANADA									
Montréal	275	176	64	125	76	75	63	75	37
Vancouver	45	27	60	30	20	5	1	10	6
Toronto	400	237	59	250	155	75	51	75	31
National team	-	93	-	-	74	-	9	-	10
Other Canada	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Canada totals	720	537	75	405	329	155	124	160	84
ICELAND									
	32	17	53	25	13	5	4	2	0
NEW ZEALAND									
Auckland	145	117	81	100	87	35	22	10	8
Christchurch	70	46	66	60	44	8	1	2	1
Wellington	92	68	74	68	59	22	8	2	1
New Zealand totals	307	231	75	228	190	65	31	14	10
PUERTO RICO									
	30	11	37	5	5	2	0	23	6
SWEDEN									
	65	54	83	35	33	10	3	20	18
Other International	-	124	-	-	72	-	33	-	19
Totals	10,588	6,604	64%	6,693	4,478	1,979	1,092	1,916	1,034
Drive Goals	10,400			6,630		1,895		1,875	
Should be		7,324	70%		4,669		1,334		1,320
*Includes Nouvelle Internationale									

*Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*

Protests urged against city's harassment of Pathfinder Mural

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — The Pathfinder Mural Project here is calling on supporters around the country to step up protests against trumped-up charges and other political harassment by city officials.

"We are calling on everyone who supports the right to place a political mural on the wall of the Pathfinder Building to demand that Mayor Edward Koch put a stop to this harassment," declared Sam Manuel, director of the project.

The mural, now being painted on the six-story south wall of the Pathfinder Building, depicts a printing press churning out sheets of paper bearing portraits of revolutionaries and working-class fighters whose writings are published by Pathfinder. Beneath the press, crowds of workers and farmers — including portraits of many historical leaders of struggles of the oppressed — bear banners proclaiming "For a world without borders" in Spanish, French, and English.

Manuel says that the mural is due to be completed in the spring of 1989. The latest of the major portraits to be finished was that of Ernesto Che Guevara, painted by Argentine artist Ricardo Carpani.

The mural is visible from more than a mile away and can be seen by the tens of thousands of motorists who pass by it each day on the nearby West Side Highway.

Evidence of harassment barred

The call for stepped-up efforts to defend the mural followed an October 19 hearing on 35 citations issued last December by the city's Environmental Control Board. The citations, which could bring fines of up to \$3,500, charge the project with illegally pasting leaflets on lampposts.

The cited leaflets advertised an open house at the mural site featuring Arnaldo Guillén, a well-known artist from Nicaragua. He painted the mural's portrait of Augusto César Sandino, who led armed resistance to U.S. occupation in the 1920s and early 1930s. Guillén also contributed to the portrait of Carlos Fonseca, founder of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front.

At the October 19 hearing, Administrative Law Judge Louis Sitkin refused to hear any testimony on mural supporters' charge that the citations represented selective prosecution based on the political character of the mural.

When Andrea Morell, a spokesperson for the mural who appeared as a witness, cited some of the planned portraits, including Karl Marx, Malcolm X, and Fidel Cas-

tro, Sitkin interrupted her. "I'm not interested in your political philosophy," he said.

Many protests

Sitkin agreed to consider evidence that the citations were never properly served and set November 30 as the date for the next hearing.

The judge also refused to place in the record statements by individuals who are convinced that the project is being politically harassed. Among those who have made statements protesting the harassment are New York State Assemblyman Roger Green; Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus; folksinger Pete Seeger; United Farmworkers of Washington State President Tomás Villanueva; muralist Eva Cockcroft; and artist Rudolf Baranik.

Baranik declared the mural to be "the most important public art that is going up in New York."

Assemblyman Green wrote to Koch, "It is my hope that this worthwhile project be allowed to continue unhampered. The Mural Project will become part of the artistic ambience of New York City. It is a project we will all be proud of."

Mural project spokespeople explain that the citations came in the context of a pattern of harassing moves by city officials. A few weeks earlier, police called the city department of buildings to register a complaint from "a local citizen."

The "local citizen," Yudel Kyler, later complained to the *New York Times* that the mural was "being accepted on the basis that everyone has a right to free speech. But I think it should be whitewashed over."

Koch's attack

On February 19 Mayor Edward Koch replied to a letter from a mural supporter protesting harassment. Denouncing those portrayed in the mural as "Marxist-Leninist luminaries," his letter denied that the city was harassing the mural project. "Failure

to obtain Building Department construction permits for a massive, six-story steel and lumber scaffolding to be used in painting the mural," he charged, "is a serious violation of the New York City Administrative Code."

According to spokespersons for the mural, Koch's charge was not true. In November 4 when work on the mural was in its early stages, a representative of the city's buildings department had visited the site. He said he did not know whether a permit was needed for the six-story scaffolding on which artists would be working. Although no clear answer was obtained from the city on this, the mural project obtained a permit anyway on November 13 — four months before Koch made his accusation.

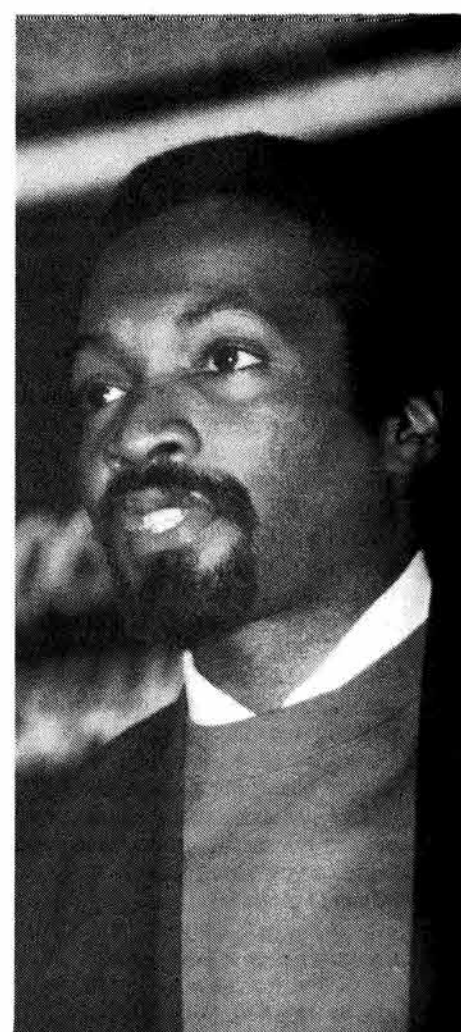
"Despite the refusal of the judge to hear testimony that shows that the citations represent politically motivated harassment," Manuel stated, "I think we can rally the wide support needed to push back further this attack on the mural."

Widely publicized

Manuel pointed to the wide publicity the mural has received in recent weeks, as it has become an increasingly known landmark in the New York area. The international character of the project — with participation of artists from Nicaragua, Argentina, El Salvador, Grenada, South Africa, Canada, and other countries — has been a center of attention.

On October 5 a segment of National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" news program discussed the mural. Articles and photographs appeared in the September 7 *New York Times*, and the September 30 *Daily News*. The Times story was reprinted in part in the *San Diego Union*.

The October 25 *Carib News*, a New York weekly oriented to people of Caribbean origin, carried a centerfold story and photograph of South African artist Dumile Feni and the section of the mural contain-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
New York State Assemblyman Roger Green told New York City Mayor Koch that mural is "a project we will all be proud of."

ing his portrait of Nelson Mandela. The mural was also featured in a story in the October 17 issue of *Insight*, published by the *Washington Times*.

Manuel urged that protests call on city officials to lift the citations against the mural project and halt all other harassment. He recommended that letters and telegrams be sent to Mayor Edward Koch, City Hall, New York, New York 10007. Copies should be sent to the Pathfinder Mural Project, c/o Pathfinder Books, 79 Leonard St., New York, New York 10013.

Pathfinder Fund picks up momentum from rallies

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The Pathfinder Fund to raise \$250,000 by December 1 has picked up momentum in the past week. A successful first round of rallies in the United States celebrating books published and distributed by Pathfinder confirms that the fund goal can be met.

But the gigantic job of systematically organizing to accomplish this in the next four weeks lies ahead.

The \$250,000 is needed to meet Pathfinder's expenses in publishing, promoting, and distributing books on working-class struggles around the world.

In an important step forward, Pathfinder fund organizers in 32 U.S. cities have now taken goals for what they will raise in their area. Adding in the contributions promised by supporters in other countries, the total comes to about \$249,000, up from the \$212,400 that had been pledged as of the last issue of the *Militant*.

Miami fund organizers originally set themselves a goal of \$4,800, but increased this to \$5,500 after supporters packed the Pathfinder bookstore October 29 to celebrate the book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia.

Some 55 people turned out, including more than a dozen Cubans. The *Miami Herald* and one Spanish-language radio station ran announcements of the rally.

In Omaha, Nebraska, the night before, a rally took place at the Pathfinder bookstore to celebrate the book *Thomas Sankara Speaks, The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87*. Following the talks, there was a discussion period in which several participants asked, what can we do to help Pathfinder and make the fund goal?

A Vietnam veteran volunteered to begin setting up literature tables to get out Path-

finder books in the city. Another suggestion made was to take up collections at showings of the new Cuban video on Angola, which Pathfinder is distributing. Workers in several Omaha factories had already been planning house meetings to show the video to coworkers.

Omaha fund organizers say the discussion was "a shot in the arm." They are now preparing to meet with trade unionists and other political activists to ask them to make a contribution to the Pathfinder Fund, as well as approaching long-term subscribers to the *Militant* in Omaha.

This is the approach needed everywhere. The initial book celebrations indicate many people consider Pathfinder *their* publishing house. They are all potential contributors to the fund.

The book celebrations scheduled over the next month provide the basis for reaching out widely to coworkers, farm activists, those involved in the Black and women's rights struggles, and others who appreciate Pathfinder books and will donate to keep those books coming off the press.

Organizing these supporters to participate in the fund is also crucial to making the \$250,000 target. To be assured of raising that much, the overall goal for all cities needs to be raised from its current \$249,000, to \$260,000.

The second big challenge is collecting the pledges. Only \$77,380 has been collected thus far, leaving more than \$170,000 to be paid in the last month.

Fund organizers need to talk to everyone who has made a pledge to work out a weekly plan of payment. In every city where a book celebration is scheduled, all those who have outstanding pledges should be asked to pay them in full by the day of the celebration.

Pathfinder Fund contributions

UNITED STATES	Goal	Received
Atlanta	5,000	1,000
Austin, Minn.	2,800	545
Baltimore	2,800	545
Birmingham	7,000	300
Boston	9,000	3,955
Charleston, W. Va.	3,500	220
Chicago	8,900	800
Cleveland	5,400	1,707
Des Moines	3,000	815
Detroit	5,500	2,475
Greensboro, N.C.	2,800	810
Houston	8,500	3,710
Kansas City	3,700	1,915
Los Angeles	16,000	3,964
Miami	5,500	2,650
Milwaukee	2,300	690
Morgantown, W. Va.	4,500	870
Newark	10,000	5,405
New York	25,000	6,506
Oakland	13,000	5,535
Omaha	3,800	1,565
Philadelphia	7,000	2,980
Phoenix	3,500	645
Pittsburgh	5,000	1,495
Portland, Ore.	4,000	1,105
Price, Utah	1,800	850
Salt Lake City	6,000	2,650
San Francisco	11,500	5,791
Seattle	6,500	1,030
St. Louis	8,500	3,303
Twin Cities	12,000	3,210
Washington, D.C.	7,500	1,210
Other U.S.	7,500	1,292
Total U.S.	228,800	71,543
INTERNATIONAL	Pledged	Received
Australia	820	20
Britain	3,966	296
Canada	10,255	3,457
France	200	200
Germany	150	0
Iceland	1,010	102
New Zealand	2,055	435
Sweden	500	145
Other International	1,182	1,182
Total U.S. Goals and Int'l pledges	248,938	
Total received		77,380

\$250,000

Pathfinder Fund

Deadline: Dec. 1

☐ Enclosed is \$_____ for the fund.

