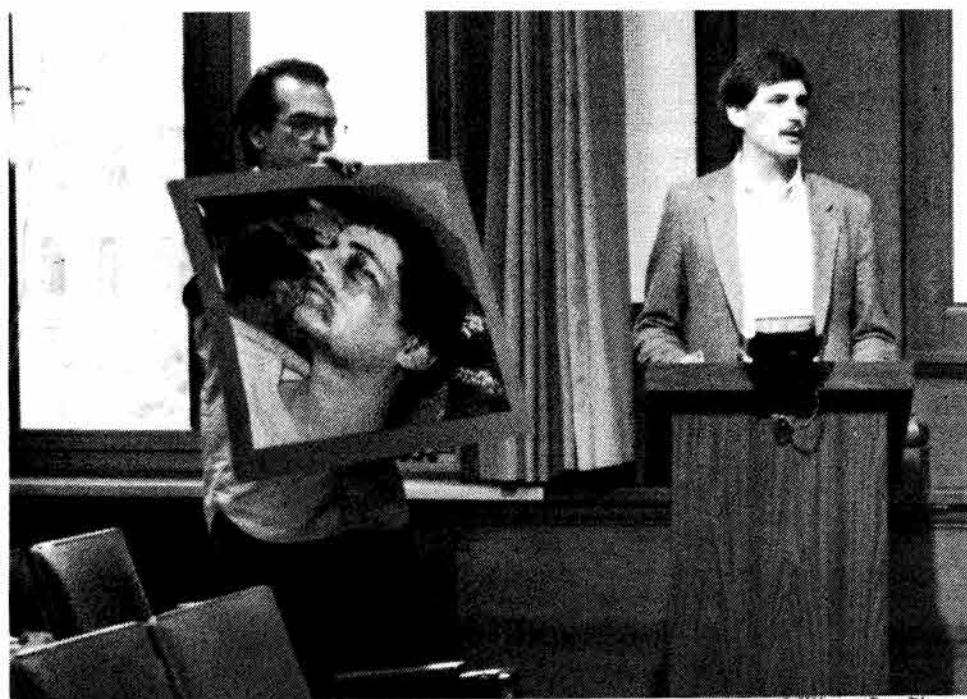


Emergency defense effort opened for frame-up victim Mark Curtis



Mark Curtis (at podium) faces 25-year prison term if convicted in political frame-up. A defense rally will be held in Des Moines, Iowa, on July 3 at 2 p.m. at the city's convention center on 5th and Grand.

Trial in Iowa postponed to Sept. 7

BY BOB MILLER

DES MOINES, Iowa, June 30 — The trial of political activist Mark Curtis has been postponed until September 7. It was originally scheduled to open here July 6 at the Iowa District Court for Polk County.

According to Stu Singer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, "This morning, Polk County District Judge Anthony Critelli ruled in favor of a defense motion to postpone the trial. The basis of the ruling was to enable the defense to continue pursuing its investigation in Des Moines of the events that led to Mark being framed up on phony charges of sexual abuse and burglary."

"This victory gives supporters of Curtis' fight for justice two more months to carry

Continued on Page 2

Drop the charges! Stop the frame-up!

The winning of a postponement of the trial of Mark Curtis gives supporters of the fight for justice two more precious months to mobilize opposition to this political frame-up.

It means that the emergency protest effort organized by the Mark Curtis Defense

EDITORIAL

Committee to demand the dropping of the frame-up charges has more time to reach more people.

Opponents of this frame-up should bend every effort to get to Des Moines on the July 4 weekend to participate in the international solidarity rally on July 3. A significant show of support for Curtis that weekend will have an impact on this fight.

For the next two months, Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder's office should be flooded with petitions and messages demanding the charges be dropped and that the cops who beat Curtis be prosecuted. And donations are urgently needed to make sure the Mark Curtis Defense Committee meets its goal of raising \$45,000.

This is a struggle that deserves the support of every worker, farmer, student, unionist, antiwar activist, fighter for the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women, and supporter of political rights in the United States and throughout the world.

The prosecution is driving hard to convict Curtis on fabricated charges of attempted rape and burglary and put him behind bars for many years. Formidable government forces are arrayed against Curtis and his supporters: the Des Moines Police Department, Mayor John Dorrian, the Polk County prosecutor's office, and the FBI.

More than 4,000 individuals and organizations have sent protest messages, signed petitions, and donated thousands of dollars to the fight for justice for Curtis in the past 17 weeks. Unionists — from the Philippines to Sheridan, Wyoming — have been particularly outraged by the attempt to rail-

Continued on Page 14

Anti-imperialist meeting calls for solidarity with Panama

BY JUDY WHITE

PANAMA CITY, Panama — The Third Assembly of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America closed here June 22. The central theme of the meeting was expressed in its final statement, which declared "unequivocal support and solidarity with the government, defense forces, and people of Panama in their ongoing struggle for independence, sovereignty, and dignity."

The Anti-Imperialist Organizations is a broad political association that was born out of the mass upsurge that brought revolutionary governments to power in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979. It now counts among its members 41 political parties and groups from 26 countries in Central America and the Caribbean. It unites forces from countries that have very different histories and cultures as the result of being colonized by the Netherlands, Britain, Spain, and France.

Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, general secretary of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic and outgoing president of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations, explained the aims of the group to the several hundred Panamanians attending the public rally that closed the meeting.

"The Anti-Imperialist Organizations arose following the U.S. intervention in Grenada," he said. "It arose to strengthen

the spirit of unity among the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America, to facilitate an interchange of experiences among us and a more effective joint resistance to the onslaught of permanent U.S. intervention."

Taveras noted that the organization is the broadest ever to exist in the region. The conference represented "an intertwining of all tendencies and shadings of opinion that express their common support for the struggle of the Panamanian people. By coming to Panama," Taveras emphasized, "this organization ratifies the sentiment of Latin American solidarity that makes us believe that here in Panama you are not only fighting for your people and your independence. You are also fighting for our peoples and our independence."

General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander of the Panama Defense Forces, gave the keynote speech at the closing rally. Reviewing the history of U.S. intervention in Latin America up to its current

campaign in Panama, he noted that the moves against his country are a threat to the entire area.

The U.S. campaign started at the end of 1985, when the Reagan administration tried to pressure the Panamanian government and Defense Forces to support the contra war against Nicaragua. Noriega refused. Washington responded by cutting economic aid and initiating a political campaign aimed at destabilizing the Panamanian regime and isolating it from international support. In early 1988, U.S. courts indicted Noriega on drug-trafficking charges. An economic blockade was imposed on Panama, and the number of troops stationed at U.S. military bases in Panama was increased.

Washington has also systematically violated the provisions of the Carter-Torrijos Treaties, signed in 1977, which call for the Panama Canal to be turned over to Panama

Continued on Page 5

Farmers, farm workers hit by drought

BY FRED FELDMAN

Across the Midwest, the northern Great Plains, and the South, the rays of the summer sun beat down relentlessly on dry, cracked, wind-blasted ground. Hot, rainless weather has brought drought to more than 40 percent of the counties in the United States. Some 1,400 have been officially declared disaster areas as of June 28.

As of June 21, more than 20 percent of the year's U.S. crop of wheat, barley, and oats — some 650 million bushels — had been destroyed. This included at least half of these crops produced in the northern plains states — the Dakotas, Montana, and Minnesota.

Other crops have also been severely damaged. "Soybean yields could be cut as much as 20 percent already," said Jim Palmer of the Minnesota Soybean Growers Association.

"My oats and wheat are all gone already," Milan Wisniewski, a farmer from Ivanhoe, Minnesota, told a meeting on the drought held by the Militant Labor Forum in St. Paul. Wisniewski, who is president of the state chapter of the American Agriculture Movement, continued, "If we get a 75 percent corn crop we will be lucky, even if it rains tomorrow. And I don't have livestock. It's much worse for farmers who have to feed livestock."

Some breeding cattle and other livestock are being sold off at bargain prices and slaughtered. The heat, combined with rising prices and shortages of feed, is also slowing reproduction of livestock. The rising cost of maintaining cattle spells trouble ahead for dairy farmers, too.

The combined flow of the three biggest U.S. rivers — the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, and Columbia — has dropped to the

lowest point in nearly 40 years. Iowa farmers, who normally irrigate crops with 500,000 gallons of water a day, are reduced to using only 25,000.

Across the drought-stricken states, topsoil is eroding and being carried off by windstorms. Severe soil erosion has affected 13.1 million acres of farm and rangeland so far. North Dakota alone has 3.5 million acres of damaged cropland.

The damage to the soil is the most extensive since the drought of 1955, and is beginning to raise fears that some farming areas could be turned into an arid "dust bowl" as happened in the 1930s.

"It's very serious, already as serious a drought as we've seen in 50 years," Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, told the *Militant*. "Unless there's a change in the weather, unless

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Over the top! 9,756 new readers!

The international circulation drive for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* has gone over its goal. (See final scoreboard p. 6.) The publications were introduced to 9,756 new readers.

Emergency drive opposes Iowa frame-up

Continued from front page

out an emergency campaign to demand that the charges against him be dropped and the police who assaulted him be prosecuted. We should use the momentum of this victory to press even harder to end the frame-up," said Singer.

While the charges against the young antiwar activist and union militant are for alleged criminal activity, thousands of individuals and organizations around the world have expressed concern that the case is a frame-up. They have also voiced outrage over the beating of Curtis by cops when he was arrested.

Curtis is charged with first-degree burglary, which carries a 25-year mandatory sentence; and third-degree sexual abuse, which carries a five-year mandatory sentence. If convicted Curtis would likely be put behind bars for at least 25 years. Because one of the crimes involves physical violence, a conviction would put Curtis in jail without bail during the appeals process.

An indication of the tack the prosecution intends to take came on June 22 when Mark Pennington, Curtis' attorney, made a motion to postpone the trial beyond the July 6 date.

The motivation for Pennington's motion was that important evidence in the case — FBI spy files on Curtis' political activity — wouldn't be available by then. In April, Curtis requested FBI files on him under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts. The FBI wrote back, admitting it had found "some material responsive to your FOIPA request."

But a letter from the FBI in mid-June stated that it had a backlog of such requests and there was no telling when Curtis would get his files.

In court papers, Pennington explained, "Defendant anticipates that the Freedom of Information material may show a connection between the F.B.I. and the Des Moines police department relating to a local investigation of the Defendant."

In arguing against the motion to postpone, Catherine Thune, assistant Polk County attorney, wrote, "That additional information from the F.B.I. is irrelevant and immaterial to the matters at hand. The F.B.I. took no part in the investigation of the current charges filed against the defendant." The prosecution argued that the case has nothing to do with Curtis' politics; it is a pure and simple criminal case of attempted rape and burglary.

While Judge Critelli ruled against Pennington's initial motion to postpone, he ruled in favor of the one today.

Curtis says that he never tried to rape anybody. He says the whole thing is a political frame-up; the cops are after him for his political activity.

Curtis' name put on cops' computers

In 1984, Curtis was a leader of a Central America solidarity committee in Birmingham, Alabama. He was a member of the

United Auto Workers, and helped organize and participate in protest activities against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador. Secret FBI files released earlier this year revealed that the FBI conducted an extensive nationwide drive to "break" the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). In the course of this the FBI collected more than 3,700 pages of files on hundreds of individuals and 150 organizations.

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

From Birmingham, Curtis moved to New York, where he worked in the national office of the Young Socialist Alliance and became the YSA national chairperson. Later that year, he moved to Des Moines, along with other workers from around the country, to set up a new branch of the Socialist Workers Party. He got a job at the Swift meat-packing plant here and joined Local 431 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

On March 1 this year, Immigration and Naturalization Service cops, along with other federal agents, raided Swift and arrested one Salvadoran and 16 Mexican workers on felony charges of using false documents. The Justice Department and INS agents publicly admitted going through Swift employment records with company officials to check Social Security numbers. Curtis, who speaks Spanish, was a leading participant in the fight to defend these workers.