☐ I pledge \$_____ to the fund.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip/Postal Code _____

Country _____

Clip and mail to: Pathfinder Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

250,000

Collected \$77,380

Peace and autonomy in Nicaragua's North Atlantic region Historic challenge facing Sandinista revolution

BY HARVEY McARTHUR
AND JUDY WHITE

(First of four parts)

PUERTO CABEZAS, Nicaragua — Late one afternoon in September, local and regional government officials held a meeting in La Tronquera, a small logging town 70 miles northwest of this North Atlantic Coast port. Nearly half of the 30 participants were Miskito Indians, a few were English-speaking Blacks, and the rest Spanish-speaking mestizos. Most were members or supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). The invited guests, however, included local leaders of YATAMA, an armed Miskito group that for years had fought alongside the contras against the Sandinista government but is now observing a cease-fire.

La Tronquera is the administrative center for 80 small farming and fishing villages strung along the Coco River and its adjacent plain. The total population of this area is 32,000. They are mostly Miskito Indians, though a few Sumu Indians, mestizos, and Blacks also live in the area.

The meeting was called to review the problems facing the local population and the work of the government in providing health, education, transportation, food, and other services.

"This is really the first chance in years we've had to hold such a review," said Mirna Cunningham as she opened the meeting. "Before, we were just going from one crisis to another." Cunningham, a Miskito, is a Sandinista leader and head of the North Atlantic regional government.

The discussion highlighted the devastating impact of the contra war in this area and the difficult task of reconstruction now facing the toilers of the river villages. Thousands of people are still dependent upon food handouts from the government, Red Cross, and church agencies. Many families do not have adequate shelter. Tuberculosis, malaria, and malnutrition are widespread.

Hope for the future

The upcoming harvest provides hope for the future, Cunningham noted. For the first time in years, the Miskito peasants along the river have produced a substantial crop. The challenge to the government is to compete with Honduran merchants to buy as much of the crop as possible, and to transport it for sale where needed. Cunningham stressed that the state purchasing agencies would have to offer a competitive price and ample supplies of the clothing, tools, and food sought by the Indian farmers.

The meeting in La Tronquera would have been impossible only a few years ago. Then, the villages along the Coco River were abandoned. Thousands of the Miskitos had fled to Honduras, and thousands were fighting with the contras. Those who remained in Nicaragua had been moved away from the river by the Nicaraguan army and were living in resettlement camps far from their homes.

During those years, the YATAMA and Sandinista forces were shooting at each other. Contra ambushes and attacks were common in the area, destroying schools and clinics, burning vehicles, and killing

and kidnapping civilians.

Today, however, most of the Miskitos have returned to their villages along the Coco River and have begun rebuilding their houses and planting crops. Fighting has virtually ceased in the area, and 200 YATAMA troops now function as a local militia in the river villages.

The changes in the Coco area are a measure of the success Nicaragua's workers' and farmers' government has had, both in defeating the contra army and in increasing collaboration with the indigenous peoples of the coast. This collaboration, in particular, is a result of the progress in developing a program of local autonomy for the region.

The Atlantic Coast is home to Nicaragua's Miskito, Sumu, and Rama Indians, as well as English-speaking Blacks and Garifunas (who are of African and Caribbean

In September Harvey McArthur and Judy White of our Managua Bureau made a reporting trip to the North Atlantic region of Nicaragua.

This week we are publishing the first installment of a four-part article they have written on the peace and autonomy process in that area.

This coverage provides background on the economic and social conditions in the North Atlantic area, the shifts in the policies of the Nicaraguan government, and the challenges facing the residents in the post-contra war period.

The most severe damage caused by Hurricane Joan in October was in the Bluefields area on the South Atlantic Coast. —The Editors

Indian descent) and Spanish-speaking mestizos. These coast peoples are referred to collectively as *costeños*. Although Indians and Blacks make up only 3 percent of Nicaragua's population, they are a majority in the sparsely-inhabited Atlantic regions.

Ignorance of the Atlantic Coast

At the time of the 1979 revolution, the FSLN had only a handful of members and organized supporters on the Atlantic Coast. Most of the new government officials assigned to work there came from the Pacific regions and had little knowledge of the different traditions and concrete situation of the coast peoples.

"We arrived on the coast with the enthusiasm and honesty of revolutionaries, but as strangers to the *costeños* and knowing nothing of the peculiarities that characterize social transformations in the Nicaraguan Caribbean," commented FSLN leader Tomás Borge in a recent interview with *Barricada Internacional*. Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior, has been president of the National Autonomy Commission since 1985. He plays a central role in developing government policy in relation to the Atlantic Coast.

Different historical experiences meant "the inhabitants of both sides of the country inherited a strong dose of resentment and prejudice," Borge said. "This was complemented by certain symptoms, not very visible but real nonetheless, of racist pathology on the Pacific, where the population is predominantly mestizo and white."

Following the 1979 revolution, the new government expanded health and education services on the coast and invested in mining, lumber, and fishing projects. But some steps it took clashed with the traditions and desires of the area's toilers. In particular, government attempts to impose farm cooperatives, village committees, and militias were largely unsuccessful. And some *costeños* strongly resented the fact that most government officials were from the Pacific.

History of exploitation

The Atlantic Coast has had a distinct history ever since the start of the European conquest of Nicaragua.

Spanish colonizers occupied the Pacific Coast and central regions during the 16th

century, subjugating or wiping out most of the Indians there. Although they claimed possession of all of Nicaragua, the Spanish rulers never conquered the Atlantic regions.

Instead, the Atlantic Coast became a haven for pirates who raided the Spanish crown's treasure fleets. English colonizers arrived during the 17th and 18th centuries. They established logging camps and sugar plantations and brought African slaves to do the work.

Instead of enslaving the Miskitos, the English enlisted them as allies to attack Spanish settlements in other parts of Nicaragua. Miskito chieftains used this alliance to acquire firearms that enabled them to dominate the Sumus and other indigenous peoples.

Nicaragua won independence from Spain in 1821, but the Atlantic Coast was not brought under the control of the Managua-based national government until 1894. The Nicaraguan government continued the oppression of the coast peoples, but in different forms. These included attempts to impose the dominant culture of the Pacific on the *costeños*. For example, the use of Indian languages and English in the schools was outlawed.

As a result, many *costeños* opposed the new rulers and remained hostile to the mestizos in the rest of the country.

Washington backed the Managua government's rule over the Atlantic Coast as a means of pushing out the British once and for all. The U.S. government wanted a free

placed the English-speaking Blacks above the Miskitos and the Miskitos above the Sumus.

The companies also hired workers from Jamaica, British Honduras (now Belize), and other Caribbean countries, many of whom settled permanently in Nicaragua. They brought to the Atlantic Coast the experiences of the working-class and anti-imperialist struggles then beginning in the Caribbean.

The companies imported large amounts of U.S. consumer goods to the coast, and traders penetrated to the most remote villages. This encouraged the indigenous peoples to grow cash crops, becoming exploited peasant farmers who sold their produce to buy clothing, tools, and food.

The Managua government taxed the *costeños* but provided almost no education, health care, or other services. Instead, it was the Moravian Church, with long ties to British and U.S. capitalists, that built the few schools and hospitals that existed.

Some *costeños* began to organize against this exploitation by the foreign companies. There were sporadic strikes against the mines and plantations during the 1920s and '30s. Some *costeños* also joined the peasant guerrilla army led by Augusto César Sandino, the national hero who fought the U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua from 1927 to 1933.

When the timber ran out or the price of bananas fell on the world market, the foreign capitalists simply closed down their operations. When the 1979 Sandinista



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Miskito Indian fisherman selling catch in Puerto Cabezas, main port in North Atlantic region. Population is mainly Miskitos and Spanish-speaking mestizos, as well as some Blacks. Nearby villagers fish and farm, selling surplus in town market.

hand in Nicaragua, especially because it was a potential site for a canal to link the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.

By the late 1800s, U.S. merchants and lumber and mining companies were well established on the coast. In the 1920s the U.S.-owned Braggman's Bluff Lumber Co. built the port of Puerto Cabezas as its administrative and export center. U.S.-owned gold mines were built in Bonanza, Rosita, and Siuna, and banana plantations were established on the Wawa and Coco rivers. Extensive logging stripped much of the forests within a 50-mile radius of Puerto Cabezas.

Wage workers and peasants

This capitalist penetration brought big social changes to the coast. Thousands of Indians, who had formerly lived from farming and fishing, became wage workers at least part of the year in the mines, plantations, and logging camps. They often returned to their home villages for the planting and harvest seasons.

Blacks became foremen and office workers for the companies. The U.S. bosses fostered divisions among the Indians and Blacks, enforcing a social hierarchy that

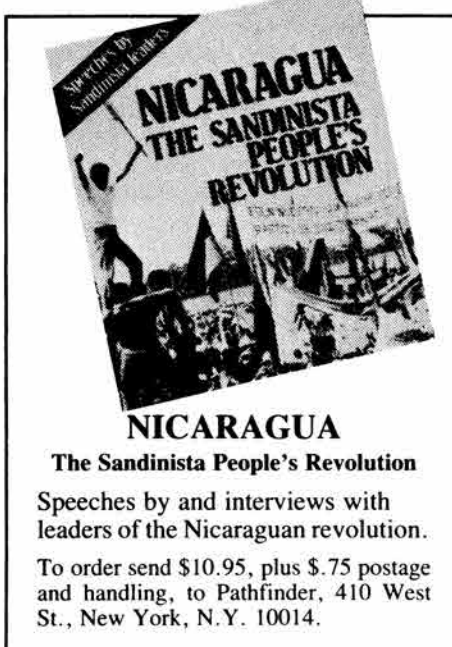
revolution took place, the remaining companies pulled out. Thousands of workers lost their jobs, and the flow of imported goods was cut off.

Different realities today

As a result of its historical development, the North Atlantic Coast has a complex and varied social structure distinct from that of the rest of Nicaragua. There are "two different realities" in the region, says Dorotea Wilson, a Black *costeño* who is an FSLN deputy elected to the National Assembly.

The area around the mining towns of Bonanza, Siuna, and Rosita has many mestizo peasants and workers and is similar to the rest of the country. The remainder of the region, made up of scattered Sumu and Miskito peasant and fishing villages, has different traditions and production relations.

Some 50,000 people live in or around the three mining towns. The mestizo peasants farm individual plots or work together in collective farms. They came to the area from the Pacific regions in the decades before the Sandinista revolution, after being driven off their lands by the expansion of



NICARAGUA

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North Atlantic region

capitalist ranching and coffee and cotton farming.

The mining area also has a small working class, including employees of the state-owned gold mines, many of whom are Miskito and Sumu Indians. There are also hundreds of workers on government road and construction crews, as well as teachers, health workers, and other state employees.

The Sandinista government is building a large lumber and paper mill complex in the dense forest 20 miles east of Rosita. Cuba is providing essential technical and financial assistance to complete the project, which will employ up to 1,200 workers.

Many people pan for gold in the streams near the mines. Some 1,200 are licensed to do so in Rosita alone. They are required by law to sell the gold to the government, and sometimes make more in a few days than teachers or health workers make in a month.

The mining area is also home to most of Nicaragua's 8,000 Sumu Indians. They live in small villages near the mines and scattered through the forest that stretches to the Coco River in the north.

Some Sumus are miners and others pan for gold, but most live from farming, fishing, and cutting firewood. Land is considered communal property of each village. Any family in the community can cut wood or clear land to farm wherever they want in the village territory.

Production techniques are very simple: fishing is done with bow and arrow or hook and line, and farming with machetes, hatchets, and digging sticks. Part of the produce is consumed by the family and part sold in town to buy clothing, tools, and food they cannot produce, such as sugar, cooking oil, and salt.