Three days later, on March 4, Curtis went to a meeting along with his coworkers to protest the arrest of the Swift 17. Afterwards, he was on his way to the supermarket to buy food for a dinner and public meeting on Nicaragua that he had organized for the following night. A woman ran up to Curtis' car while he was stopped at a traffic light. She pleaded for a ride home, saying that a man was after her. After arriving at the house, she asked Curtis to wait on her porch while she looked inside. He never saw the young woman again. Moments later, the police ran onto the porch, arrested Curtis, and charged him with attempted rape.

At the city jail cops tried to interrogate Curtis and force him to confess to the crime. When he asked to see an attorney, one of the cops chided, "You're one of those Mexican-lovers aren't you? Just like you love those coloreds." The cops then beat him, breaking his cheekbone and cutting his face. He was sent to the hospital to be stitched up. Then they threw him in a bare concrete cell.

At an arraignment on April 13, the prosecutor changed the charge from second- to third-degree sexual abuse and added the charge of first-degree burglary, alleging only that Curtis was in the house, not that he robbed anything.

He was also charged with assaulting the

cops who beat him, a misdemeanor. The trial for the assault charges is set for July 18.

The police version of what happened was summarized in the initial news story in the March 5 *Des Moines Register*:

"An 11-year-old boy was credited with preventing the rape of his 15-year-old sister Friday night, and a Des Moines man, Mark Stanton Curtis, 29, was arrested at the children's home.

"Police were summoned by the boy about 9 p.m., when he told a police dispatcher a man was attacking his sister on the porch of their north-side home.

"Officers Richard Glade and Joseph Gonzalez arrived within minutes. Glade said they could hear struggling in the enclosed porch, and he was about to break down the door when the girl ran out."

Broad international support

According to defense committee coordinator Singer, as soon as Curtis' friends, coworkers, and fellow political activists learned of his arrest, they went into action, raising the \$30,000 to get him out on bail, forming a defense committee, and finding lawyers.

To date, dozens of union officials from the United States, the Philippines, Canada, South Africa, Nicaragua, and Haiti have expressed their outrage at this frame-up of a fellow unionist.

More than 4,000 individuals have signed petitions against the frame-up and cop beating, from the United States, Britain, Canada, Iceland, Australia, and Sweden.

Angela Sanbrano and other leaders of the organization have spoken on platforms with Curtis around the country. "We stand with . . . Mark Curtis for his courageous stand . . . and demand justice and fair treatment in this case," said Sanbrano.

Singer said the defense committee has launched an emergency campaign to maximize pressure on the police between now and the trial.

An international solidarity rally will take place in Des Moines on Sunday, July 3. Speakers include: Neo Mnumzana, United Nations representative of the African National Congress of South Africa; Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born political activist fighting for his right to permanent residency in the United States; a representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Joe Franklin, Veterans Peace Convoy; Carroll Nearmyer, Iowa State president American Agriculture Movement; Elías Castro Ramos, one of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 defendants; and Mark Curtis. "We want people from all over the United States and Canada to be here on July 3," Singer said.

The next day there will be an educational discussion sponsored by the defense committee about the history of attacks on democratic rights by the FBI and other government police agencies.

"Between now and the trial, we want to send thousands more protests and petitions to Moulder," emphasized Singer.

The committee's goal is to raise \$45,000 by July 6. The money is needed to pay for attorney fees, literature with the facts about the case, Curtis' trips to speak at meetings, postage for mailings, and many other expenses. So far, \$27,000 has been donated.

Meanwhile, support continues to pour in. At the June 24-26 conference of the Coal Employment Project, an organization that works to get women jobs as miners, 17 participants signed petitions demanding the charges be dropped. They included United Mine Workers District 2 Vice-president Nick Molnar, and three wives of miners from Britain.

On June 25 Curtis spoke to 65 people at the American Postal Workers Hall in Seattle, Washington. Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State, told participants that the farm workers' union convention had voted unanimously to support Curtis' fight. "This is not a struggle of one person or one group," Villanueva said. "This is a struggle for all of us." Other speakers included Bob Barnes, Labor Committee on Central America; John Gilbert, CISPES; Nat Ford, president of the Metal Trades Council; and July Nelson, director of the Associated Students of the University of Washington Women's Commission. More than \$1,000 was collected for the defense effort.

The committee has recently received copies of protest messages from Brandon Weber and David Young, president and financial secretary of United Steelworkers Local 3844 in Kansas City, Missouri; and Daniel Smith, president, District Council 6, United Electrical Workers in Versailles, Pennsylvania.

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

BY MARK EMANATION

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Sixty people turned out to hear Mark Curtis at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church on June 27.

Other speakers included: Sid Peck, founder of Mobilization for Survival; Sylvia Martínez, Boston Committee to Free the Hartford 15; Meg Livesey, Veterans Peace Convoy; and Susan Moir, United Steelworkers Local 8751, which organizes school bus drivers.

Messages were read from professor and author Howard Zinn; and Felix Jacques, executive vice-president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14 in Jay, Maine.

Livesey said, "Mark's fight is the same as the fight of the convoy to oppose the U.S. government's embargo of Nicaragua. Mark is the spirit of the convoy." More than \$1,000 was contributed in response to a fund pitch by Moir.

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SPECIAL
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The Militant

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New York rally gives Marroquín delegation big send-off

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

NEW YORK — Héctor Marroquín pointed out to participants at a rally held at the Ethical Culture Society Hall here June 25 that the national defense committee for his case was launched in the same room 10 years ago.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born member of the Socialist Workers Party who has been fighting for 11 years against U.S. government efforts to deport him because of his political beliefs and associations.

He and a delegation of supporters are traveling to Toronto July 6 for a meeting on his case with U.S. State Department officials.

In addition to Marroquín; his wife, Priscilla Schenk; and his son Andrés, the delegation will include: John Studer, head of the Marroquín Defense Committee; Tomas Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of Washington State; Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haiti Progrès*; Rafael Anglada López, lawyer for the Hartford 15; Marro-

quín's attorney, Claudia Slovinsky; and representatives of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, and the National Lawyers Guild National Immigration Project.

"Ten years ago," Marroquín told the rally, "I had just gotten out of prison, out on a \$10,000 bond and under a deportation order."

"Today," he continued, "I have a temporary residence card, a social security card, a driver's license. Last week I was informed that the deportation order against me has been dropped, and on July 6 I have an appointment to settle accounts with the Immigration and Naturalization Service."

This is a major turning point in Marroquín's fight. "Three events have brought us this far," said Studer. "First, the lawsuit won by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment.

"Second," Studer continued, "is the sus-



Militant photos by Osborne Hart
Speakers at meeting included (left) Edith Rees of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and Héctor Marroquín's attorney, Claudia Slovinsky.

pension of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, the McCarthyite immigration bill that's become increasingly difficult for the government to defend.

"And third," Studer noted, "Marroquín's case has become one of the best and broadest known."

"We want to collect hundreds of mes-

sages of support. We are organizing a delegation to accompany Marroquín to the hearing in Toronto and a rally there with Canadian supporters of his case," Studer explained. "And we must raise the money to make this possible. The government must know that we will not give up on this case until we have a victory."

Edith Rees, a representative from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), told the rally that Marroquín's case "is a perfect illustration of U.S. immigration policy — it depends on where you are from and what your ideas are."

"The SWP lawsuit made it easier for CISPES to turn out the FBI," she said, "and a victory in Marroquín's case opens up a little more political space for others to open wider."

Kathryn Mullin, a lawyer and Irish activist, brought a message of support from Joe Doherty. Doherty, a longtime fighter against the British occupation of Northern Ireland, fled to the United States after being imprisoned in Northern Ireland. Although he has not been accused of any crime in this country, Doherty has been jailed here for the last five years and was recently ordered to be deported to Britain by Attorney General Edwin Meese.

A wide array of support messages were read at the rally. They included messages from Kathy Andrade, education director for Local 23-25, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; U.S. Congressman Esteban Torres; Ernesto Joffre, coordinator, New York Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in Central America; and exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus. The New York branch of the Socialist Bloc, a Dominican organization, and Elías Castro Ramos and Yvonne Meléndez, two defendants in the Hartford 15 case, also sent greetings.

Other speakers at the rally included Slovinsky; Gary Kettner, a member of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada; and Stu Singer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Singer's description of the frame-up of Mark Curtis, a political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, made a serious impression on rally participants. Marroquín told the audience that as soon as he returned from Toronto, he planned to throw himself into this case. He urged everyone to join in this effort.

Filing out of the hall, everyone took stacks of Marroquín and Curtis materials with them.

Muralist Eva Cockcroft discusses her work

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Through wire-rimmed glasses, Mother Jones looks out from her place near the top of the mural being painted on the six-story south wall of the Pathfinder Building here. Pathfinder, the publishing house with offices in the building, published *Mother Jones Speaks*, a collection of her speeches and writings. The mural depicts the role of Pathfinder in making available the ideas and experiences of revolutionary fighters, past and present.

The portrait of Mother Jones, who spent decades organizing Appalachian miners into the United Mine Workers of America and supporting other labor struggles, was completed June 22 by Eva Cockcroft. Cockcroft is one of the best-known muralists in the United States.

I interviewed her that day when she came down from the top level of the scaffolding to take a break from the 97-degree heat. We went to a nearby air-conditioned luncheonette.

Among other things, I wanted to find out more about the *La Lucha* ("The Struggle") murals, which I had visited a few days earlier at Avenue C and 9th Street on the Lower East Side. More than two dozen murals adorn six walls surrounding a once-vacant lot.

La Lucha murals

La Lucha, Cockcroft said, represented "an attempt to create a political art park." Cockcroft organized the project, which was carried out by Artmakers, an organization, she said, "of artists who are interested in doing relevant public art for working-

class and lower-class communities." Cockcroft is founder and executive director of Artmakers.

The main mural, created under Cockcroft's direction, highlights the gentrification of the area, as its Black, Hispanic, Chinese, and other working-class inhabitants are gradually forced out by the real estate interests in favor of more lucrative condominium and cooperative deals.

Other murals portray the murder of graffiti artist Michael Stewart by police, U.S. intervention in Central America, and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The murals convey a strong flavor of daily life on the Lower East Side, from the vegetable stands, corner stores, and crowded sidewalks, to the eviction notices and wrecking balls.

The lot where *La Lucha* was created is no longer vacant. Appropriately enough, it is now the location of a small tent city of homeless families and individuals. Perhaps inspired by the murals, some of the people now living on the lot have gone to some trouble to colorfully decorate their tents.

Cockcroft was studying painting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, when she was first introduced to modern mural painting. "I was trying to do political painting. I had done a series of large heads representing people in the antiwar movement."

Start as a muralist

At a Chicago museum, Cockcroft met members of the Chicago Muralists, one of the groups that initiated the contemporary mural movement in the United States beginning around 1967.

"They gave me a list of the murals they had done around the city. After I looked at one of them, *The Wall of Respect*, I realized that if I wanted to do political art, this was probably the best way to do it. Two years later I painted my first mural, *Women's Liberation, People's Liberation*, at the Women's Center in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

"I like the contact with people in the community when you work on a mural, and the feedback they give me," Cockcroft told me. "And I feel like a useful member of society, contributing actively to the environment."

Cockcroft and Artmakers are now at the fund-raising stage of several projects, the muralist said. "We want to do one in a Brooklyn movie theater on the history of moviemaking in Brooklyn, an interracial solidarity mural on the Lower East Side, and a mural against drunk driving for the Belt Parkway in Brooklyn."

Recently an opening ceremony was held for an Artmakers mural and mosaic project, located in a subway station at the intersection of Houston Street and Lafayette, the border between the Greenwich Village and Soho areas. Entitled *The Changing Face of Soho*, these art works also focus on

gentrification — the shift from a community of garment sweatshops and working-class apartment dwellers, to one where the tone was set by young artists with little money, to one dominated by the tourist trade and upper-class art galleries, boutiques, and restaurants.

Iran, Nicaragua, Cuba

Shortly after the shah of Iran was toppled by a popular insurrection in 1979, Cockcroft visited that country. "I photographed demonstrations, and talked to people who had been persecuted by the shah. I was the photographer during an interview with Khomeini," the central figure in the government since the overthrow of the shah. Cockcroft said she "felt very badly" about the repressive and reactionary actions of the Khomeini government.

Cockcroft has been to Nicaragua three times since the revolutionary overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979. "In 1981 I was there for a month, painting a mural on the Social Security Hospital in Leon along with young people from the Center for Popular Culture. This was the first mural by an American working with Nicaraguans there — beginning what has become an annual event for a number of U.S. muralists."

In 1986 Cockcroft attended the Havana Biennial, a vast exhibition of art from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. She was on the organizing committee for "Beyond the Blockade," a show of works by North American artists held at Casa de las Americas during the Biennial.

Cockcroft is a coauthor of *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*, which outlines the development of U.S. mural painting from 1967 to 1975. Chapters were contributed by John Weber of the Chicago Muralists and by representatives of other mural groups.

"We wanted to write it because we wanted to be sure that history was not mis-

Continued on Page 13



Militant/Selva Nebbia
Cockcroft recently completed portrait of Mother Jones, part of mural being painted on wall of Pathfinder Building in New York City.

Rallies to defend Héctor Marroquín

Welcome the delegation accompanying Marroquín to Toronto, Canada, for the July 6 hearing on his 11-year fight to win permanent residence in the United States.

Toronto
Wednesday, July 6, 7:30 p.m.
787 Yonge St., Meeting Room D

Donation: \$3.00

Sponsor: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee

For more information, call New York (212) 691-3270; Toronto (416) 861-1399.

Fred Halstead: 'Soldier of the revolution'

Political activists pay tribute to longtime Socialist Workers Party leader

Meetings to celebrate the life of longtime Socialist Workers Party leader Fred Halstead were held in New York and Los Angeles June 18 and 19. Halstead died in Los Angeles June 2.

We are reprinting below excerpts from some of the dozens of messages that were received for the two meetings. People who worked with Halstead in the movement against the Vietnam War, in civil rights battles, in the labor movement, in civil liberties fights, in the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America, and in other struggles sent greetings. Many messages from his comrades in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance were also received.

Revolutionaries in other countries added their voices in tribute to Halstead. Among those who sent greetings to the meetings were groups and individuals who have worked with Halstead and with the SWP and who promote *Out Now*, by Halstead, and other Pathfinder books in Iceland, Sweden, Britain, New Zealand, France, Canada, and Australia.

Brian Grogan

National Secretary, Communist League of Britain.

As we here move to launch our new Pathfinder bookshop in London, we feel a deep gratitude to such comrades as Fred, who taught us the importance of socialist propaganda for the education of the new generation of communists and the construction of communist organizations.

A number of comrades in Britain have known Fred for many years through their political activity in decades past in North America. Some had met him when he came to Britain in 1968 as the SWP presidential candidate, and more recently through international gatherings in the United States.

For all of us, those who met him and those who knew him only through his writings, Fred's stature as a political leader, his deep personal involvement in the mass movement, and his warm and extremely human character showed through.

Connie and Alan Harris

Veteran communists in Britain.

In 1968 when Fred visited Britain following his visit to Vietnam, he helped deepen our understanding of the importance of continuing the fight to build a mass movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam, and of striving for a revolutionary approach toward the American soldiers, to see them as allies of the antiwar movement, and not as enemies.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for national liberation fired the imagination of thousands of youths worldwide. In Britain we were particularly conscious of the contribution Fred made to-



Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Fred Halstead

ward this end. It helped a relatively small group of comrades to build and give leadership to an antiwar movement demanding withdrawal of U.S. forces, and an end to British complicity in the war.

From this activity, it was possible to develop cadres, some of whom are now in the newly formed Communist League.

David McReynolds

Chair, War Resisters' International.

History can judge the value of Fred's work with the SWP, but history has already judged the value of his work during the Vietnam period. Because of Fred Halstead, the Vietnam War ended sooner. There are Vietnamese children alive today because of his work, just as there are working-class Americans who got home earlier — or were not drafted at all — because of his work.

He contributed richly to the history of that period by the careful and useful book he wrote. He has continued to contribute: the ability of the people of Nicaragua to have a chance to work out their own problems without an actual U.S. military invasion is a reflection of what many of us together did during Vietnam. And of those many, Fred Halstead was of unique and special value. Those of us who knew him have lost a friend and a trusted coworker.

A.J. Muste Memorial Institute

A.J. Muste was a prominent pacifist and chairman of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee in New York until his death.

Fred worked closely with A.J. Muste in helping to transform a splintered movement against the war in Vietnam into a united effort. Right up to his death in 1967, A.J. considered Fred a good friend and valuable ally. Although many of us differed with Fred and the SWP politically, we always respected him as a tireless organizer for peace and social justice. He was a man of integrity and maintained the rare quality (in these hard times) to work forthrightly and wholeheartedly toward common goals with those with whom he generally disagreed.

Frank Wilkinson

Executive Director Emeritus, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

I wish to focus on Fred's early and accu-

rate evaluation and prediction that the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover was secretly harassing all those seeking to build a better world.

Had more of us listened to his counsel in calling for both legal and political action against the FBI, the Bureau's violations of our precious First Amendment rights could have been stopped two decades ago.

Now, 15 years after the SWP took the vanguard role against the FBI, we find the Bureau under William Webster continuing its onslaught — this time against those seeking peaceful alternatives to Reagan's evil Central American policies.

As a lasting tribute to Fred, we must now unite to demand that Congress and the next president enact a law to end the FBI's political surveillances. And then practice eternal vigilance to guarantee that such a law shall be enforced.

John 'Skinny' Weis

Member, Executive Board, trustee Local P-9, United Food and Commercial Workers, from Geo. A. Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota.

I knew Fred but for a very short time, but to me and the rest of the P-9ers, it was a very important time of our lives.

Through his writing and speaking about our struggle against the Hormel company, he helped spread the truth about our fight. To this date, Fred's pamphlet about our strike is the only accurate account to be published.

Gretar Kristjansson

Militant Socialist Organization of Iceland.

We value the example Fred set as a life-long fighter for socialism and a dedicated party-builder in the United States. Fred was always moving on, never relaxing, never settling down or retiring from politics. As a true soldier of the revolution, he would seek new frontiers, take on new assignments, giving leadership by example, which inspired others to follow in his footsteps. His enthusiastic participation in the turn to industry at an age often connected with acquiescence and inertia comes to mind here, showing the vitality and youthfulness of revolutionary conviction.

To the comrades from Iceland who got to know Fred during their visits to the United States, he became more than a legend. He was a dear friend who generously passed his experience from decades of workers' struggles and party building on to the coming generations of fighters.

Anne Braden

Veteran civil rights fighter from Louisville, Kentucky.

Although Fred may best be known for his key role in antiwar movements, his contributions to the ongoing civil rights movement in our nation were equally important. In the 1950s, he was one of those who perceived early how important the Black freedom struggle in the South was to the entire country. He continued to recognize the fight against racism as central to every other issue, and that understanding always illuminated his reporting.

'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' Bureau, Managua, Nicaragua

Within six weeks of the Sandinista victory of July 19, 1979, Fred was here in Nicaragua on assignment from *PM* and the *Militant*, part of the team reporting the facts on the revolution, interviewing the young fighters who had led the successful struggle for power, and conveying to readers throughout the world the international importance of the revolution that was unfolding in Nicaragua.

In a real sense, he was one of the first members of the Managua bureau.

Angela Sanbrano and Don White

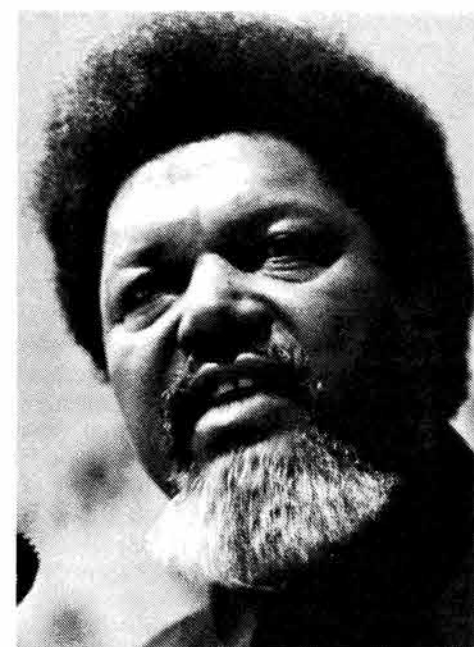
Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

We of CISPES salute Fred Halstead today and suggest the obvious: our lasting tribute to Fred will be the continuing work that all of us will do, an extension of the struggle he was so much a part of.

Robert F. Williams

Veteran civil rights fighter, and author, *Negroes With Guns*.

The death of Fred Halstead comes as a great loss to the Freedom Fighters. All of the old Freedom Fighters know the value of those who struggled to make a better world, and we realize the loss more than any other element of the population. I received the news of the passing of Brother Fred with great sadness. I hope that his life will be an inspiration to the youth of this country to continue that work that he and the other old Freedom Fighters dedicated their lives to. We will miss him greatly.



Militant/Lou Howort

Robert F. Williams

Andrew Pulley

Socialist Workers Party leader and 1980 SWP presidential candidate.

I was lucky to have worked with Fred a bit. He was the first older party leader I met in 1969 upon my release from the stockade in Fort Jackson and my discharge from the army. All of us from GIs United Against the War in Vietnam who were interviewed by Fred were greatly impressed by who he was and what he had done.

He told us about the "Bring us home" movement of U.S. soldiers who revolted at the end of World War II — holding rallies, meetings, commandeering boats and planes, demanding not to be sent to China in an effort to crush the Chinese revolution.

And we thought we had done something, opposing the Vietnam War as active-duty GIs!

Nat London

Communist auto worker in Paris, France.

The most important task that any thinking human being could have undertaken during these last 40 years was to help lead the small group of conscious revolutionary militants across the deep divide that separates the last great social crisis of American capitalism, the crisis of the 1930s and '40s, from the new social crisis which is now rapidly approaching. Fred Halstead undertook this task with courage and conviction.

If the SWP today has a better possibility than ever before of accomplishing its historic task of building a mass-based revolutionary workers party in the belly of the imperialist monster during the impending social crisis, we owe a debt of thanks to the men and women, such as Fred Halstead, who have helped us prepare.



Militant/Lou Howort

Connie Harris

Anti-imperialist assembly calls for support to Panama

Continued from front page

and for the United States to withdraw all its troops from the country by the year 2000. Provisions for a phased turnover of control to the Panamanians and for U.S. troops stationed in Panama to be used solely to protect the canal have been violated by Washington.

The economic aggression by Washington has had a considerable impact on the standard of living of the Panamanian people. The economy has been thrown into a deep recession. Unemployment has risen sharply, and many people are being paid less than full wages.

"The imperialist doctrine of aggression remains the same," Noriega said. "It has become more sophisticated because it is directed at the hunger felt by the peoples of Latin America, at the hunger felt by the people of Panama."

But this U.S. pressure has deepened the nationalist resolve and organization of the Panamanian people, the general stated. "The only thing our people ask is respect for our right to exist, to self-determination, respect for our freedom to choose our friends and enemies, to do in our own land what we must do without interference from foreign troops and flags."

U.S. hegemony declines

The three-day meeting here, which was hosted by the Revolutionary Democratic

Party (PRD) of Panama, examined various aspects of imperialist intervention in the area. In a final resolution, it noted that since the last plenary meeting of the organization in Managua two years ago, "the anti-imperialist, democratic, revolutionary, and socialist forces in the Caribbean and Central America have advanced," while "the defeats and setbacks that imperialism has suffered make it ever more evident that its policy of force is not invincible."