For centuries, the Coco River has been the heart of the Miskito society. It provides a means of transportation between isolated villages and is a major source of fish and turtles, mainstays of the Indian diet.

The U.S. capitalists established few operations near the river, but many Miskito men went to work part of the year in the mines, plantations, and logging camps further south. The U.S. companies also began buying rice and other agricultural produce on a large scale.

Like the Sumu villages near Rosita, land along the Coco River belongs to each Miskito village. Most of the land is forests and has long been used for hunting and to cut firewood for sale. Some land is cleared for farming.

No land is individually owned. No one pays rent, and there are no landlords. Anyone in the village can clear a new plot to work, since there is plenty of available land.

Nor is there any wage labor on the land. When farmers need additional hands to clear land or build a house, they can call on friends to help, knowing they will return the labor in the future. The products of each family plot belong to that family, to consume or sell as they choose.

Both Miskito men and women work the land. But, says Otto Borst, the local government agriculture official and a native of the Coco River area, "the women do more than the men. The men clear the land, but the women do more in the planting, weeding, and harvesting."

Miskito and Sumu Indians had many conflicts over the land with the capitalist-landlord government headed by the dictator Anastasio Somoza. During the 1970s, for instance, the Somoza regime forced some Indian communities near the Coco River to leave their lands to make way for government-sponsored forestry projects and foreign-owned logging camps.

In an attempt to protect their lands, the Indians sought to obtain legal title to the traditional lands of each village. This became a central demand raised by costenos against the Somoza regime prior to its overthrow in 1979.

Puerto Cabezas used to be the hub of the U.S. companies' operations in the North Atlantic. Today, steel skeletons and rusty boiler shells are all that remain of the sawmills. The abandoned hulks of railroad locomotives, bulldozers, and logging trailers lie scattered throughout the Miskito



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Miskito construction workers cutting planks for bridge to connect Puerto Cabezas with Coco River communities. For centuries, Coco River has been heart of Miskito Indian society, providing means of transportation between isolated villages. Today, many Miskitos who had fought alongside contras against Sandinista government have laid down arms and are collaborating with government. Construction workers work for government Ministry of Construction.

neighborhoods in the western part of town.

Puerto Cabezas is now the center of the regional government. Its population of 28,000 makes it the largest town in the North Atlantic. It is also the main port in the region and the end of the truck route from Managua. It has the only airport with flights to Managua.

The town has two paved streets, a product of the Sandinista revolution. It also has one traffic light, the pride of many local residents even though it has never been turned on.

The population consists mainly of Mis-

kitos and mestizos, though some Blacks also live here. Many are employed by the government, including as construction workers, dock workers, and workers at the state-owned fishing company. Others are small merchants or independent fishermen. The nearby Miskito villagers fish and farm, selling whatever surplus they produce in the market in Puerto Cabezas.

The only radio station in the North Atlantic is located here. Called "The Voice of People's Power," it broadcasts in Spanish, Miskito, English, and Sumu 17 hours a day and reaches most of the region. However, the station is frequently off the air due to

blackouts at the town's electric power plant or to lack of spare parts for the transmitter.

The Puerto Cabezas radio is the only regular source of news and broadcasting with a revolutionary perspective for many inhabitants of the North Atlantic. It faces strong competition from contra radio transmitters and many commercial stations in Honduras, Colombia, and Costa Rica, all of them beaming anti-Sandinista propaganda into Nicaragua.

(Next week: Revolution comes to the Atlantic Coast)

Cuba: how Union of Young Communists advances rectification process

BY RONI McCANN

HAVANA, Cuba — The role of youth in advancing the Cuban revolution was highlighted at a meeting here October 6 during the Third Conference of the Women's Continental Front Against Intervention. Twelve hundred women, mainly from Latin America and the Caribbean, attended the conference, which included a day of discussions with leaders of mass organizations in Cuba.

About 70 delegates from the Continental Front met with seven leaders of Cuba's Union of Young Communists (UJC).

The UJC is an organization of 600,000 young Cubans ranging in age from 16 to 30. Active on campuses, in workplaces, and among soldiers, the UJC also publishes a daily newspaper called *Juventud Rebelde*.

One of the UJC leaders, who works for *Juventud Rebelde*, told the Continental Front delegates about the April 1987 UJC congress, which she called historic. That congress took up the decisive role young communists play in Cuba's rectification process, which is aimed at deepening political consciousness and bringing the working class to the fore in the struggle to overcome Cuba's economic difficulties and bureaucratic and administrative obstacles.

As the *Juventud Rebelde* reporter explained, rectification also involves renewal of leadership in the Cuban Communist Party through the bringing forward of younger party leaders. Pointing to the other UJCers on the panel, she said, "Look at

these *compañeras*. They aren't just leaders of the UJC but of the party as well."

She also described the role youth play in the minibrigade movement, a massive effort of volunteers throughout Cuba who are building child-care centers, hospitals, schools, housing, and family doctor offices. She told a story of how teachers in one school were hesitant to join the brigades, citing their classroom responsibilities. The students led the way by insisting that both they and the teachers get involved in the brigades.

Another example is the many university students who volunteer their annual 15-day vacation periods to work on the minibrigades. City youth are organized to go into the countryside, away from their parents, where they participate in agricultural projects.

One Continental Front delegate asked about machismo and what prejudices against women still exist in Cuba.

"The revolution is young, only 30 years old," one UJCer explained. "Building socialism takes a whole rebuilding of ourselves and this is a slow process."

She said that chauvinist attitudes against women still exist on the part of some men. In addition, women themselves may place limits on their participation in society as a whole. But overall, progress is being made and this is supported by the Cuban Communist Party and the government.

Being in Cuba, the delegates had been able to see firsthand some of the substantial gains made by women as a result of the rev-

olution. Women have equality under the law. They make up almost 40 percent of the work force. They have the right to legal, free abortion and guaranteed paid maternity leave. There is relatively more public child care in Cuba than in the United States.

The UJCers also reported new challenges and problems. One is the large number of teenage women who are sexually active but do not use birth control. This leads to many unplanned pregnancies and a high rate of abortion among very young women.

Part of the sex education campaign in Cuba today is aimed at encouraging sexually active youth to make use of birth control, which is freely available to young people, married or single.

"Basically we have a young population, but many old ideas still exist," one of the UJCers said. "For example, the idea that women should marry as virgins, or that premarital sex is wrong. Cuba is in the process of breaking these and other sexual taboos. Sex education is an important part of this process. Already the younger generation of women is more frank and free."

Another UJCer noted that today Cuban boys and girls participate together in activities such as sewing, embroidery, and mechanics, which used to be segregated by sex. "It's a long process for all the differences and old ideas to disappear," the UJCer said. "We have to lead this process. Women's equality won't just fall from the sky."

Washington's conditions for aid to the Caribbean

BY DON ROJAS

Second of two columns on the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

In order to be covered by Washington's Caribbean Basin Initiative, the government of a country has to fulfill the following criteria:

- It must request CBI beneficiary designation from the U.S. president — in other words, go to Washington with head bowed and hat in hand.
- It must not be communist.
- It must not have nationalized or confiscated property



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

of U.S. citizens.

- It must not provide special treatment to products of U.S. competitors.
- It must rid its statute books of restrictions on U.S. investment and trade.

Conditions are also attached to the CBI's loan provisions. A certain portion of loan monies must be used to purchase U.S. goods and services. And some equivalent to the loan in local currencies must be used for programs determined by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The bottom line of all these CBI conditions is further subordination to U.S. capital and integration into the regional system of U.S. economic domination.

The architects of CBI claimed that it would stimulate investment in and trade with the Caribbean, helping to boost economic growth in the region. This, in turn, would ease grinding economic conditions that could fuel

political unrest or, much worse, trigger other revolutions like those that took place in Grenada and Nicaragua.

But both the volume and the rate of return on direct U.S. investment in the Caribbean and Latin America has been on the downslide since 1981. Instead of flooding into the Caribbean in the 1980s, many U.S. corporations have packed up and left for greener pastures.

The Caribbean's competitiveness as a cheap labor market is becoming less attractive, as wages are driven down in the United States itself. The poor state of transportation, electrical generation, communications, and other infrastructure, especially in the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean, is another barrier to expanding investment.

The main exception to this pattern has been in light manufacturing and assembly. There U.S. and other foreign investors have been attracted by so-called free trade zones offering nonunion conditions, few if any taxes, and other benefits.

Sensing an opening in this pullback by U.S. capital, Japanese and South Korean corporations have been recently foraging for investment opportunities in the Caribbean. While some manufacturing has been set up in Jamaica and elsewhere, anticipated profits are too low to lure Japanese or South Korean capital to fill the vacuum left by the Yankees.

The CBI's designers also aimed to restructure Caribbean export patterns to better serve the U.S. market. They sought to encourage U.S. and some local Caribbean investment in light manufacturing for export to the United States, as well as in cultivation of exotic fresh fruits and vegetables for the winter market.

The most impressive growth in manufactured exports from the region in the 1980s, however, was in textiles. But textiles were explicitly *excluded* from the CBI's duty-free imports, along with sugar and leather products. Caribbean countries hold a slight competitive advantage on the world market in these goods.

Exports of most Caribbean fruits and vegetables, on

the other hand, have not been able to compete on the winter U.S. market, despite their duty-free status. They have been edged out by agricultural products from California and Florida, as well as from Central America.

Backers of the revised legislation now pending in U.S. Congress — CBI-2 — claim that it will eliminate some of these contradictions by giving duty-free status to a wider range of Caribbean exports.

But declining U.S. aid, trade, and investment in the region will not be reversed by CBI-2. They are results of the deepening crisis of the U.S. and other capitalist economies, which is intensifying competition for shrinking markets.

The evidence is mounting that the promise of Caribbean economic development under the CBI — in either its current or future incarnations — *will* not and *cannot* be kept.

Our only realistic alternative lies in government policies that promote self-reliance in meeting the basic needs of our peoples (especially self-reliance in food production); Caribbean economic cooperation and planning based on a regionwide division of labor; and diversification beyond traditional U.S. and European capitalist trade relations.

These policies must be linked to programs aimed at the drastic reduction of unemployment, our region's number one social problem.

In other words, top priority must be given to activating the creative and productive potential of our most valuable resource — our workers, farmers, women, and youth. Their talents and labor remain woefully underutilized within the current social relations in the region and world capitalist economic order.

Don Rojas is a leader of Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and a Coordinating Committee member of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America.

Gala marks opening of London Pathfinder Bookshop

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The lights dimmed, the 200 people in the audience of London's Young Vic Theatre went quiet in anticipation. Then in the Herero language of Namibia the dancers and singers of the Cultural Unit of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) sang "Let's Fight With Determination to Liberate Namibia."

Other acts included the choir of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), a Chilean folk dance troupe called Mayapi, and the Women Against Pit Closures Singers from Staffordshire. Representatives from the ANC, SWAPO, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) from Nicaragua, and the labor movement in Britain spoke.

The occasion was the gala celebration of the opening of the first Pathfinder bookshop in Britain. The shop in the London area of Waterloo has attracted wide interest and support in its first weeks of trading as was reflected in the wide range of participants in the celebration.

One of these was Selma Ashipala of SWAPO. She congratulated the bookshop's staff and "everyone who has contributed to its launching" and pointed to the "strong bonds of friendship and comradeship between us."

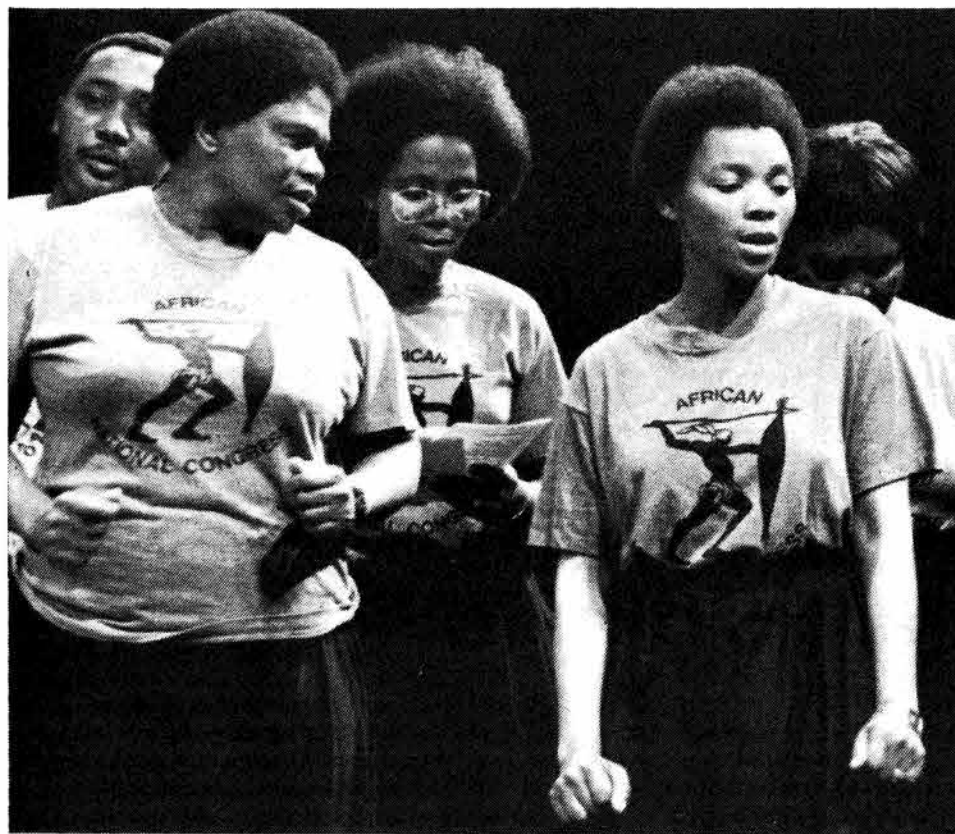
Ashipala highlighted the importance of the works of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Thomas Sankara, which, alongside the works of contemporary freedom fighters in southern Africa, are given prominence on the shop's shelves. "The bookshop is the voice of the working class and the oppressed. Our struggle can only be understood if it is heard, if we can get out the truth," she said.

A standing ovation from the audience of nearly 200 greeted Ashipala's conviction that "as revolutionaries we know the day will come, and soon, when the people of Namibia will win."

The same themes were sounded by Julio Ricardo of the FSLN. Shouts of "No pasaran!" greeted Ricardo, who paid tribute to Pathfinder publications and to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, which, he said, tell the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution and are "devoted to it."

Thami Ngwevela of the ANC "applauded" the new shop. His judgment that "victory and history is on our side" was drowned by chants of "ANC, SWAPO! ANC, SWAPO!"

Chairing the proceedings on behalf of the bookshop, Brian Grogan explained that it was the 40th such store worldwide and the "first of many in Britain."



G.M. Cookson

Choir of African National Congress of South Africa performs at October 22 celebration of Pathfinder Bookshop. The importance of writings of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Thomas Sankara were emphasized at event.

Altogether some 150 people from Austria, Canada, France, Grenada, Iceland, Iran, Sweden, and the United States, as well as Britain, have contributed to the construction work. It was the product of a massive voluntary work effort, Grogan said. He noted that the project was financed by fund-raising rallies "at which many of the performers and speakers at today's celebration have taken part."

Grogan said that the bookshop is an outlet for books published by the Pathfinder publishing house. These books, he said, "defend the continuity of revolutionary practice from that of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, through the Communist International in Lenin's time, to contemporary fighters such as Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevara, to Sandinista leaders in Nicaragua and Thomas Sankara."

Sankara was a leader of the revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso until he was killed in a coup more than a year ago.

The chair read a letter from Godfrey Sankara, cousin of Thomas, sent to a Pathfinder supporter who had been in Burkina at the time of the coup. Godfrey, who spent a few weeks in London to publicize the plight of political prisoners in Burkina, "was really impressed by a meeting with Pathfinder. It was very fortunate for me. I wrote to Thomas Sankara's wife and all my relatives and told them that we aren't alone and that I had found people with deep solidarity with us in Great Britain."

Pathfinder New York representative John Riddell, who had just come from a gathering in Paris to commemorate the legacy of Sankara, also spoke. He read a message from the Paris meeting's organizer, David Gakunzi, editor of the French-language Pan African magazine *Coumbite*.

"Each day," Gakunzi wrote, "40,000 children die of hunger in the 'Third World.' In Europe and America thousands of youth are condemned to unemployment and begging. All of them are victims of the world capitalist system."

"The fact that this system still exists," he

wrote, "is due to the existence of an International of repression. But against that, is there an International of resistance? An International of revolution? Too often revolutionary forces are scattered, isolated, and thus weakened."

"The time is long overdue," Gakunzi continued, "to build connections between these forces. Pathfinder is contributing to that by publishing the books of Che, Castro, and Thomas Sankara."

The women from the Staffordshire coalfield explained in song and speech how they had learned from the experience of the miners' strike of 1984-85 that there was one struggle. "The world's divided and we've made our choice" was the way one of their songs put it, emphasizing the importance of the struggle in Ireland and blasting the Tory government's latest censorship moves aimed at the gagging of Sinn Féin.

Labour Party councillor from the London borough of Haringey, Martha Osamor, told the same story from the vantage point of Black people in Britain, subject to the daily violence of racism. Osamor is closely associated with the defense of youths at the Broadwater Farm housing estate. Many were victims of frame-ups following a police riot in October 1985 and remain in prison to this day.

The international character of this struggle was underlined when John Gaige, representing the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, spoke about the frame-up in Des Moines, Iowa, of trade unionist and political activist Mark Curtis.

Gaige remarked that it was no coincidence that the most recent Pathfinder bookstore to be opened in the United States was in Des Moines. It was in that region that family farmers and workers had refused to knuckle under to the attacks of the banks, employers, and government. "That's why it was important to open a shop there, and Mark Curtis was deeply involved in its activities," Gaige said.

Today Curtis is in a police cell on frame-up charges facing a possible 35 years in jail.

Gaige appealed to those present to join in the international defense efforts to free Curtis.

Grogan announced that the opening of the Pathfinder Bookshop had been dedicated to Curtis and the fight to win his release. Dozens of participants at the opening signed a card to be sent to Curtis.

During the celebrations more than £750 (US\$1,320) worth of literature was purchased from the shop.

Workers, farmers in Trinidad and Tobago protest austerity

BY SUSAN BERMAN

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — "IMF must go!" "Sidney Knox must go!" "We want a party, Amen! A workers' party, Amen!" These chants rang through the narrow, winding streets of Port of Spain's Behind the Bridge district on October 21 as thousands of workers marched to protest the government's austerity measures.

Sidney Knox is head of Neal Massey, a giant conglomerate, and is a main backer of the ruling National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government.

During the last election, the NAR appealed for working-class support. Since coming to power it has joined the employers in carrying out an offensive against the unions and the working class as a whole. The chant "We want a workers' party!" is a response to those attacks.

Behind the Bridge is one of the poorer neighborhoods here in Trinidad's capital. Hundreds of neighborhood residents looked on as the demonstration proceeded. A contingent of members of the oilworkers' union, dressed in union T-shirts, was followed by communications workers, government workers, steelworkers, public service workers, farmers, and students. The demonstration ended in a rally across from the Parliament building.

The action was initiated by the Council of Progressive Trade Unions (CPTU), one of the major union federations, and supported by a host of individual unions.

It was called in response to the government's plan to take an International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan for \$143 million to refinance the foreign debt. Trinidad's total debt today stands at \$471 million.

A news release from Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson's office explained that a committee of creditors has been formed to determine the terms for restructuring the country's debt.

In August the Trinidad and Tobago dollar was devalued 18 percent. Another major devaluation is rumored. The government has announced plans to lay off 25,000 civil servants.

Oil is Trinidad's main export and has made this country one of the most industrialized in the Caribbean. But today world oil prices are falling. As a result, official unemployment has doubled in the last 6 years. It is now 22 percent. The number of workers in the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) has declined from 21,000 to 11,000.

Social services are also under attack. In the past few weeks, over 60 bus routes in the city have been shut down.

Nazim Ali, vice-president of the National Foodcrop Farmers Association, described the devastating effects of recent floods on the country's farmers. "It will take thousands of dollars to recuperate losses," he told the demonstrators. Rice

crops due to be harvested in several weeks were destroyed. So were agricultural produce, poultry, and livestock.

"We as farmers are on the brink of starvation and you are too. Because when we can't grow you can't eat," Ali told the crowd. He demanded that the government compensate farmers for their losses and supply seed, and long-term loans.

"This day begins the unity of the working class, of the Black and Indian people," OWTU President Errol McLeod said. Many Trinidadians are descendants of indentured workers from India. He also called for unity between workers and the unemployed.

"What the capitalist system does is to use the unemployed against the employed," the union leader stated. "Let us ex-

plain that the unions are not responsible for the lack of jobs. What is responsible is a system based on greed and corruption."

"We must take the struggle into our hands," McLeod said. "We must prepare to take political action." He added that workers here must also defend struggles throughout the Caribbean and solidarize with the struggling Blacks of South Africa and defend Nicaragua from imperialist attack.

At the close of the rally, the oil workers' union issued a resolution of 35 demands to be presented to the government. These included a moratorium on layoffs, stopping privatization of government-owned industries, a 50 percent cut in the food import bill, reintroduction of cost-of-living clauses in public service workers' contracts, and an end to devaluations of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar.



Militant/Susan Berman

Workers from Trinidad and Tobago Electric Company, members of Oilfields Workers' Trade Union, march in October 21 protest.

Storm refugees face uncertain future

Continued from front page

ricane," he said. The first step will be to rebuild homes, with the goal of getting the roofs up by next May, when the rainy season starts.

Nicaragua has an acute shortage of building materials. For example, the government estimates that all the roofing materials it has on hand nationally are not enough to repair the public buildings in Bluefields, let alone provide roofs for the thousands of houses destroyed there and in other towns. The government has decreed a ban on sales of building materials while it prioritizes supplies for reconstruction.

The 34,000 people who remain in Bluefields have begun salvaging and repairing what they can of their homes and other property. There are still no estimates of the damage to the fish-processing plants, the major industry in the area.

All supplies for Bluefields, including drinking water and food, must be brought from other parts of the country, much of it coming by air. This is a costly operation.

Combined with other short-term emergency relief expenses, it is posing a serious strain for Nicaragua's resources. The longer-term costs of rebuilding what Hurricane Joan destroyed are far beyond the economic resources available here.

Some 3,000 residents of Bluefields and other South Atlantic towns were evacuated from the region before the storm arrived. Most are women and children. Some are staying with relatives, but 2,000 are living in two high schools in Managua.

"Naturally, the refugees have a strong desire to return home, but we don't know when that will be possible," said Róger Barrientos, who works in the liaison office

here for the regional governments on the Atlantic Coast.

"Little by little the people have come to understand that they cannot return right away," he said. "We can't feed them or house them in Bluefields right now. And if an epidemic breaks out on the Atlantic Coast, we might have to evacuate still more people."

Many of the refugees are English-speaking Blacks or Miskito Indians. For a lot of them this is their first time in Managua, where the population is overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking mestizos. The government must "respect the different traditions and culture of the refugees" in providing temporary facilities here, Barrientos added.

One proposal being discussed is building a temporary settlement near the Xilola Laguna just outside Managua. "There, they could cook for themselves and use the lake for swimming and bathing," Barrientos said. "It's not the same as life on the Atlantic Coast, but it would seem more like home."