A presentation made by Nils Castro of the PRD described the long history of resistance by the Panamanian people to U.S. domination. Referring to the U.S. moves against Noriega, he said, "We are seeing what probably will be the U.S. technique of destabilization and control for the coming years throughout the region." But Panama has not succumbed, Castro pointed out, urging other governments in Latin America to join Panama in standing up to U.S. imperialism.

An assessment of the policies of the Reagan administration toward the Caribbean and Central America was presented by Omar Córdoba of the Communist Party of Cuba. The U.S. government failed to achieve its central goals of overthrowing the Nicaraguan revolution and crushing the liberation movement in El Salvador, he said. Nor were they able to "isolate Cuba for its internationalist foreign policy."

Panama: interest in Socialist Workers presidential campaign

BY SUSAN LaMONT

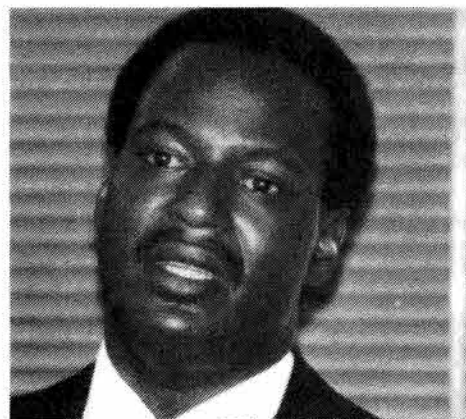
NEW YORK — "In Panama City, people were very interested in the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, and curious to find out about the reception we're getting," said James Warren, Warren, the SWP candidate for U.S. president, had just returned from the Third Assembly of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America, held in Panama City June 20-22.

Both Warren and SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters were invited to participate in the conference as observers from a fraternal anti-imperialist party in the United States.

"The interest came both from delegates to the Anti-Imperialist Organizations conference, and from other people in Panama as well," Warren continued. "Most were genuinely surprised to find out that the SWP, a communist party in the United States, can run an election campaign, present our ideas and proposals, and get a good response from many working people. That told them something about politics and the class struggle in the United States that they weren't aware of before. The issue of the *Militant* that we had at the conference had the SWP National Committee's 'Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis' in it, so delegates could see our views and the kinds of proposals we're raising."

"The leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Party from Panama who we met," Warren said, "were excited about the fact that there is a socialist candidate running for office who defends Panama." The PRD holds the majority of seats in Panama's legislature, and hosted the anti-imperialist conference.

"One thing you don't have in Panama," Warren added, "is confusion about the difference between the Democrats and Republicans. Most people are aware that both parties, and all their candidates, have backed Reagan's attacks on their country's sovereignty, and have supported Washington's disinformation campaign, which paints a false picture of widespread support to those trying to topple the government. People are upset about these lies, and were surprised to find out that we have an election campaign that is defending the Panamanian people's right to choose their own leadership."



Militant/David McDonald
SWP candidate James Warren

Warren addressed the anti-imperialist conference on the right of the Panamanian people to take possession of the canal. He discussed the relationship between the political situation inside the United States and the failure of Washington's drive to oust Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, head of the Panama Defense Forces. A factor in Washington's inability to use direct military intervention in Panama, Warren explained, was the reaction inside the United States to the sending of U.S. troops to Honduras earlier this spring, which provoked widespread opposition and demonstrations around the country. Warren said his remarks "got a good response."

The SWP candidate was interviewed by a Panamanian radio station, Channel 2 television, a leading magazine, *Diálogosocial*, and a major daily, *La Republica*. The 10-minute television interview with Warren was played twice on Channel 2's regular news broadcast.

The next day, Warren was an invited guest at a public rally held by the PRD, where members of the newly elected leadership were being introduced to the people. "I was introduced to the new head of the PRD and others at the rally as the SWP presidential candidate," Warren said. "A number of PRD members also walked up to me and said, 'I recognize you. I saw you on television. I can't believe there's someone doing what you're doing.'"

At a reception held for the delegates to the anti-imperialist conference, Warren was also introduced to General Noriega and Panamanian President Manuel Solís Palma.



Militant/Judy White
Delegates at anti-imperialist meeting. Member organizations represent political parties and groups in 26 Caribbean and Central American countries.

Córdoba described the defeat of the Grenadian revolution as "a pyrrhic victory" for U.S. imperialism, because "the conservative offensive that followed that episode could not still the discontent of the impoverished masses, their demands for justice, their aspirations to live in peace and dignity."

Washington's failure to achieve its main foreign policy objectives shows the depth of its crisis, Córdoba noted. "U.S. hegemony in our hemisphere has declined during the Reagan era," he concluded. This provides the opening for the peoples of the region to "simply continue moving, as we have up to now, in the direction that historic necessity dictates — to fight to the very end for our full, definitive, and unrelinquishable sovereignty."

Antonio Martínez of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador reported on the failure of imperialist counterinsurgency efforts to defeat the popular movements in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Hugo Meneses of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua made a presentation detailing the evolution of the economic problems that have developed in Nicaragua since the workers and peasants took power in 1979. He pointed to the contra war and the lack of private investment as major causes of the problems and reported the different policies the Sandinista government has taken to try to cope with the crisis.

Tim Hector of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement discussed the situation of the small English-speaking nations of the East Caribbean. Reporting on behalf of all the member organizations from the East Caribbean, he stated that unity is a precondition for their economic progress. The latest scheme for a unitary state based on the Organization of East Caribbean States, however, will only make such progress possible, he said, if the peoples of the

area have a say in the character of the union.

Michel Bangou of the Guadeloupe Communist Party reported on European colonialism in the Caribbean and its effects on the peoples of those islands.

The reports were followed by two discussion periods in which a number of delegates and observers participated.

A resolution adopted by the assembly reiterated the Anti-Imperialist Organizations' support for the independence of Puerto Rico and the French and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. It also condemned the June 20 military coup in Haiti and called for strengthened solidarity with the people of that country.

New leadership elected

The conference also took up a number of organizational matters and elected a new coordinating committee and officers for the Anti-Imperialist Organizations.

The membership of a number of new parties was ratified, and applications from other organizations will be taken up by the incoming coordinating committee.

President Rafael Taveras and Secretary Clement Rohee, who had led the group since its founding in 1984, stepped down. Cheddi Jagan of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and Olga Sanabria of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party were elected president and secretary, respectively. Don Rojas of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada continues as secretary of propaganda and information, and Eugene Godfried of the Curaçao Socialist Movement continues as financial secretary.

Also on the new coordinating committee are Michel Bangou of the Guadeloupe Communist Party; Oscar Allen of the United People's Movement of St. Vincent; and Antonio Martínez of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

Union negotiators urging members to vote no on national GE contract

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — A tentative agreement between top officials of unions representing General Electric workers and the company has been rejected by several union bodies, raising the possibility of a nationwide strike by 70,000 GE workers on July 7.

Thirteen unions representing GE workers bargain together in a Coordinated Bargaining Committee (CBC). The largest of these is the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE), which represents about 40,000 GE workers. After an agreement is reached by the CBC, it is then sent to each union for a separate vote.

On June 26, a last-minute settlement with GE was agreed to by IUE President William Bywater and a small group of CBC officials. On June 27, this agreement was unanimously rejected by both the IUE negotiating committee and the IUE GE

Conference Board. The conference board is made up of elected delegates from all 84 IUE locals at GE plants.

The situation remains unclear as far as other unions representing GE workers. These include the United Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Association of Machinists, and United Auto Workers.

The proposed contract now goes to the membership of the various unions for final rejection or acceptance on July 6. The executive board of the 6,500-member IUE Local 201 at the GE plant here has unanimously recommended rejection. According to union sources, the highlights of the proposed three-year contract include takebacks in medical coverage, elimination of the night-shift premium pay for new hires, and a lengthening to 30 months of the time it takes new hires to make full pay rate.

Selling to railroad workers in Utah's coalfields

BY KATHY RETTIG

PRICE, Utah — Carbon and Emery counties here are the heart of underground coal mining in the West. Since before the turn of the century, the coal has been moved out of these mountains by rail.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells sell the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*

gines are attached to the trains to get the coal cars over the steep grades.

Cutbacks on the railroads have been deep the past few years. Many workers have lost their jobs. Classifications have also been combined. Today, a smaller number of employees work under more difficult conditions than before. Many rail workers are on the "extra board" so their hours are er-

in discussing the program of action for working people being put forward by the Socialist Workers Party, although they don't always agree with all of it.

In one discussion, a worker expressed skepticism about winning the demand for a 30-hour work-week without a cut in pay. The bosses, he said, will never agree to cut their profits to make this possible. Instead, he proposed that people like himself, who get higher pay than most other workers, give up their overtime and even take pay cuts to help out those who are forced to get by on minimum wage.

We have also run into different opinions about the U.S.-backed contra war against Nicaragua. One worker initially defended the contras because they are "fighting communism." But after a discussion he bought a paper.

Rail workers are also interested in the struggles by members of the United Mine Workers of America,



Militant/Eric Simpson

Coal is hauled out of mountains by rail

particularly the strike against Decker Coal Co. in Sheridan, Wyoming.

We almost always sell at least one paper when we catch a crew change, sometimes more. One worker bought a long-term subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The sales team meets regularly to assess what we have learned

about the rail unions and to discuss the questions that have been raised with us.

We are considering expanding sales to the coal loadouts — where coal hauled out of the mines by truck is transferred to rail cars. At the loadouts we'll be able to meet not only members of the rail unions but also truck drivers organized by the miners' union.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

dial at several area mine portals every week. Recently, we have intensified our efforts to also get out the periodicals to rail workers who operate the coal trains.

We are focusing our efforts on two railyards in Helper — the Denver-Rio Grande and Utah railroads. At those locations "helper" en-

gines are attached to the trains to get the coal cars over the steep grades. We had to experiment before finding out the best time of day and best day of the week to meet the most workers.

The rail workers here are members of the United Transportation Union and a couple of other unions.

Many, we found, are interested

Sumo Indian group signs permanent cease-fire with Nicaraguan gov't

BY HARVEY MCARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The last Sumo Indian group that had been fighting the Sandinista government returned home June 25 after signing a permanent cease-fire agreement.

This is the first large group belonging to the U.S.-backed "Nicaraguan Resistance" forces to quit fighting and come to an agreement with the government. Other Indian groups have done so, but they were part of separate organizations, such as the Miskito groups YATAMA and KISAN.

Most of the 80 men in this task force are natives of the sparsely-populated jungle area in the north of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. For years, they had played a major role in guiding contra units entering Nicaragua from base camps in Honduras.

These Sumos will keep their arms and constitute a local self-defense militia in coordination with the Sandinista People's Army. "We will now support the government with the same weapons with which we were fighting it," said Ampinio Palacios, commander of the group. He and other leaders of the task force appeared along with Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge at a June 26 press conference here.

Borge described the agreement as a "serious military and political blow to the contra forces" that would strengthen Nicaragua's

position in seeking a negotiated end to the war.

The members of the task force decided to stop fighting in May and contacted Sandinista authorities. "This was our own decision," Palacios said. "There was a lot of pressure from the Sumo people for us to abandon the war."

Once the cease-fire was agreed upon, the Sumo fighters, together with 116 women and children, marched to a point in the jungle where army helicopters were to evacuate them. They had to wait 11 days until heavy rains ended and the helicopters could operate. They were then flown to the mining town of Bonanza, a center for the Sumo people on the Atlantic Coast.

Meanwhile, in Miami, the internal crisis of the contra forces deepened June 22 when a top official, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, and two field commanders announced they were forming a new organization. Chamorro said he would seek to oust Enrique Bermúdez, the top military commander of the so-called Nicaraguan Resistance.

The day before, contra spokesperson Silvio Argüello Cardenal announced that the mercenaries were dismissing 400 members of their paid staff. According to a report in the *New York Times*, this will include staff members in "publicity, communications, family support services, and clerical help," who were part of the contras' "political support network" in the United States, Central America, and Europe.