Atlantic Coast students

Atlantic Coast youths studying in Managua have played a key role staffing the refugee centers, Barrientos noted. "They volunteered to help as soon as the hurricane hit. They are from the coast, speak the languages, and share the culture of the refugees. These students helped the government take into account the feelings and desires of the people. We would have had many more problems without their participation."

Meanwhile, the refugees wait and speculate about their future.

Leticia English, a Miskito Indian from

the town of El Bluff, worked in a fish-processing plant that was destroyed by the storm. "We need other countries to help us," she said. "The first thing is to rebuild the houses, then the factories. I wish the United States would help us. It's the biggest country in the world."

President Daniel Ortega has made repeated calls for the massive international aid necessary to rebuild the devastated areas. Ortega reported to diplomats here October 28 that 20,000 houses had been completely destroyed, 66 bridges destroyed or seriously damaged, and 400 miles of roads washed out.

The Nicaraguan government has also sent appeals for help to the United Nations and the Latin American countries known as the Group of Eight.

Washington refuses aid

The U.S. government has refused to send any aid to help Nicaragua rebuild. In his October 28 speech, Ortega charged that Washington has instead ordered the contras to "obstruct" relief efforts. "The Yankees have ordered 3,000 mercenaries to infiltrate Nicaraguan territory" from camps in Honduras and to carry out terrorist attacks, he said. "The best and only humanitarian contribution that Reagan could give Nicaragua would be this: stopping his plans of destruction."

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* accused the Voice of America of campaigning against international aid for Nicaragua. *Barricada* said that the U.S.-run radio station is charging that "the aid would not be well used," and that it would be used against the contras.

Nicaragua has not asked for any aid from the U.S. government, *Barricada* stated.

Meanwhile, plane loads of aid are continuing to arrive here. The most flights have come from Cuba. Others are arriving from Panama, Argentina, Mexico, Britain, East Germany, and the Soviet Union. The embassy staffs here from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries donated one day's salary to relief work.

However, there has been no announcement of major commitments to provide the level of aid needed even to begin serious reconstruction. In his October 28 appeal, Ortega urged "the international community to redouble its efforts" in providing assistance. This is necessary even to "partly stabilize the situation" and return to the already "critical situation we had before the hurricane," he said.

Within Nicaragua, collections of clothing and money continue to be organized to aid the hurricane victims. Thousands of workers have donated a day's pay to relief efforts, and some are contributing a portion of the rice and beans they receive each month as part of their wages. Several charity baseball games and concerts have been held.

Róger Barrientos stressed the political importance of the campaign "to aid our brothers on the Atlantic Coast." He praised "the solidarity of those in the Pacific regions with the people of the Atlantic Coast." It helps demonstrate in practice, he said, that "we are one nation."

Dube wins right to trial on tenure denial

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — A lawsuit filed by Prof. Fred Dube against the State University of New York (SUNY) will be heard by a jury in U.S. District Court in Long Island, New York. The date hasn't been set yet.

"This is a small, but important, victory," Dube told the *Militant*.

Dube, a member of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, was denied tenure as a professor at SUNY Stony Brook in 1987 because of his political views.

A motion by the state to dismiss Dube's suit was denied by U.S. District Court Judge Jacob Mishler on October 14. The judge, however, ordered that Dube could only sue for reinstatement, not for any monetary damages from the SUNY system. Dube can pursue legal action for monetary compensation against individuals involved in the tenure decision.

In mid-September, more than 20 of Dube's supporters had packed a small courtroom in Long Island during oral arguments on the motion to dismiss the case.

Most of the supporters were from Long Island, including several members of the Haitian Students Organization at Stony Brook.

Lennox Hinds, Dube's attorney, argued, "We are dealing with a tenure case that has reached the national and international level. The governor of New York and the mayor of New York City both have intervened against Dube. Members of the state legislature wrote letters to the university threatening to withhold funds."

A slander campaign against the fired professor had been initiated in 1983 by a visiting Israeli professor, Selwyn Troen. Troen charged Dube with "anti-Semitism" when he learned that one of the topics studied in Dube's class, "The Politics of Race," was Zionism.

In his original complaint, Dube noted he had advised a dean at Stony Brook that he had exposed his class to his "own view that Zionism was not a monolithic ideology, but that among organizations and individuals identifying themselves as Zionists there were both groups with histories of espous-

ing racist views and others who were not racist." He said he "had urged his students to avoid simplistic and stereotyped thinking."

One of Dube's supporters attending the September hearing was Sheldon Bassarath, the co-organizer of the Student Committee for Dube at Stony Brook. When asked why students want Dube reinstated, he answered, "It's simple — he's a good teacher. One time last year, we invited him back out to Stony Brook and he showed a slide show and explained to us about South Africa and the ANC. Denying Dube tenure is a violation of academic freedom."

Dube has been doing some speaking across the country on his case and the struggle against apartheid and all other forms of racism.

He is scheduled to be one of the keynote speakers at a national convention of the Progressive Student Network in Chicago on November 12.

For more information write: The Committee to Support Prof. Dube, 126 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y. 10026. Tel. (212) 245-6366.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Come to Celebrate the Publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: David Deutschmann, editor of book; David Alvarez, participant in construction of Pathfinder Bookshop in London; Jane Schrimps, Young Socialist Alliance; Taylor Watson, Peace and Justice Coalition, Tuscaloosa; Sehlaire Makgetlaneng, African National Congress of South Africa. Sat., Nov. 12, 4 p.m., food and refreshments to follow. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Eyewitness Report From Cuba. Speaker: Roni McCann, reporter for *Militant* and delegate to Women's Continental Front Against Intervention Conference held in Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 12, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Celebrate the Publication of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 19. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission). For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Caribbean and Central America: Five Years After Grenada. Speaker: Terry Marryshow, leader Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. Little Haiti Activities Center, 28 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsors: Association of Caribbean Studies, Latin American Caribbean Solidarity Association, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Angola: Turning Point in the Liberation Struggle of Southern Africa. Showing of Cuban TV video documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." In English and Spanish. Two showings: Fri., Nov. 11, 6:30 p.m. and Sat., Nov. 12, 6:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Pathfinder Publication Fund Rally: *Sankara Speaks*. Speaker: John Riddell, Pathfinder. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 12, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

International Aid for Nicaragua. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19. Dinner 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: Michael Baumann, editor of Pathfinder publishing house; Mike Ginyard, Young Socialist Alliance, member United Food and Commercial Workers union; Ivett Perfecto, member Puerto Rican Solidarity Organization,

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, visited Cuba in summer 1988. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 19, 7 p.m., reception to follow. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Pathfinder Publications Fund Rally: *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: David Deutschmann, Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia; Urule Igbargoa, Nigerian opponent of apartheid; Dale Shidester, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9; Christine Evert, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 5. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Apartheid Army Defeated in Angola. Showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Translation to Spanish. Sun., Nov. 13, 6 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Issues Facing Auto Workers. Speaker: Jim Garrison, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers union. Sat., Nov. 12, 7 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Socialist Workers Campaign Wrap-up. Hear Diane Shur, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 5. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Nebraska Socialist Workers '88 Campaign. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Textile Mill Closing: Signal of a Coming Depression. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Pathfinder Celebrates Publication of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. Speakers: Sam Manuel, director Pathfinder Mural Project; David Marshall, Pathfinder representative at Caribbean Peoples International Bookfair in Trinidad; Sello Thole, South African student. Sun., Nov. 6, 4 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

Cuba, Angola, and the Defeat of the South African Army. Showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sat., Nov. 12, 6:30 p.m. Cleveland State University, Main Classroom Building, Room 201, E 22 St. and Euclid. Donation: \$2. Sponsors: Organization for Afro-American Unity, CSU; Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

An Evening to Support Pathfinder. Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution* speaking on "Che Guevara

and the Relevance of His Ideas for Building Socialism Today." Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

What Is at Stake for Working People in 1988 Elections. Speaker: Jim Little, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

The Fight to Defend Mark Curtis. Sat., Nov. 12, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Cuba and Angola: "Response to the South African Escalation." Showing of Cuban TV documentary on defeat of South African troops in Angola. Fri., Nov. 18, 7 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Sponsors: Afro-American Studies Dept. at Temple University and Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

UTAH

Price

Apartheid Army Defeated in Angola. Video showing of Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sat., Nov. 5, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

Free Leonard Peltier! Speakers: Ellie Garcia, Socialist Workers Party, member Women of All Red Nations; Wesley Francis, member American Indian Movement and Intertribal Students Association. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

A Rally for Workers' Rights. Speaker: Tom Leonard, National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 12. Reception 6 p.m.; program 7 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (801) 355-1124. "Political Rights and the Labor Movement." A class with Tom Leonard. Sun., Nov. 13, 11 a.m. at same location.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Pathfinder Fund Celebration: *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution* and chairperson of Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party; Tomás Villanueva, president United Farm Workers of Washington State; Katalina Montero, regional representative Venceremos Brigade; Karen Ray, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Nov. 6, 4 p.m., buffet and reception to follow. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Massive Worldwide Aid Needed for Nicaragua. Panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Celebrate Publication of *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*. Speakers: Michael Baumann, editor of Pathfinder; Gorden Chasakara, African Student Association, Howard University; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 5. Reception 6 p.m.;

program 7 p.m. St. Augustine Church, Gingras Ecumenical Center, 1419 V St. NW. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Pathfinder. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Hear the Socialist Candidates: Andrew Pulley for Governor, Jim Gotesky for Congress, 3rd C.D. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Pathfinder Bookstore Book Launching and Fund-Raiser. Speakers: Joe Swanson, former labor coordinator for Political Rights Defense Fund; Amy Maloy, Young Socialist Alliance; Todd Twyman, West Virginia University law student. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

What the 1988 Elections Mean for Working People. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Dick McBride, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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The Nicaraguan Revolution Today. Speaker: Naomi Hart, national leader Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Free the Hartford 15! Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party; Carlos Guilbe, supporter of the Puerto Rican Independence Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

CANADA

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Defense of Women's Rights: The Struggle Continues. Speaker: Beverly Bernardo, Revolutionary Workers League, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., Nov. 5, 7:30 p.m. 4274 Papineau, Suite 302. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

Angola and Cuba. Showing of Cuban TV Documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Sun., Nov. 13, 1 p.m. 4274 Papineau, Suite 302. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

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Apartheid Troops Defeated in Angola. A showing of the Cuban TV documentary "Response to the South African Escalation." Speaker: Rolando Rivero, Cuban consul general; Yusuf Saloojee, chief representative of African National Congress of South Africa in Canada. In English and Spanish. Sun., Nov. 6, 2 p.m. The Alexander Park Community Centre, 105 Grange Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

Lubicon Cree Natives Win Battle for Land Rights. Eyewitness report. Speaker: Roger Annis, one of 27 protesters arrested at Lubicon blockade at Little Buffalo, Alberta. Sat., Nov. 12, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

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

That'll learn 'em — The Occupational Safety and Health Administration found that serious, willful safety violations were responsible



Harry Ring

for the explosions that killed three people and injured two at an Illinois grain elevator complex. Therefore, OSHA will fine the owner, ADM-Growmark, \$14,000.

Progress report — Students at

Northeast High, near Meridian, Mississippi, held their first school dance since 1967. When the school was desegregated, racist officials banned dances and proms.

Talk about dirty minds — Students at that high school dance indicated they had a fine time, except maybe for the music. A committee of adults (?) checked all the songs to be played. "We eliminated songs with the word sex, and those about sex," one of the overseers said.

A high-class butcher — "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who murdered and robbed the Haitian people, is having a fine old time relaxing on the

sun-drenched southern coast of France. A high point of his day is dinner at the Moulin de Mougins (\$95 and up for a meal). "President Duvalier likes to eat well," the chef said.

True sportsmen — In Britain a committee recommended that none of the money allocated for water polo games go to women's teams. The all-male committee felt that because funds are limited they should go to the men's games, which are, assertedly, more "popular."

Have it your way? — A dozen Black operators of Burger King restaurants are suing the company. They charge that Black franchise

owners get less profitable locations and have to pay as much as twice what whites do for franchises.

No shoes? — Where does Nancy stash those big-ticket dresses she hustles from designers? No sweat. She had Amy Carter's bedroom converted into a walk-in closet, with cabinets lining the four walls.

Steady as she goes — "The November elections aren't a significant factor in defense electronics market prospects... neither George Bush nor Michael Dukakis is expected to alter overall defense spending trends in a

dramatic way." — *Electronic Engineering Times*.

Must be a lot of skunks around — A recently obtained contra expense list approved by the State Department's Nicaragua Humanitarian Assistance Office included 2,100 deodorants.

Thought for the week — "It's the American way to bemoan the available choices for president, but not the way they have this year. The aura of displeasure, if not outright disgust, is stunning, both for its pervasiveness and its intensity" — Robert Unger, national correspondent for the *Kansas City Times*.

What corporate buyouts reveal about U.S. economy

Continued from front page

Nabisco is to be financed by a buyout fund of some \$2 billion provided by corporate and other investors, including universities and pension funds. Up to \$18 billion is to come from loans or junk bonds.

Successful buyouts radically change the capital structure of the targeted corporation. Instead of being financed primarily by sales of stock, which are shares of ownership entitling the possessor to annual dividends, the companies are financed primarily through debt (loans, bonds, etc.) on which interest must be paid. In the wake of its purchase by Philip Morris, for example, Kraft will be left with just 10 percent equity and 90 percent debt. (U.S. corporate stock is now being replaced by debt at a rate of \$100 billion a year.)

The purchasers in leveraged buyouts aim to score a hefty profit quickly. In an earlier buyout, Kohlberg, Kravis, & Roberts made a \$2 billion profit out of its purchase of Beatrice Foods and subsequent sale of the food-processing giant's component parts.

The need to pay interest on debt intensifies pressure on the new owners to squeeze maximum cash out of the firm in the shortest possible time. Layoffs and other cost-cutting measures are taken, branches of the firm are sold off, and, in

most cases, the remains are also sold within five years.

Brookings Institution economist Margaret Blair told *New York Newsday*, "If industry after industry is running out of investment opportunities and turning themselves into cash cows, which is what you have to do to service the debt, then that says something disturbing about our economy."

The debts incurred in buying the corporation become part of the company's debt. Soaring corporate debt has become a major indicator of the growing instability of U.S. and world capitalism and the vulnerability of even giant firms.

Since 1980 the debt of U.S. corporations has grown from just under \$1 trillion to some \$1.8 trillion. In six years, the ratio of corporate debt to gross national product (GNP) has risen from 34 percent to 42 percent.

Some \$300 billion of the debt upsurge resulted from buyouts. Even leaving aside the buyouts, however, corporate indebtedness soared by \$500 billion in the 1980s.

Debt service now accounts for 20 percent of total corporate cash flow and, according to some estimates, absorbs up to 50 percent of corporate earnings.

RJR Nabisco, which earned \$1.2 billion last year, will have to pay out \$1 billion in

annual interest payments resulting from the takeover if the Kohlberg offer goes through.

Rapidly rising indebtedness as a result of a speculative bubble makes corporations more vulnerable to the recessions that inevitably follow upswings in the capitalist business cycle.

The shift from stock sales to debt as a means of financing corporations sharply raises the potential for bankruptcy when earnings drop sharply in a downturn. Even throughout the upturn, bankruptcies have been rising each year.

While dividend payments can be withheld from stockholders, it is harder to refuse to meet interest payments — especially since corporations often need to step up borrowing to ride out a downturn. The only previous times that corporate debt

reached the current level of 42 percent of GNP came in the midst of deep economic recessions in 1974 and 1982.

A study of 1,500 major U.S. corporations by Brookings Institution economists predicted that 10 percent of them would go bankrupt in a recession like the one that began in 1974. Such a wave of bankruptcies could radically deepen a downturn in the economy.

The upsurge in speculation is also deepening the instability of pension funds and other social insurance programs that many working people have counted on. For instance, money from pension funds for state employees in New York, Iowa, and Michigan have been sunk into the bid to buy RJR Nabisco.

When the takeover bubble bursts, the retirement income of many workers is likely to vanish with it.

How Curtis got out truth on frame-up

Continued from Page 5

the rights of immigrants, commented Robert. "I believe the boy was framed up to stop him from doing that."

In the campaign to defend Curtis, Nellie and Robert tried to involve people they knew from WILPF, other peace groups, and their church. They were surprised to find that many people they called refused to back this fight. Some people wouldn't say why; others would point to Curtis' communist views as a reason not to support his defense effort.

Nellie and Robert sat in the courtroom every day of the trial. "I was surprised by the verdict" of guilty on both counts, Nellie admitted. Sitting through the trial, she said, she tried to listen to all the evidence presented as though she had no prior knowledge. She had concluded that given

the number of gaps in the prosecution's case, a guilty verdict, "was almost impossible."

Robert said he wasn't surprised. "I know the judicial system. Innocent people are even executed." He pointed to the examples of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 under the Espionage Act on trumped-up charges of supplying atomic secrets to the Soviet Union; and anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were framed-up on murder and robbery charges and executed in 1927.

Neither Robert nor Nellie was surprised by the police beating of Curtis when he was in custody. They both agreed that the police in Des Moines are notorious for that. "But this is the first time it's ever been challenged," said Robert. "And it's being challenged in a very effective way."

(To be continued)

Soviet gov't seeks investment

Continued from front page

be to cut subsidies to state industries that failed to show a profit, forcing some into bankruptcy. Other officials have also called for steps toward ending subsidies that hold down the prices working people pay for housing, rent and basic foods.

Gostev announced plans to raise money by selling what he called shares to workers and others in state-owned enterprises. "This means we shall have a stock market," he said.

Soviet officials also disclosed plans to introduce new laws next year that would allow foreign corporations to hold a controlling interest in joint ventures with the Soviet government. Currently they are not allowed to hold more than a 49 percent share. Some officials indicated this may go up to 80 percent.

There are 100 joint enterprises now. Encouraging joint ventures is a method of obtaining technology and expertise, as well as capital.

The major obstacles to their expansion, however, have been the Soviet government's restrictions on taking profits out of the country. This includes the requirement that they be taken out in the form of commodities or in rubles, which are not traded in world capitalist money markets.

Despite the obstacles, some capitalist governments, banks, and corporations in Western Europe are moving to take advantage of the new openings for profitable dealings in the Soviet Union.

Kohl's visit

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrived in Moscow October 24, accompanied by 5 cabinet ministers, 50 banking and other business figures, and 400 aides and journalists.

The visit formally affirmed the earlier

agreement of West German banks to provide \$1.6 billion in credits to the Soviet government. Some 30 contracts were signed with West German firms, and 6 agreements with Kohl's government. The visit also advanced proposals to have West German firms build a nuclear reactor in the Soviet Union.

A Kohl spokesperson declared that the West German government was "ready and willing to assist in the modernization, restructuring, and transformation of the Soviet economy."

Returning from a three-day visit to Moscow October 19, Italy's Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita predicted that European capitalists could obtain "unimaginable commercial advantages" from widened economic ties with the Soviet Union. He signed an accord to provide the Soviet government with \$775 million in export credits.

Italian firms have also agreed to establish a modern agricultural and industrial complex on a million acres of land in the Soviet Union. Olivetti, an Italian corporation, has agreed to build a \$285 million factory near Leningrad to produce computerized machine-tool controllers.

French President François Mitterrand is scheduled to visit the Soviet Union in November.

U.S. companies are also probing the possibilities. Six major U.S. corporations — including Eastman Kodak, Ford, and Chevron — have formed a consortium to set up joint ventures.

Over the 10-day period ending October 21, banks in West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Japan indicated they would lend a total of \$9 billion to the Soviet government. The Soviet Union's foreign debt has risen a little over \$20 billion in 1984 to nearly \$40 billion today.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

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

Nov. 10, 1978

SAN ANTONIO, Tex. — Chicanos and Mexicans have condemned a Carter administration plan to build a 10-foot-high border fence that could cripple climbers.

The galvanized steel grating is to be "so sharp it will shear off toes," according to the government contractor.

Plans for the fence were announced October 23 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In addition to the razor-sharp grating, the fiendish device will be set in a concrete base to prevent tunneling.

Fences are initially planned for two locations: between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez; and the San Diego-Tijuana border.

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The United States government has responded to the hurricane disaster that hit

Cuba last month by stepping up sabotage raids against that island.

Detailed proof that this is indeed the case is contained in a remarkable speech delivered by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro over radio and TV October 31.

None of Castro's allegations have been refuted by U.S. government spokesmen, and President John Kennedy refused to answer a question about them at his press conference October 31.

Much of Castro's speech deals with a raid carried out against the western tip of Pinar del Rio Province the night of October 21, just 11 days after the hurricane left Cuba and while the island was still reeling from the effects of the storm.

This raid was carried out by motor boats launched from a mother ship, the *Rex*, flying the Nicaraguan flag and lying a few miles off the Cuban coast. Some of the small boats were captured by the Cuban defense forces, and the captured men gave a detailed description of the mother ship and its operations.

Castro revealed that the *Rex* operates, not from Central America or some island, but directly from the U.S. port of West Palm Beach, and not under some independent Cuban counter-revolutionary organization, but directly under the CIA.

Emergency aid for Nicaragua!

Efforts to organize a campaign to get governments throughout the world, including Washington, to give massive, emergency aid to Nicaragua remains of the utmost importance and should be stepped up. The damage in Nicaragua is so vast, and the relief needs so great, that the best efforts of private organizations will not be sufficient. Aid on a governmental scale is essential.

The U.S. administration's refusal to provide Nicaragua with humanitarian aid is an attempt to force the people of Nicaragua to do what they never did during the contra war, say "uncle."

U.S. officials have also refused assistance to humanitarian groups in this country in getting supplies to Nicaragua. Administration officials have even hinted that some materials sent by such groups may be declared illegal under the U.S. embargo against Nicaragua. And to flaunt his total disregard for the Nicaraguan people, Reagan has signed an order barring most Nicaraguan government officials from entering the country.

The U.S. government's refusal to aid Nicaragua now that it has a revolutionary government that has broad support among working people stands in stark contrast to the generous amounts given to the corrupt tyranny of Anastasio Somoza following the 1972 earthquake. That disaster destroyed much of Managua. Most of that aid, totaling some \$78 million, ended up in the dictator's pocket, and much of the capital city was never rebuilt.

Tons of food, medicine, building supplies and other material have already been sent by several governments, with Cuba leading the donors. Others include Mexico, West Germany, Sweden, Norway, Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Panama, Guatemala, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. Humanitarian, Central America solidarity, and church groups in the United States have also sent aid.

What has been accomplished already shows the potential to involve organizations and individuals, regardless of their views on the Nicaraguan revolution, to demand: Emergency U.S. aid to Nicaragua!

Clamor for death penalty

Working people in New York have been barraged by an orgy of pro-death penalty propaganda in recent weeks, following the October 18 killing of two New York City cops.

One of the cops, an undercover narcotics officer, was shot while buying a gram of cocaine, according to the police. Of the three men allegedly involved in the deal, one was killed at the scene, one was captured, and a third, Bienvenido Castillo, a Dominican, fled.

All the elements were thus in place for the cops, city government, and media to clamor for the death penalty: a cop had been killed by an illegal immigrant from Latin America while fighting the war on drugs.

A massive police dragnet began that night. Subways were halted to search the trains. A helicopter flew over Central Park. Traffic was stopped, and cars and passengers were searched on major arteries in the city and on the George Washington Bridge. The Dominican community, where the killing took place, became a special target for illegal raids and detentions by the cops.