In Nicaragua, the temporary cease-fire between government troops and the contras was scheduled to expire June 30. However Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega declared June 21 that the government was prepared to extend the truce and continue attempts to negotiate an agreement.



Contras' crisis deepened when Pedro Joaquín Chamorro announced formation of new organization.

Contempt charges dropped in Freedom Socialist Party case

The Washington State Court of Appeals has approved a lower court ruling that dropped contempt charges and jail sentences against Clara Fraser, leader of the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), and two attorneys, Valerie Carlson and Fred Hyde.

The charges stem from a 1984 suit brought by Richard Snedigar, a former FSP member who demanded the return of \$22,500 he had donated to the organization in 1979. A judge ruled in favor of Snedigar without a trial, claiming that the FSP's refusal to turn over minutes of its meetings and lists of contributors amounted to forfeiting the case.

The attack on the FSP escalated when another judge ordered Fraser and her lawyers jailed for contempt when they refused to provide details of their finances.

A growing number of prominent individuals and organizations have denounced the court actions in Snedigar's suit as a threat to the right of privacy.

Judge Anthony Wartnik dismissed the charges April 22. Snedigar was barred for the time being from collecting the judgment, but FSP National Secretary Guerry Hodderson was required to put up her home as security until the appeals process is completed.

Sales Drive Progress

Area	Drive Totals			Militant subscriptions		New International single copies		Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions	
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Austin, Minn.	90	113	126	65	86	15	16	10	11
Morgantown, Wv	135	164	121	115	125	15	31	5	8
Miami	225	270	120	145	168	40	56	40	46
Twin Cities, Minn.	285	341	120	230	265	35	51	20	25
Los Angeles	600	679	113	340	367	100	126	160	186
Milwaukee	150	168	112	100	109	25	33	25	26
Kansas City	130	145	112	90	103	20	22	20	20
Baltimore	185	203	110	150	162	30	31	5	10
Newark, NJ	460	501	109	275	275	85	109	100	117
Greensboro, NC	125	136	109	100	111	15	15	10	10
Price, Utah	60	65	108	40	44	10	11	10	10
Des Moines, Iowa	195	209	107	140	150	30	40	25	19
New York	1,200	1,283	107	600	620	300	374	300	289
Boston	350	370	106	240	241	50	59	60	70
Philadelphia	210	219	104	140	140	30	31	40	48
Birmingham, Ala	185	192	104	145	143	30	41	10	8
Phoenix	300	310	103	155	156	45	46	100	108
Detroit	250	255	102	185	206	40	32	25	17
Atlanta	205	209	102	150	171	40	22	15	16
Seattle	275	280	102	200	203	25	26	50	51
Omaha, Neb	125	126	101	80	79	25	38	20	9
Portland, Ore	140	133	95	100	85	25	32	15	16
San Francisco	350	315	90	200	185	75	64	75	66
Chicago	350	313	89	215	200	60	61	75	52
Washington, DC	250	210	84	170	110	50	50	30	50
Houston	215	178	83	140	107	30	33	45	38
Charleston, Wv	120	94	78	100	78	15	12	5	4
Cleveland	145	113	78	110	82	20	15	15	16
Pittsburgh	250	194	78	185	143	45	36	20	15
St. Louis	250	189	76	190	142	50	41	10	6
Salt Lake City	150	100	67	115	69	20	19	15	12
Oakland, Calif	265	157	59	150	111	50	25	65	21
* National Team	-	255	-	-	205	-	24	-	26
Cincinnati	18	16	89	18	16	-	-	-	-
Louisville	5	2	40	5	2	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	25	-	-	24	-	-	-	1
U.S. totals	8,248	8,532	103	5,383	5,483	1,445	1,622	1,420	1,427
South Yorks	45	73	162	30	36	5	25	10	12
London	62	80	129	45	58	8	15	9	7
South Wales	40	49	123	27	29	10	18	3	2
Nottingham	39	40	103	24	25	12	15	3	0
Manchester	34	34	100	24	27	5	5	5	2
Other Britain	-	52	-	-	17	-	34	-	1
Britain totals	220	328	149	150	192	40	112	30	24
Vancouver	25	34	136	15	25	5	2	5	7
Toronto	250	316	126	150	210	50	51	50	55
Montreal	170	183	108	80	81	50	32	40	70
Other Canada	10	13	130	5	12	5	0	-	1
Canada totals	455	546	120	250	328	110	85	95	133
Australia	27	27	100	15	24	6	1	6	2
Iceland	15	18	120	15	18	-	-	-	-
New Zealand	220	223	101	180	181	30	31	10	11
* Puerto Rico	-	19	-	-	4	-	1	-	14
Other Internat'l	-	63	-	-	35	-	22	-	6
Totals	9,185	9,756	108%	5,993	6,265	1,631	1,874	1,561	1,617
Drive Goals	9,000			6,000		1,500		1,500	
Should be		9,000	100%						

Momentum builds for campaign fund drive

BY SAM MANUEL

The Socialist Workers Party 1988 National Campaign Committee has projected a major effort to make the goal of collecting \$50,000 in a national fund drive as the pace of contributions coming in picks up. Nearly \$18,000 had been collected at the end of the fifth week of the drive.

The SWP is running James Warren for U.S. president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president.

The campaign committee announced that an important objective in the next week will be for every organized group of campaign supporters to send in some amount towards their goals. It also announced that it is extending the drive two weeks, to July 23. This will give campaign committees, supporters, and readers of the *Militant* an opportunity to build on the political momentum of the last few weeks of the *Militant* circulation drive.

Many campaign supporters have been deeply involved in the successful sales efforts, including the 10 days added to the drive to get out the special 28-page issue of the *Militant* and the July-August issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Those issues carried the SWP National Committee's "Action Program for Confronting the Coming Economic Crisis."

Moreover, as new opportunities have arisen for the campaign, Warren and Mickells' speaking tours have been extended longer into July than had originally been projected. Warren will be in Price, Utah, June 29-30; Phoenix, July 6-8; and in Chicago, July 10-13.

Mickells will visit Birmingham, Alabama, July 2-4; Miami, July 6-8; Baltimore, July 10-12; and New York, July 13-16.

Adding two more weeks to the campaign fund drive will increase the opportunities for local campaign supporters to continue to raise funds throughout the remainder of Warren and Mickells' spring-summer tours, including at rallies and meetings where they're speaking.

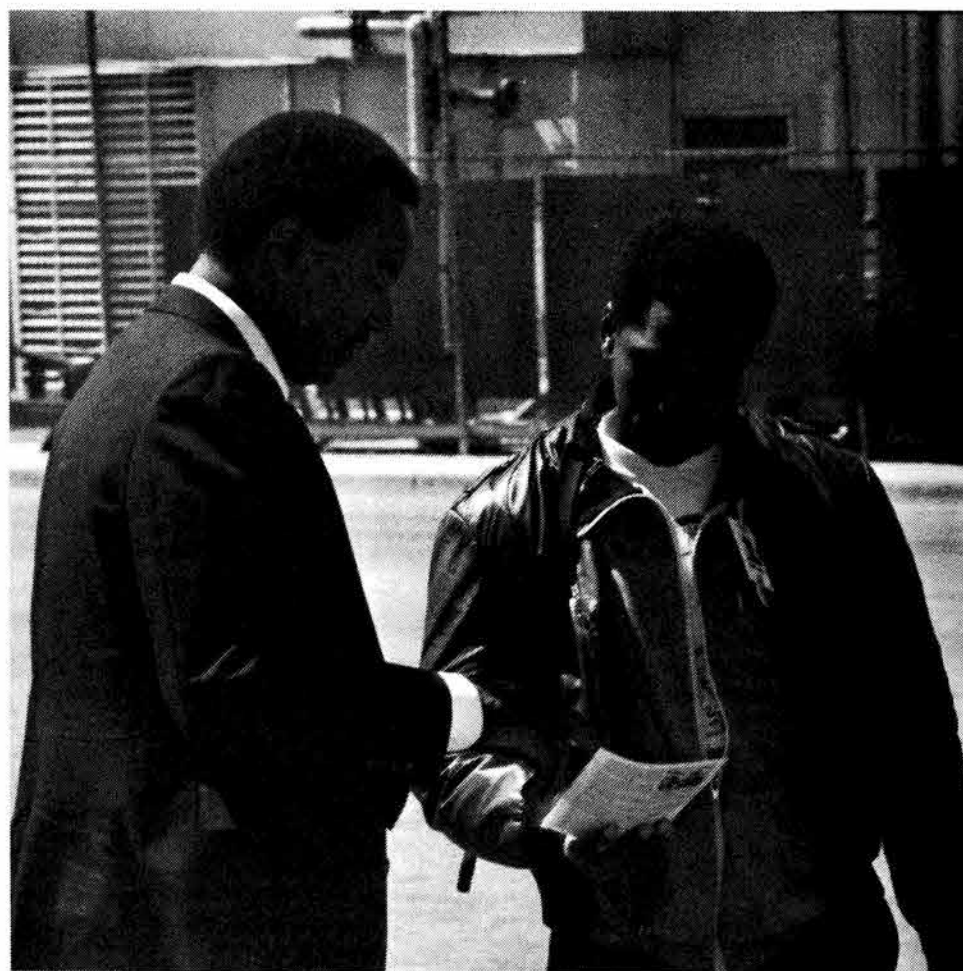
Mickells will be the featured speaker at a July 16 rally in New York. The New York rally will be the largest single opportunity to raise funds for the campaign. The event

will cap off the first week of a three-week drive to collect between 35,000 and 40,000 signatures on petitions to put the socialist presidential ticket and senatorial candidate James Harris on the ballot in New York. The state's minimum requirement to place all three of the socialist candidates on the ballot is 20,000 signatures. The New York petitioning campaign will be a major national effort, with teams of campaigners from throughout the country helping.

The SWP has also launched petitioning drives in several other states. More will be launched throughout the month of July. Each of these efforts incur considerable expenses, including the printing of petitions, legal counsel, filing fees, and organizing the numerous volunteers needed to collect the signatures.

The major part of the fund drive goes toward the large travel expenses necessary to keep the candidates on the road. Warren and Mickells have already traveled to 25 cities in 19 states. They have also attended conferences and meetings in Britain, Grenada, Panama, and Canada.

The fund also pays for printing of materials, mailings, press work, phone costs, and other expenses.



Militant/Andy Coates
Socialist presidential candidate James Warren talks with aerospace worker in Los Angeles.

Alabama ballot drive on schedule

BY ANDY COATES

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "We're right on schedule in the Alabama petitioning drive," Ellen Berman told supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1988 campaign. The three-week drive to win 9,000 signatures to put James Warren and Kathleen Mickells — the SWP presidential ticket — on the Alabama ballot ends July 9.

Berman, a laid-off machinist, has volunteered to help organize the petitioning campaign. In seven days, she reported, teams of volunteers have collected 3,239 signatures. The state requires 5,000.

"The essence of the campaign," Berman said, "is the discussions we've had on the coming economic crisis. Even if people don't sign the petition, most are interested in talking. One of the most successful campaign teams," she added, "has set up a literature table in the early morning at the unemployment office downtown."

This week teams also went to Jasper and Bessemer, Alabama. Tables of campaign literature featuring the *Militant* news-weekly were also set up at the University of Alabama campuses in Tuscaloosa and Birmingham.

Berman explained that the focus of discussions has been the SWP National Committee's "Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis," published in the June 24 *Militant* and in the June-July issue of the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*. "We've found that people who sign the petition or buy the *Militant* in one place meet us again and want to continue the discussions they've had with us." Several people have subscribed to the paper in this way, she said.

Campaign supporters, while petitioning, have made a big effort to sell the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist journal *New International*. So far 251 single copies of the *Militant* have been sold. In addition, 14 subscriptions to the paper and two copies of *New International* have been sold.