In the following days, the media was filled with stories about the search for Castillo, who was tried and convicted long before ever entering a courtroom. Mayor Edward Koch called for all "drug-related" murders in New York City to be handled by federal authorities, in order to allow the use of the death penalty. Prominent coverage

was accorded the dead policemen's funeral, which was attended by 12,000 other cops.

After a nine-day manhunt involving hundreds of cops and 70 FBI agents, Castillo was found in Puerto Rico and brought back to New York City. At a news conference at police headquarters hours after Castillo was captured, Koch said, "As you know, 'bienvenido' means welcome — so my comment is, 'Welcome home, Bienvenido, back to New York.'"

Those calling for the death penalty in New York were given a boost by the October 22 passage in Congress of a new drug bill that allows use of the death penalty for drug-related murders, and cop murders committed during drug-related crimes.

This extension of the death penalty — and the threat of its use in the case of Castillo — is a blow to all working people and other supporters of democratic rights. Regardless of the pretext used to justify its use, the death penalty has always been and remains a class weapon, wielded by the superrich families who rule this country to terrorize working people, especially the poorest and most oppressed: Blacks, Latinos, and immigrants.

Ever since the death penalty was reinstated by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1976, the rulers have been pressing to widen its use, the "war on drugs" providing the latest excuse. All working people have a stake in fighting to beat back these efforts and opposing any use of the death penalty.

Blow aimed at right to silence

The British government, headed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, has launched an attack on one of the most fundamental democratic rights, one that was established and defended by working people in the course of centuries of struggle.

The government is moving to overturn the right of persons in police custody or on trial to remain silent — a right asserted in Britain about three centuries ago and written into the statutes there in 1899.

Tom King, Thatcher's secretary of state, has announced that this protection against self-incrimination is to be largely abolished in Northern Ireland. The government indicated it will propose legislation authorizing similar steps for England and Wales.

Fighting "terrorism" in British-occupied Northern Ireland was the pretext. But officials said the change would apply to nonterrorist cases as well.

Under the proposed legislation, courts would be authorized to consider refusal to answer police questions or to testify in court as evidence of guilt. The measure is also an attack on the right of accused persons to be presumed innocent.

The planned measures will also remove one of the legal obstacles to forced confessions, which have already been used to jail six alleged Irish Republican Army members on charges of bombing a pub in Birmingham, England.

King promised that the measure would "help in convicting guilty men." The right to silence must be ended,

he argued, because alleged terrorists "train people not to answer any questions at all."

A Labour Party spokesperson pointed out that Thatcher was using Northern Ireland as a "laboratory for draconian measures which are to be introduced in the United Kingdom."

While those suspected of opposing British rule and military occupation in Northern Ireland may be among the first victims, the new measure is an attack on the rights of every worker and farmer in Britain.

And not only in Britain. Colonists who brought English common law to the American colonies asserted the right of accused persons to remain silent. This right was codified in the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1791.

The civil rights movement and other struggles of the 1950s and '60s laid the basis for the Supreme Court's strengthening affirmation of that right in the 1966 Miranda decision. This ruling required the police to clearly inform those they arrest of their right to remain silent and to be represented by counsel.

The rulers are constantly attempting to chip away at these rights as part of efforts to reduce the political space within which working people can act to defend their interests. If Thatcher is successful in overturning the right to silence in Britain and Northern Ireland, the U.S. rulers' attack on the Bill of Rights will get more wind in its sails.

Why there is no Marxism today in the Soviet Union

BY DOUG JENNESS

Last week I explained that, unlike capitalist economies, which operate blindly, economies in countries where capitalism has been overturned have to be consciously led.

For labor productivity to keep increasing and the transition toward communism to advance, communist leadership is necessary. This leadership needs to be part of the

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

working class internationally and have no interests separate and apart from the working class as a whole.

On this foundation it must educate, inspire, and mobilize working people to take increasing control over the administration and leadership of their economy and their own state.

But there is no such leadership in the Soviet Union today. There is no Marxist party, no workers' party. Not only is the ruling Communist Party not Marxist, despite its pretensions, but no opposition Marxist party or movement exists either. In fact, the political level of working people in the Soviet Union today is the most abysmal in this century.

How did this happen and what are its consequences?

In the October 1917 revolution workers and peasants overturned capitalist rule and established their own government, which destroyed landlordism and expropriated the capitalist class.

The revolution was led by the Bolsheviks (later renamed the Communist Party). As a Marxist party it was the most politically conscious part of the Russian working class. Following the revolution, the Bolsheviks, led by V.I. Lenin, played the key role in forming the Communist International to help build Marxist parties throughout the world.

The majority of the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, however, succumbed over time to the severe pressures the young revolutionary government faced. Devastation and destruction, as a result of an imperialist invasion and civil war, and grave economic difficulties wore down the population, including big sections of the working class. The failure of working people to take and hold power in any other country meant no relief from that direction. Pessimism and cynicism sapped political and social consciousness. A bureaucratic and parasitic layer developed in the party and the state to which a majority of the CP leadership adapted.

Despite the efforts of tens of thousands of communist workers to keep the party on a Marxist course — a fight led first by Lenin and continued by Soviet leader Leon Trotsky — the Communist Party was destroyed as either a Marxist or workers' party. No longer a conscious instrument of the working class, the Communist Party became a tool of the bureaucratic caste as it consolidated its stranglehold over Soviet society.

By the end of the 1930s, the working-class content to the unions, soviets, and all other organizations that at one time had been instruments of workers' organization and rule, was eliminated.

For some time the traditions of the revolutionary generation continued to exist among old Bolsheviks in prison, exile, or underground. But today, even this has faded away as these old-timers died. The Marxist continuity with the Bolshevik party that led the revolution and the Communist International has been broken.

Building a Marxist workers' party in the Soviet Union faces formidable difficulties. The chief one is that working people identify Marxism with the policies and practices of the bureaucracy. The bureaucrats' erroneous claim to be Marxists and the legitimate heirs of Lenin reinforces this.

The Soviet economy was able to sustain, without a conscious communist leadership, significant rates of growth for a period after it began its industrialization drive in the 1930s. The country was underdeveloped and the shift of millions of peasants from the countryside into manufacturing and other industries meant that labor productivity could be quickly raised. Moreover, piecework, bonus schemes, and other capitalist methods were emulated.

While this may have seemed to work at one time, it's clear today that it isn't the march toward socialism. At best it created some of the economic preconditions for preparing to take that road.

Quantitative increases aren't enough to catch up to or overcome the levels of labor productivity in the most advanced capitalist countries. The stagnation in growth rates and labor productivity that is plaguing the Soviet and East European economies today signals this.

What is needed is a class-conscious working class that solidarizes with fellow fighters around the world and strives to reknit the links with the struggle for a world communist movement. Momentous world events are necessary to politicize the Soviet working class and inspire the formation of a Marxist party. We can be confident that the crises shaping up in the capitalist world are preparing the political shake-ups that will make this possible.

Curtis: 'There has been an explosion of support'

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee received the following letter from Mark Curtis on October 21. He is a political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed up on charges of rape and burglary. Curtis

BEHIND PRISON WALLS

was convicted on September 14 and is now being held in the Marion County Jail in Knoxville. Sentencing is scheduled for November 18.

Dear Friends,

I watched the TV coverage on the recent "events," attempts to discredit my supporters. You are fighting back with a prompt and firm manner that will greatly weaken this crude attempt to weaken our support among Blacks and workers.

From what I'm seeing here in my mail there has been an explosion of support. Work is greatly expanding, especially in the labor unions. Work is getting under way in Britain; Iceland; Tucson, Arizona; Winona, Minnesota; Albany, New York; Denver — all over. About 20

percent of my mail is from new supporters. They are the most enjoyable letters to read and reply to. I have received 285 letters.

The Syracuse Cultural Workers sent me a beautiful calendar. Amnesty International activists; workers; aldermen; supporters in Iceland, New Zealand, Britain, Sweden, and France; children; and student activists in Dekalb, Illinois, have all written.

I get many postcards, especially of South Africa. Most photos sent in don't get to me (not allowed). If you can, save the letters I'm getting here — they're just too good to lose. A friend of mine here was reading Piri Thomas' book *Down These Mean Streets*, but didn't finish it before he left. I'd like a copy here to send to him.

I am now the most "senior" man here (probably in the whole jail). Tom, a 27-year-old construction worker, finally got out when the district judge came through to clear out all the forgotten men. He had been here more than a month without going to court or seeing a lawyer.

A road worker will hopefully be sending in a sub with his paycheck today. A young guy is here now, charged with stealing \$500 from Hardees. His girlfriend is also charged and is in jail upstairs. She worked there eight months for peanuts, and she and he can't post their few

thousand dollar bail. DWI [driving while intoxicated], forgery, theft, and probation violation are the usual charges here. A cell mate was upstairs in court and saw an accused embezzler of \$2 million face the judge. Several angry farmers were there who said they were bilked. The investor never spent any time with us, just the guy who took \$500 from Hardees that was recovered in full.

One thing I'm learning is the struggle required just to get a court date set, find out what the charges are, who your lawyer is, see your lawyer, etc. It's almost unbelievable. The bartender of the country club, 21 years old, did 10 days for "eluding police." During the chase they shot at him, although he was unarmed. On Tuesday there was a funeral for a young man who was killed when his car crashed during a chase by police.

Although it is difficult to set up a rhythm here, I'm trying. My biggest problem is the always-on TV set. When my cell mates are sleeping, after breakfast is usually my best time. I can shut it off and work for a few hours in peace. I continue to exercise every chance I get and do believe I have lost a few pounds.

In solidarity,
Mark

LETTERS

Nurses' strikes

Nurses in France and in the western Canadian province of Saskatchewan have recently taken militant action to defend their working conditions and decent health care for all.

While visiting family and friends in Saskatchewan, a subscriber to the *Militant* there told me how she went to visit her dying father in the hospital last winter. The nurses she spoke to were extremely upset. They were so understaffed that they had no time to spend with her father.

She went on to describe the conditions on the Indian reservation where she works as a nurse — conditions that parallel those of many Third World countries.

On the picket line, the Saskatchewan nurses told me that understaffing and a "confidentiality clause" that the employer wants to include in the contract to prevent the union from speaking out on conditions in the hospitals were key issues.

However, after one week on the picket lines, the 5,750 members of the Saskatchewan Union of Nurses forced the government to back down. In fact, the provisional settlement that nurses will be voting on includes one of the key union demands: that an independent committee be established to deal publicly with nurses' complaints about their working conditions.

Paul Kouri
Montréal, Québec

Action Program

The distribution campaign for the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis has helped *Militant* supporters get to know many radicalizing workers, farmers, and students.

Recently I ran across a 1953 speech by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party at the time, in which he took up the response by workers to a pamphlet published by the party in 1947 entitled *The Coming American Revolution*. The pamphlet includes a resolution called "Theses on the American Revolution" passed at an SWP convention in 1946 (*Speeches to the Party*, Pathfinder Press, New York).

The "Theses" resolution has many interesting facts about the world economic situation from World War I to 1946.

Cannon explained that the response to the Theses by those who "used to be radicals" was not very good. Some of those who had been militant in the 1930s even referred to the party's program as a "crack-pot idea."

These formerly militant work-

ers had been conservatized by the very job benefits, privileges, and seniority rights they themselves had fought for 16 years earlier.

In contrast, Cannon pointed to workers who would be more open to ideas such as those found in the Theses: "In these mass production industries, which are real slave pens and hell holes, there are many others. There is a mass of younger workers who have none of these benefits and privileges and no vested interest in the piled-up seniority rights. They are the human material for the new radicalization. The revolutionary party, looking to the future, must turn its primary attention to them."

"If we, counting on a new upsurge in the labor movement, look to those who led it 16 years ago, we could indeed draw a gloomy picture. Not only are they not in a radical mood now; they are not apt to become the spearhead of a new radicalization. That will take youth, and hunger, and raggedness, and bitter discontent with all the conditions of life. We must look to the new people if, as I take it, we are thinking in terms of the coming American revolution and not limiting our vision to the prospect of a new shake-up in the bureaucracy."