Ray Parsons, a Birmingham volunteer for the campaign, said he's met many people who are familiar with the socialist weekly. "At the University in Birmingham I asked two young women to sign the petition," he said. "They didn't think they wanted to, so I asked if they would be interested in the *Militant*. One of the women said, 'Oh — now that I know who you are, of course I'll sign.'" She also got the latest issue of the paper, Parsons said.

Another campaign volunteer, Patti Sanchez, told how she met a man who had been familiar with the *Militant* since the 1950s. He was active then in the civil rights movement in Montgomery. "I would do anything to help the Socialist Workers Party," he told Sanchez.

Many people have expressed interest in the Young Socialist Alliance. David War-

shawsky, a member of the YSA, said the Birmingham chapter of the socialist youth organization will be hosting a class this week on the new stage in the Nicaraguan revolution. "This will help us reach every young person we've met, as well as those we already work with in Birmingham," he explained. "We will ask all of these people to join the Young Socialist Alliance," he added.

Two supporters of the YSA traveled to Birmingham from Boone, North Carolina, to participate in the campaign mobilization on June 25. More than 30 supporters of the campaign turned out to collect a total of nearly 1,000 signatures that day.

Petitions have also been circulated demanding that charges against Mark Curtis be dropped. Curtis, a political activist, has been framed up by the Des Moines, Iowa, cops. More than 50 people have signed.

Several invitations to speak have been extended to Socialist Workers campaigners. The student radio station at the Uni-

versity of Alabama in Tuscaloosa expressed interest in interviewing a representative of the campaign. A high school economics teacher said he would like to bring a communist point of view to his class, and would be contacting the SWP.

Many people have stopped by the Pathfinder Bookstore, the location of the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in Birmingham. A young couple from New Jersey met a petitioning team on Saturday, came to the bookstore on Sunday, and said they planned to come to hear Kathleen Mickells on July 2.

During the remaining two weeks of the drive, campaign teams will go to Tuskegee and the Tuskegee Institute and to Auburn, including Auburn University.

Other teams will be going to Montgomery, Gadsden, and Mobile.

YSA National Chairperson Rena Cacoullos will be the featured speaker at the July 9 wrap-up celebration for the Alabama drive.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Socialist candidate Kathleen Mickells

Iowa campaigners meet ballot requirements

BY TED LEONARD

DES MOINES, Iowa — Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1988 election campaign completed a three-week effort June 25 to place the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Kathleen Mickells on the ballot in Iowa. The petitioners gathered 2,679 signatures. The legal requirement is 1,000.

So far, the Warren-Mickells ticket has been certified on the ballot in Utah and New Jersey, and the petitioning requirements have been met in Ohio. The SWP is attempting to win ballot status in 18 states and Washington, D.C.

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May 21 — July 23

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	Goal	Collected		Goal	Collected
Atlanta	1,450	565	Portland, Ore	900	430
Austin, Minn.	500	0	Price, Utah	600	0
Baltimore	1,150	0	Salt Lake City	800	873
Birmingham, Ala.	950	0	San Francisco	2,000	455
Boston	1,750	0	Seattle	1,250	750
Charleston, W.V.	1,000	200	St. Louis	1,600	1,100
Chicago	2,200	335	Twin Cities, Minn.	1,900	1,040
Cleveland	1,150	550	Washington, D.C.	1,750	0
Des Moines, Iowa	750	245	Other	—	975
Detroit	1,350	775	Total	50,000	17,472
Greensboro, N.C.	800	315			
Houston	1,150	730			
Kansas City	750	340			
Los Angeles	3,250	1,263			
Miami	1,450	0			
Milwaukee	950	385			
Morgantown, W.V.	1,150	650			
New York	7,000	2,352			
Newark, N.J.	3,000	1,735			
Oakland, Calif.	1,700	254			
Omaha, Neb.	1,100	745			
Philadelphia	1,650	100			
Phoenix	1,150	260			
Pittsburgh	1,600	50			

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The fight for land in cattle-raising region of Nicaragua

Poor peasants seize land of capitalist ranchers

BY HARVEY McARTHUR
AND LARRY SEIGLE

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — Demetrio Duarte Henríquez refers to himself as "an honest and patriotic producer." He is a rancher in the heart of Nicaragua's main cattle-raising region.

Don Demetrio, as he is known by nearly everyone, is 85 years old. He talks proudly of long years of activity in opposition to the dictatorship headed by Anastasio Somoza Debayle, who was overthrown when the Sandinista revolution triumphed in 1979. Like most cattle ranchers in this region, Don Demetrio was a supporter of the Conservative Party, the major capitalist opposition to the Somoza-controlled Liberal Party.

"Since the victory of the revolution I have not had any problem with the regional or local authorities," he says. "Rather, because I fought for social transformations in this country, I have contributed when they have sought my help for the community, and I have done it with much satisfaction."

But now Don Demetrio is waging a fight to get one of his ranches back from poor peasants. Nine families have taken it over and set up a collective farm. The peasants have the backing of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform, known as MIDINRA, which has given them title to the ranch.

'A bunch of lazy bums'

Don Demetrio thinks the peasants are "a bunch of lazy bums" who won't be able to work the ranch productively. He also believes that the seizure of his land is bad for the country because it violates the government's commitment to the policy of national unity. He has written a protest letter to Jaime Wheelock, head of MIDINRA, arguing, "As producers, we are setting an example because, despite all the difficulties and in the middle of the war zones, we maintain production of the milk, meat, and cheese that help feed the Nicaraguan people." Don Demetrio urged Wheelock to give him back his ranch, and "put a halt to these abuses, which don't contribute to strengthening national unity, but rather create confusion and encourage fishing in troubled waters."

But the peasants who now own and work the old Duarte ranch have no plans to give it up. They now own the ranch collectively and call it the "Luis Montano Cooperative." Before, they lived in San Lorenzo, in what is known as the "arid zone," where the land is so dry it won't even sustain a decent crop of corn. "The Sandinista Front told us to go where there is good land," explains Sixto Jarquín Polanco, the president of the new collective farm. "So we formed the group and moved here in July 1987."

The group formed by Jarquín and his comrades was one of several dozen "Committees to Fight for Land" organized here in Nicaragua's Region V, an administrative unit covering a large part of south-central Nicaragua. These land committees are made up of groups of peasants who have no land at all, or whose small plots can't be made to produce enough to feed their families. Often these poor peasants are members of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), the pro-Sandinista association established in 1981. But sometimes the committees are set up without any affiliation.

According to Ernesto Pereira, who is in charge of the regional agrarian reform ad-

ministration for MIDINRA, "Sometimes a spontaneous movement develops, and then somebody from the Sandinista Front or UNAG goes to give leadership. Then the peasants come here to MIDINRA, demanding land." There are an estimated 9,000 poor peasant families needing land in Region V.

Symbol of a social conflict

What complicates the situation is the fact that some of the land that the peasants are demanding belongs to capitalist ranchers who are also members of UNAG, or who have the support of UNAG in resisting steps to take their land. The Duarte case has become something of a symbol of this conflict. Together with several other similar disputed ranch seizures in Region V, it has provoked a lot of discussion within UNAG.

At UNAG's National Council meeting held in Managua earlier this year, recent expropriations carried out under the agrarian reform law in Region V drew sharp criticism from many council members. Although most of UNAG's 125,000 members are poor peasants, most of those in attendance at the council meeting were owners of medium-sized or large farms and ranches.

Many speakers at the meeting argued that the land seizures were unjustified because the properties in question had been producing efficiently. In addition, several speakers pointed out that some of the owners were UNAG members. They urged the National Council to be more militant in demanding that these lands be returned.

Daniel Núñez, UNAG's president, called on the meeting to support the reversal of MIDINRA's actions in the cases of Don Demetrio Duarte, and of the Tremínios, Buitragos, Rizos, and Ruizes — all Region V ranch owners. According to Núñez, these seizures were "causing anarchy that we cannot permit, because it does not help the relations that must exist between the producers and the revolution." He insisted that "the land reform cannot continue taking over land that is producing, because that really contradicts national policy."

UNAG provides legal backing for members and supporters contesting MIDINRA takeovers of their land. Lawyers on the UNAG staff have represented Duarte in his appeal to the courts.

"But the land reform is not going to stop just because UNAG defends Don Demetrio Duarte," insists Ernesto Pereira of MIDINRA. "Whenever poor peasants come into this office, or any agrarian reform office, 20 or 30 strong, organized, and they really need land, then under the law, and in keeping with the position of the Sandinista Front, we are going to give them land."

And the poor peasants of Region V are continuing to demand land. The distribution of land to the landless has been slower here than in other regions. There is still a relatively high concentration of large landholdings in the hands of capitalist ranchers.

Land ownership before revolution

Before the 1979 revolution, some 70 percent of the land in the region was owned by a handful of large landowners. In 1983, following the expropriation of all property held by Somoza and his associates, big capitalists, mainly ranchers, still owned 52 percent of the land.

In 1985 there were demonstrations of poor peasants demanding land in Region V, and in some cases peasants seized land on their own, often with the support of local UNAG and Sandinista Front officials. At times this meant that UNAG members were occupying the land of other UNAG members. UNAG's national leadership generally put pressure on the government to remove the peasants who had occupied the land.

But, in response to the peasants' demands for land, the pace of land reform was stepped up in 1986. In that year, MIDINRA announced plans to distribute 175,000 acres in Region V, as much as had been distributed here between 1981 and 1985. This pressure from the peasants also played an important role in the adoption of a new, stronger law on agrarian reform in 1986.

The land pressure in the region has continued, although not with the same intensity as in 1985. For example, early in 1987 a group of 20 poor peasants carrying their rifles came to Pereira's office demanding legal title to land they had begun working. The group had been driven from their land by the contra war, and had decided to set up an armed "self-defense cooperative" on 850 acres of ranch land owned by Señor Tremínio in El Coral.

"Self-defense cooperatives" have been established in Region V and in other areas that were hit heavily by the contras. They are, in actuality, collective farms. The land and livestock are owned collectively by the members. The peasants are armed, and patrol the area in coordination with army and militia units.

MIDINRA had come to the aid of these peasants, taking over the Tremínio property under the agrarian reform law and authorizing the peasants to work it. However, the government had not yet acted on their request for title to the land. When the collective farm members applied to the bank for a loan, they were told they first needed to show title to the ranch. That's when they descended on Pereira's office. They soon got their title papers.

In January of this year another group of peasants, also carrying their rifles, demonstrated in front of Pereira's office. They demanded a deed to land they had been working for two years.

The land, in La Cañada, was owned by the Buitrago-Cajina company. "We are poor, and had been living as peons," Siméon Jarquín, a leader of the peasants, explained to Pereira. "We're asking for title to this land, since otherwise we'd have no place of our own to work."

Toribio Castro, in charge of production on the collective farm, told Pereira that there were more peasants who wanted to join the group, "but they are waiting to see" what would happen about the title. "We need the security of possession of this piece of land, and we've been struggling for several years to get it," the peasants added.

Pereira handed them an order on the spot giving them administrative control of the property. But he explained that they would have to demonstrate the efficiency of the farm before they would get the title. He told them that with their efforts they could become "an example for the cooperative movement that is beginning to be established in this area." Many of the landless peasants in this region are victims of the contras, who until very recently have made



it impossible to live and work the land in a lot of the mountain areas. Many families have fled their farms and moved to population centers, hoping to return when a definitive cease-fire is reached with the contras.

Causes of landlessness

But the contra war is not the only cause of landlessness in this area. Poor peasants here were victims of the rapid expansion of capitalist cattle ranching in Nicaragua. This process, which began 30 years ago, was driven by the boom in beef exports that began in Nicaragua and the other Central American countries at the end of the 1950s.

This expansion brought a lot of wealth to those with capital to invest in ranching and meat-packing. But it also led to the dispossession of thousands of peasants, whose holdings had to give way to the vast new ranches being set up. The uncontrolled clearing of land for pasture also led to the deforestation of large parts of the country with disastrous consequences for the land and the human beings who live on it.

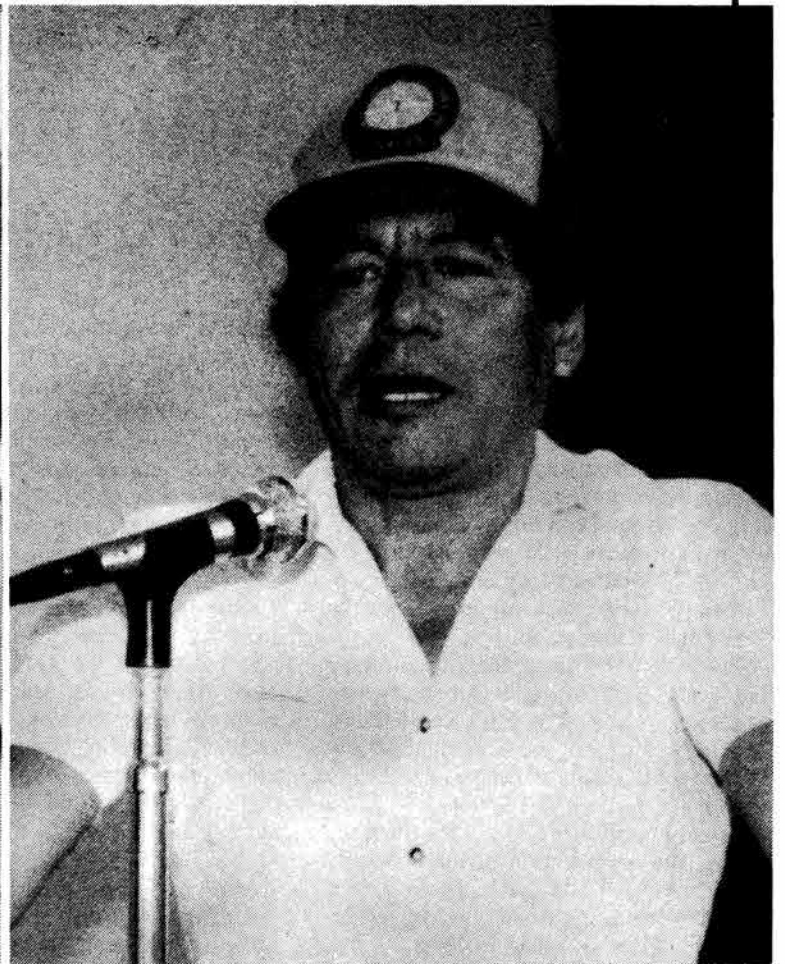
Nicaragua's cattle boom, in fact, had a lot to do with the rural struggles that successfully linked up with urban uprisings to overthrow the dictatorship in 1979 and bring to power a government representing the workers and peasants. Those who had been driven off the land to make room for new capitalist ranches swelled the ranks of those struggling to overthrow the political rule of their expropriators.

Nicaragua's cattle boom was the result of the rapid growth of the fast-food hamburger industry in the United States. Expensive cuts of beef from grain-fattened cattle — the Midwest's specialty — were wasted on Big Macs and Whoppers. Grass-fed beef, lean and tough, could be served up cheaply on a bun after being subjected to enough grinding, tenderizing, and who-knows-what-else at meat-processing plants. And grass-fed beef could be raised more profitably in Central America than in the United States. Ranch land could be found much cheaper, and the cattle didn't have to be fed corn or hay during the winter, as is necessary in the United States.

Cattle had been raised in Nicaragua for a long time. But meeting the demands of the new U.S. market required large capital investments. Breeds that mature faster and grow fatter had to be introduced. Modern packing plants that could meet U.S. Department of Agriculture approval had to be built. Refrigerated warehouses and transit facilities that could deliver frozen meat efficiently from rural Central America to U.S. ports had to be constructed.



Militant/Roberto Kopeck



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Left, farmer at 1987 cattle ranchers' assembly of National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in Boaco, Region V. Right, UNAG President Daniel Núñez. Distribution of land to landless peasants has been slower in this region than other areas of Nicaragua. "There are two social forces at work within UNAG," explained Ernesto Pereira, head of agrarian reform in Region V. One is peasants fighting for land; other is capitalist ranchers.

The expansion was swift. In 1957 the first USDA-approved packing plant in Central America was completed, in Managua. By 1979 there were 28 export packing-houses in Central America, exporting \$290 million in beef. Nine-tenths of it went to the United States and Puerto Rico. In Nicaragua, land devoted to beef doubled between 1960 and 1975. Beef exports grew by 675 percent from 1960 to 1978.

Because of the U.S. import quota system, the Somoza clique was able to rake in monopoly profits from meat-packing. Washington allocates a quota to the government of each country exporting beef to the United States. These governments then apportion them to packing plants. The Somozas not only ran the government, they also owned outright two of Nicaragua's seven export packing plants, a refrigerated warehouse at the port of Corinto, and a beef-importing enterprise in Miami. By 1979 the Somozas and their close cronies had expanded their landholdings to more than 2 million acres, more than half of which was devoted to cattle pasture. But the members of the Somoza clique weren't the only ones to profit. Capitalist ranchers who were part of the political opposition to Somoza also enriched themselves.

The beef boom brought a devastating transformation to Region V and other cattle-raising areas of the country. Indiscriminate clearing of the forests destroyed the land's ability to retain rainwater. As a result, more areas have become vulnerable to drought, and hillsides have become rutted with gullies.

Many of the peasants who were trying to make a living on the land had only recently arrived in this area, which was known as the "agricultural frontier." They had been displaced from the plains along the Pacific Coast by the big expansion in cotton that occurred in the 1950s. These peasants had come to the relatively sparsely populated areas of the "agricultural frontier." Often they simply took forest land, cleared it, and began working. Few had legal title to their land. Now they were being dislodged again, to make room for new *latifundios*, as the extensive landholdings are called.

These new cattle *latifundios* were large capitalist enterprises, completely integrated into the world beef market. When ranchers took their cattle to the slaughterhouses, the price they received was the day's quote on the Chicago commodities market. The most profitable ranches used up-to-date breeding techniques, introduced new grasses requiring application of chemical fertilizers, and even began applying pesticides to the pasture land. All of this required capital investment.

Some small peasants who had raised cattle for the domestic market with their own sweat could no longer compete and began losing their holdings. Others became cattle breeders dependent on the big ranchers, raising calves that the *latifundistas* bought to fatten up and sell to the slaughterhouses.

The penetration of capital didn't simply sweep away earlier forms of exploitation and replace them with wage labor. Some "precapitalist" modes of exploitation were useful to the *latifundistas*. These were incorporated, sometimes in altered form, into the new setup. A form of tenant farming began to appear in which peasants were given use of uncleared land at a low price or in return for a share of their products.

The landowners' main interest was getting the land cleared: when the peasants had made the land suitable for grazing they were evicted. A lot of the forest land was cleared for the *latifundios* in this way, without the need for paying wages or providing housing for farm workers.

Land use for labor service

The relative shortage of farmhands in the area also gave new life to what in Nicaragua is called *colonato*, the use of land in return for labor service. The *colonos* in this region were allowed to graze cattle of their own on a few acres of a *latifundio*. In return they would keep the fences in repair, protect the herd against rustlers, clear land for pasture, and carry out other labor for the ranch owner. They generally lived on the *latifundio*.

Although the Sandinista revolution has transformed much of the countryside, some of the old social relationships have not yet been done away with. There are still *colonos* — perhaps 4,000 or 5,000 in Region V. In fact, *colonato* still exists on some state-owned ranches. When the government took over the ranches from their previous owners, it inherited the peasants who lived on the ranch, and whose livelihood depended on their use of the land in return for their labor.

And there are still *latifundistas*. "Formally speaking," says Ernesto Pereira of MIDINRA, "there are about 12 *latifundios* remaining in this region." But in actuality there are more. Some *latifundistas* changed the paper ownership of part of their land in an attempt to make their holdings appear to be too small to be affected by the agrarian reform law.

"When they saw the agrarian reform being applied to the *latifundios*, some of these owners began to sell or divide up the property among members of their family," Pereira explains. "Others set up corporations held by stock owners."

Under the revolution's first agrarian reform law, enacted on July 19, 1981, the government could expropriate landowners with properties over a certain size if the land was idle, used inefficiently, had been abandoned, or was rented out to peasants. The size limits, below which no land could be taken for any reason, were set at 500 *manzanas* (865 acres), or 1,000 *manzanas* (1,730 acres), depending on the part of the country.

MIDINRA's plans for Region V in 1988 call for distributing 51,000 acres of land to collective farms, cooperatives, and to individual families. This will be about half the acreage handed out in 1987. Much of this will come from state-owned farmland not now being utilized. The land reform office is also putting a lot of emphasis on getting some 300 additional families into already existing collective farms that have room for more members.

Pereira thinks the number of expropriations of large private holdings will decline a little compared to last year. But, he says, the expropriations are not going to stop. "To the degree that the peasants themselves continue to organize and strengthen their consciousness, and to the degree that the peasants we have already given land to demonstrate with their work and organization that it is right to take land from a *latifundista* and give it to poor peasants, the distribution of land is going to continue."

Discussion with Don Demetrio

Demetrio Duarte hopes that Pereira is wrong. In his home in the town of Comalapa, up in the mountains northwest of Juigalpa, Don Demetrio and his wife receive two visiting reporters with gracious hospitality. As a servant brings a cool fruit drink, Don Demetrio expresses his belief that publicity about his fight will aid his cause.

The Duarte house, comfortable if not luxurious, faces the town plaza. The front room opens into a general store, which is also owned by Don Demetrio. The *contras* have attacked the town, and even fired on this house. "But I have never thought of leaving my town," says Don Demetrio, "even though I have a house in Juigalpa."

Don Demetrio believes he is well regarded in the town, and admired by his employees, with whom he has always been generous. In support of his legal efforts to regain his ranch, he has submitted a sworn statement by one of his elderly household servants, testifying to his social concern and magnanimity. Don Demetrio pulls it from a file he keeps in his desk, and reads it to his guests as the woman servant listens and nods agreement.

The affidavit explains that when she first began working for Don Demetrio, he presented her with a cow, which he allowed to graze on his land. Over the years her little herd has grown to 30 head, all of which are kept on Duarte's property. If he loses his ranch, she'll be hurt, too, her statement concludes.

Don Demetrio explains that he has similar arrangements with other employees. He doesn't mention that this arrangement conveniently binds his employees to him, since if they look for another job they'll have nowhere to keep their small herds, their lifetime acquisition.

The ranch that Don Demetrio is trying to get back is about 1,200 acres, and is known as Santa Azucena. "It isn't mine, exactly," Don Demetrio says, "it belongs to my daughter Violeta. But I manage it for her." According to Don Demetrio, Violeta is out of the country seeking medical care. According to some others, she has moved to the United States.

Santa Azucena isn't Duarte's only ranch. But the others, he says, are no good for grazing in the dry season. Santa Azucena is the only ranch where the cattle can be kept all year. "They took the best of all my properties."

Although he is a soft-spoken man, Don Demetrio gets agitated as he recounts the day the collective farm members told him he had to remove his 1,000 head of cattle from Santa Azucena. "They forced my servants, my workers, to remove the cattle. I'll have to sell the thousand head at a bad price. I won't be able to feed them."

Don Demetrio says that the reason he has been given for the decision to take his land is military necessity. "The government told me they need armed people up there to fight the *contras*." But he doesn't think much of the idea of toilers on the land carrying weapons: "My workers can't work well with rifles, they need their hands for their tools." Don Demetrio hopes that "when peace comes and they don't need armed people up there anymore," he will get his ranch back.

A petition campaign

Don Demetrio has organized a petition campaign to protest the MIDINRA action. "More than 170 producers have signed, just in this area." Daniel Núñez, UNAG president, helped him draft his letter of protest to Jaime Wheelock, and has assured him of UNAG's continuing support.