Janet Post
Portland, Oregon

Germany's FBI

The West German Bundeskriminalamt (BKA), the country's counterpart of the FBI in the United States, is presently briefing operators of newsstands to look out for people buying more than one daily paper at a time.

These suspicious people should be compared with the pictures of wanted terrorists. If the news vendor thinks they match, the police should be informed.

When democratic-minded people protested this roundup, the BKA retorted that this is nothing new: these instructions have been handed out since the 1970s and have only recently been updated.

Others had been given such special instructions before, for example, landlords and realtors: Terrorists don't try to bargain for the rent, and they pay several months in advance, in cash. So either you accept the landlord's offer as is — and are suspected of terrorism — or you try to bargain and don't get the flat.

Lüko Willms
Frankfurt, West Germany

Frame-up

I am an inmate at Elmira Correctional Facility, where I am serving a 12- to 25-year sentence for a crime I did not commit.

I was accused of shooting a



police officer in the Bronx. But this was not true. I was there looking for my babysitter to pay her some money and saw a man dressed in civilian clothes shoot himself while running down the steps after a Hispanic.

A big cover-up took place by members of the police department. In order to justify what happened, I was blamed for the incident and later sent to prison.

I was having problems with the police around my area. I had filed a complaint for harassment and police brutality. Due to the fact that it was a drug area, the police had started to harass many people on the block and in the neighborhood.

I will not keep silent anymore. I want the world to know what they have done to me.

I hope this letter reaches you. I need your help. Just like Mark Curtis was framed up, so was I. A prisoner
Elmira, New York

Israel

Do you know that Israel is spending \$132 million per month of your tax money to crush the Palestinian uprising? And who is being murdered, beaten, arrested, imprisoned, and tortured by the Israelis? It is mostly young people and children, for 75 percent of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are under the age of 21.

Meanwhile, here in the United States many babies die from malnutrition and/or lack of proper medical care; millions of Americans, many of them children, are homeless and hungry; 90,000

more farms will be foreclosed in the near future; hospitals are closing from lack of funds; and an increasing number of elderly have to rummage in garbage cans.

Claire Crouch
Decatur, Illinois

Some truth

I think your paper is fantastic. It's nice to be able to read some truth about what's going on. You won't get the truth from the mainstream media. And idiots like Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, Tom Brokaw, etc. are even worse.

The election is coming up and the Republicans will win the White House. The Democrats will win more seats in Congress. And I hope to buy a one-way ticket to the moon.

L.A. Mower
Hawthorne, California

Correction I

In the September 30 issue of the *Militant*, a letter was published, titled "Candidates with integrity," listing John Van Hecke as the author. We had received several letters to the editor under this name.

We then received a letter from John Van Hecke explaining that the letter we published was not written by him. We are sorry that this happened. Printed below is his letter of explanation.

To the editor:

It has come to my attention that a letter to the editor, bearing my name, was published in the September 30 issue of the *Militant*. I did not write any such letter and request a retraction.

It is unfortunate that ill-minded individuals pursue such tactics, for they destroy the fragile bonds of progress for which so many have worked so hard.

I am an active member of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and serve as the National Committee Representative to the Young Democrats of America. Smear tactics are not new to either of our organizations, yet they serve as reminders of the great challenges that continue to face us.

John Van Hecke
St. Paul, Minnesota

Correction II

In the article "Farm workers' union leader describes struggles to Mickells," in the October 28 issue of the *Militant*, the figure for the percentage of farm workers who reported pesticides sprayed or drifted on them should have been 43 percent.

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

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Strike wave, protests sweep Paris

Public employees, other workers demonstrate for jobs, higher wages

BY MACEO DIXON

PARIS, France — More than 80,000 people poured into the streets here October 20 demanding jobs and wage increases. Thousands of placards read, "Work is a right, not a privilege" and demanded pay increases of 2,000 francs (US\$300) per month. Many thousands chanted, "Money for jobs, not the military." Some placards demanded a 35-hour workweek at 13 month's pay.

The demonstration was called by the three main national union confederations in France. These are the General Confederation of Labor, the Democratic Confederation of Labor, and Workers Force.

This action was part of a general strike wave and street mobilizations sweeping this country.

The protests began September 16 when workers at the state-owned television networks went on strike. Other workers who have struck are teachers, subway and rail workers, some postal workers, social workers, customs employees, and many airline ground crews. Eiffel Tower elevator operators struck for four days. Most strikers are public workers.

The biggest concern to the government is the strike of nearly 200,000 hospital workers that began September 29.

On that date, 40,000 nurses demonstrated in Paris. Since then, there have been many protests, including one of 100,000 on October 13 called by the National Coordinating Committee of hospital workers.

Walking the streets of Paris one can see hundreds of hospital workers demonstrating or holding informational picket lines, as well as maintenance workers rallying.

Sometimes only travel by taxi or private car is possible because of work stoppages on the buses and subways. Workers from the suburbs — who usually use public transportation — drive into the city, jamming traffic as far as 17 miles.

On many days, strikes or slowdowns by airline workers made international travel to and from Paris quite difficult. Many airline flights were delayed, and dozens were canceled.

At one Renault plant auto workers were demanding better wages and working conditions. The bosses locked them out. So workers in some other Renault plants struck in solidarity.

The October 20 demonstration began at the Bastille public square, wound through the streets of Paris for miles, and ended up at Palais Royal. Thousands joined or lined the streets on the way. It went on for hours. There were contingents of auto workers, nurses, transport workers, teachers, high school and university students, elderly, all types of unions, many young people, the unemployed, and thousands of immigrant workers from Africa, the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

When the marchers walked through the garment district, hundreds of workers in the buildings above stopped work, opened the factory windows, and waved and shouted their solidarity. Young men — mostly Black or Arabic — pushing cart loads of fabric would stop, watch, and show signs of sympathy.

Biggest protest in 20 years

Olivia Roux, a young electrician who works at the Pitié Salpêtrière Hospital, explained that this is the first time in 20 years that such a protest movement among hospital workers has erupted in France. The more surprising thing, he noted, is how widespread the protest is since only 5 percent of nurses nationwide are in unions. In fact, Roux said, "the strike has been called by the hospital workers' National Coordinating Committee, which is outside of the union structures."



Workers demand higher wages at demonstration of 10,000 October 18, one of many large mobilizations in recent weeks.

Looking around the Pitié Salpêtrière Hospital, there didn't appear to be a strike going on at all. All types of people came into the hospital, and workers went about their daily work. Roux explained that by law hospital workers are required to provide a minimum of basic services. Some workers, he said, are concerned that this is undermining the strike's effectiveness.

A young nurse interrupted, "I don't

think we're going to win this."

Roux responded, "No, no. We will. We're going forward. We can do this."

She said, "Well maybe you're right. I hear the teachers are going out. If they do that, then our kids will have to stay home. I guess we'll stay home with them."

All types of meetings were going on in the hospital. It was clear that not much work was getting done. Roux described

how the workers are trying to make the strike effective. Patients who do come to the hospital aren't charged for services. Many services aren't performed, such as blood tests. A particularly unique tactic is to dismantle the beds of patients when they check out and move them to the basement. This constantly reduces bed space.

This is the first time many nurses have gone out on strike. One of them, Zaidi Dahbia, of Algerian descent, explained, "The media tries to say all that nurses want are wages. It's not wages, it's working conditions we're fighting for. As working conditions get worse, so do health services. For example, we have demanded a few days a year to improve our knowledge of the constantly changing technology in the medical industry."

"When a department gets filled up," she said, "they transfer the patient without the other department knowing how to deal with the problem. Like chemotherapy patients. We aren't told how to deal with this, so the patients suffer. If you don't believe me, get sick."

The nurses also demand that the government hire more workers to replace nurses on pregnancy and sick leaves, and reduce the work loads. They want pay raises of at least \$300 a month.

The government's response has been to offer to hire 1,500 new people for 1,000 hospitals. This means only 1.5 new jobs per hospital. The government is offering pay bonuses.

This is rejected by the nurses as well. They say they want wage increases rolled into their base wage, which adds to their pensions.

Despite opposition, Aquino okays new pact on U.S. bases in Philippines

BY DEB SHNOOKAL

Despite growing opposition in the Philippines to the presence of U.S. military and naval installations, an agreement was concluded in Washington October 17 for their continued operation.

The accord, signed by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus, continues the Military Bases Agreement. The MBA covers Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Base, the largest U.S. overseas bases, and four smaller installations in the Philippines.

The 1947 agreement is due to expire in 1991. Like the Bell Trade Act, which guaranteed continued U.S. economic dominance in the Philippines, the MBA was forced on the newly independent country by the former colonial master in return for promises of economic aid — much of which never materialized.

Shortly before independence was granted, U.S. President Harry Truman received a report from the Office of Strategic Services in 1945 underlining the importance of the Philippines "in controlling the sea lanes from the North to the rich resources of the East Indies." The report states, "If possible, full provisions should be made for adequate American sea and air bases in the Philippines."

The future of the U.S. bases in the Philippines has been a major political issue since the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos' regime in February 1986. President Corazon Aquino initially gave some support to the antibases movement, while insisting she was "keeping her options open" for renewal of the MBA on its expiration.

The bases are the second-largest employer in the Philippines after the government itself.

The MBA is an "executive agreement" between the presidents of both countries. However, the new Philippine constitution, adopted in 1987, requires any new agreement extending the lease to be ratified by two-thirds of the 23-member senate. It may also require a plurality of yes votes in a national referendum.

The new constitution also included certain antinuclear provisions in its Declaration of Principles, which state: "The Philippines, consistent with the national interest, adopts and pursues a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons in its territory." Citing the clause of the MBA guaranteeing the "unhampered use" of the facilities, Washington refuses to confirm or deny whether its aircraft or ships using the Philippine facilities are carrying nuclear weapons.

The negotiations, which opened in April, have largely focused on the amount of "compensation" to be paid to the Philippines for the next two years for the use of the bases. The Aquino government, which had called for payments of \$1.2 billion for each year, finally accepted only \$481 million a year. (Washington paid only \$180 million a year for the years 1983-88.)

The U.S. government also promised a \$500 million package in loans and insurance through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and Export-Import Bank to encourage private investment in the Philippines.

Suffering under the burden of a \$28 billion foreign debt, the Philippine government had argued that some of the "compensation" payments should be allowed to go toward the debt repayments. However, according to the October 16 *New York Times*, U.S. administration officials discouraged this. The payments, one said, should be di-

rectly related to ongoing Philippine economic reforms. The money should not be considered a "blank check," the officials stressed.

Zenaida Uy, secretary general of Bayan, while recently on tour in the United States, described the bases agreement as "a sellout of Filipino sovereignty to the Pentagon." (Bayan developed as an umbrella organization of the anti-Marcos movement groups and has continued to play a leading role in the campaign against the U.S. bases and for land reform.)

"A growing number of people are seeing through the lies that the bases are necessary to 'protect' the Philippines," Uy said at a meeting in New York called by the Campaign to End U.S. Intervention in the Philippines. "After all," she pointed out, "the bases were there when the Japanese attacked and [General] MacArthur still left." Uy also refuted the argument that the bases "help protect peace in the region." In fact, she said, the bases have been consistently used "to wage war in the region." She cited U.S. involvement in crushing the Boxer rebellion in China in 1900 and the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The U.S. bases were also conceived as playing a role in the repression of any Filipino nationalist movement that may challenge U.S. domination of their country.

In a July 1948 memorandum addressed to the secretary of defense, Fleet Admiral William Leahy wrote: "United States observers and high officials of the Republic of the Philippines have stated that the presence of United States armed forces in the Philippines exerts a stabilizing influence on the population, and this will undoubtedly be the case for some time to come."