But for Danilo Salgado, UNAG director in Region V, the Duarte case is a real

Continued on Page 10

Venceremos Brigade sees achievements of Cuban revolution

BY CATHY SEDWICK

SAN FRANCISCO — Nearly 150 people recently traveled to Cuba from the United States as part of the 19th contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. As guests of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples, teachers, students, trade unionists, doctors, lawyers, artists, and community and solidarity activists saw Cuba for ourselves. What we learned in our two-week stay surprised and impressed even the most skeptical among us.

Today there are many challenges facing Cuba's revolutionary government, which came to power in 1959. Raúl Roa Khouiri, a long-time leader of the Communist Party of Cuba, told us that building a new society and a new consciousness is not easy. Cuba is currently rectifying some of the mistakes made in the organization of the economy and, according to Roa, mistakes made even in carrying out some of the guiding principles of building socialism in Cuba.

This correction is taking place with the fullest participation of the working people. This, he explained, is the only way to solve the most pressing problems facing Cuba. One aspect of this process is the massive movement to rebuild the city of Havana, the capital.

All over Havana, buildings are going up. Rundown neighborhoods are being rebuilt, with new apartments, stores, libraries, and child-care centers. Most workers will pay only 6 percent of their incomes to live in the new apartments — no one will pay more than 10 percent.

One of the programs the Cubans are most proud of is the family doctors' home offices. In the Alamar section of Havana we met a family doctor. Serving about 600 households, she provides prenatal care, delivers babies, dispenses contraceptives, treats small injuries as well as major illnesses, makes daily house calls, and offers a sympathetic ear. The bill for all this is zero; medical care in Cuba is free.

Education is also free, from child care to the university. Developing an educational system that produces well-educated human beings who are politically aware and socially responsible is a big task. In the middle of Lenin Park sits the Ernesto Che Guevara Pioneer Palace. This school, built

in 1979, is any child's dream. It is open to all children in Havana between the ages of nine and 13. The children learn about the many different jobs necessary to run a country. The palace includes several small factories, research labs, and radio and TV stations; a hospital ward complete with operating room; military training facilities; and a store, restaurant, and beautiful new theater under construction.

One of the most impressive accomplishments of the Cuban revolution is the internationalism of the Cuban people. Francisco Alarcón, vice-foreign minister, told us that Cuba provides teachers, doctors, and technicians to impoverished countries around the globe. Cuba has also sent soldiers to aid those fighting for national liberation.

We met with many representatives of African and Latin American liberation organizations who live and work in Cuba. In addition, we had discussions with the ambassadors of both Panama and Angola.

One of the most moving experiences for all of us was the construction work we did at the Heroes of El Salvador Camp. Here Salvadorans injured in the civil war in their country are building a new life for themselves. Maneuvering the rough ground in wheelchairs and on crutches, limbs missing



Terry Coggan

Members of a construction minibrigade at work in Cuba

and sight impaired, these fighters were mixing cement, laying bricks, and clearing fields.

Since 1969 the Venceremos Brigade has been making this kind of direct experience with Cuban life possible for thousands of U.S. residents. The Cuban people's respect for the brigade's work was frequently and warmly demonstrated. We marched with more than 500,000 workers in Havana on May Day. As we passed by, thousands applauded us and shouted, "Brigada Ven-

ceremos." Cuban newspapers, radio, and television carried many stories on our trip.

One evening brigade members picking oranges shared the lead television story with U.S. actor Robert Redford, who was in Cuba working with the Latin American Film School. Award-winning documentary film maker Rigoberto López filmed the entire trip. This is one of many projects leading up to the 1989 celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Venceremos Brigade and the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Peasants fight for land in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 9

headache. "Don Demetrio is one of us, so of course we defend him," he says. But Salgado also feels responsibility to the peasants now working the Santa Azucena ranch, who are members of his organization too. Reconciling these conflicting interests is hard, Salgado is quick to concede.

The government policy on expropriations of latifundistas, says Salgado, is not to leave someone without any land. "But if he has enough, they can take a part to give to the peasants. Take the case of Ramón González. He had nine ranches, they took one, and he still has eight."

From Salgado's point of view, negotiated

solutions are always the best, and he still hopes that some agreement can be reached with Don Demetrio, although he doesn't really see how that can be achieved. All MIDINRA efforts up to now to negotiate a settlement have failed. They offered Don Demetrio another ranch in exchange for Santa Azucena. But he rejected the offer because, he says, the ranch was too far away. Besides, he didn't want property that had been taken from another rancher.

For Ernesto Pereira of MIDINRA, the dispute over the Santa Azucena ranch holds important lessons. "Look, over here is Demetrio Duarte, by our definition a latifundista. He owns 3,500 acres, on four properties. And over there is a group of poor peasants. So we say to Demetrio Duarte, we are invoking the agrarian reform provision of 'public necessity.' We are not applying the law on the grounds that he is a bad producer. We are not applying the law for reasons of politics. We are applying the law to him because of the interests of society, which lie in meeting the demands of a group of poor peasants from the arid zone. Duarte has three other ranches. He isn't going to be out on the street.

"Then what happens is that within UNAG itself some are supporting Don Demetrio and others are supporting the peasants. There are some in UNAG who are encouraging these poor peasants. But within the same organization there are others who are defending Don Demetrio Duarte, saying that he is a man who was an opponent of Somoza, he is patriotic, he has worked hard, he has invested his own sweat and blood, why should they take his land?

"In these cases — there have been four or five others — you see two social forces at work within UNAG. This is my point of view," Pereira adds. "Regardless of anyone's desires, one of the two social forces is going to break from this anomalous situation."

Need to organize independently

Pereira thinks that the poor peasants who are working, or want to work, collective farms or cooperatives need to organize independently to fight for their interests. "An autonomous cooperative movement perhaps might become part of an UNAG that would be a federation. But it is very difficult for UNAG as it now exists to stay united. The poor peasants are going to keep on asking for land, and the big producers are going to keep on saying, 'Don't touch us,' and opposing the agrarian reform. They have different perspectives, different

roads, different interests."

On a damp and chilly hill overlooking the pastureland of what used to be the Santa Azucena ranch, the peasants who have fought for, and won, this land are proud of what they have accomplished. They are mostly young couples who have come here with their children to build their future. "When we got here last August," says Sixto Jarquín, the president of the collective farm, "there were no houses, nothing. We had to live in the open, like animals, for three months.

"Now things are a little better," says Jarquín, waving an arm at the newly constructed settlement, consisting of rough wooden frames covered with black plastic sheeting and zinc roofs. More permanent housing will be built later. The ranch has livestock, purchased with a bank loan. They also planted corn and beans for their own tables. "But we lost the whole first crop to disease. We expect things to go better in the future," Jarquín adds with an easy smile.

Agrarian Reform Resolution No. 206 for the year 1987, signed by Jaime Wheelock, awarded the Santa Azucena ranch to Jarquín's group. "Whereas," the resolution says, "there are hundreds of landless peasants in the Arid Zone of Tecolostote, for whom it is impossible to live in dignity from the fruit of their labor and who face conditions at variance with the principles of the Sandinista People's Revolution; and

"Whereas, it is imperative to guarantee the peasant families of that area conditions of permanent security and confidence in the face of the destabilizing actions of the counterrevolution; and

"Whereas, determined, priority action in such situations of manifest social injustice in these zones cannot be postponed;

"Therefore, be it resolved ... to lay claim to the rural property called 'Santa Azucena' for reasons of public necessity and the interests of society to further the aims of agrarian reform."

The resolution captures well the sentiments of the families on Don Demetrio's old ranch, and of tens of thousands more like them. Looking out over their new land, Sixto Jarquín says, "There are thousands of peasants still without land in the arid zone. We came here determined to live or die. Here is the future of our families. We have what we need here — land, water, everything. We belong to UNAG, and they give us full support. We can move forward here. We can aid the revolution in defense and in production."

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

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



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Savings & loan banking system in turmoil

BY NORTON SANDLER

"This is shaping up to be the biggest financial disaster of the post-war era," *New York Times* reporter Nathaniel Nash wrote recently, describing the rapid deterioration of the U.S. savings and loan bank system.

"It is a crisis that could produce the largest government bailout in history," continued Nash, "and the possibility that the thrift industry, born in the Depression to bolster home ownership, will not survive the turbulent, deregulated 1980s as an independent industry."

By the federal government's count, more than 500 of the 3,120 S&Ls in this country are insolvent. Another 300 to 500 are close to the edge.

On June 21, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board reported that S&L banks — commonly referred to in the big-business press as "thrifts" — lost more than \$3 billion in the first quarter of 1988.

"If the thrift industry bleeds profusely in good times, what will happen in the bad — when, say interest rates spike up or the next recession hits," *Times* reporter Nash wondered.

There are growing demands for the gov-

ernment to bail out these failing banks, either by forcing them to merge with other institutions or by paying off their depositors. Estimates on the cost of the bailout range from \$20 billion to \$80 billion.

S&Ls were first chartered in 1932 as a part of the government's attempt to revive the U.S. banking system, which had collapsed during the Great Depression. S&Ls were assigned the specific function of providing home mortgage financing to the tens of thousands that were threatened with having their homes foreclosed on at that time. Often called "building and loans" then, these banks took in short-term deposits and used them to make 15-, 20-, and 30-year mortgages.

Today, savings banks provide the majority of U.S. home loan mortgages. They are overseen by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. (FSLIC), an agency which insures deposits of up to \$100,000.

Commercial banks, which operate under a different set of regulations, also have their deposits insured up to \$100,000, but by a separate agency — the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC).

Troubles for the S&L industry began mounting in the late 1970s when interest rates shot up. The banks had to increase the rates paid depositors but did not take in equivalent amounts on loans that had been made earlier at fixed interest rates.

Even with this, many depositors pulled their money out of the savings banks because higher rates could be obtained from other "investments."

Congress responded to the S&L bankers' complaints by lifting many regulations. The banks were allowed to charge lenders variable-mortgage rates — that is, if a borrower took out a loan at a certain rate, the bank could increase it later if interest rates went up.

In the early 1980s Congress and many state governments made it possible for S&Ls to begin engaging in virtually any lending operation.

Using federally insured deposits, S&Ls provided a chunk of the outlay for real estate, junk bond, and other forms of speculation.

The financial situation of many savings and loan banks deteriorated during this speculative fury. The majority of the 25 banks showing the largest profit in 1984 are bankrupt today.

"It's very fortunate that there was no recession or financial panic over the intervening years to start a run on these S&Ls,"

a *Washington Post* editorial stated recently.

Nevertheless, the FSLIC has been called upon numerous times during the 1980s to step in and aid failing banks. As the FSLIC's funds became depleted, Congress last year approved a \$10.8 billion bond issue to help keep the agency afloat. But that barely made a dent in the problem, and the system ended 1987 with a \$13.7 billion deficit.

Problems have mounted in the first half of 1988.

• In May the FSLIC announced plans to force 140 Texas thrifts to merge into 30. More than \$1 billion was poured into keeping Sunbelt Savings Association of Texas above water, and another \$2 billion was given to a Dallas S&L so it could acquire four other failing banks.

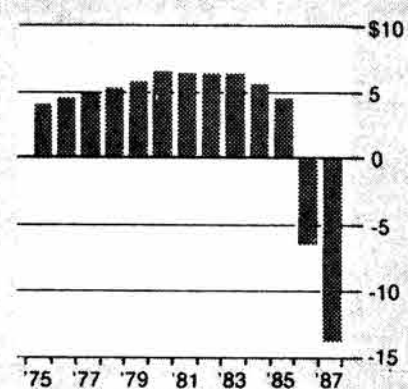
• In June federal regulators shut down two Southern California savings and loan banks, paying out \$1.35 billion to their depositors. Government spokesperson M. Danny Wall said the liquidation, the largest "of its type" in the 56-year history of the FSLIC, was ordered because the government could not find another institution to merge with the insolvent banks.

The government is trying to reassure bank depositors that they will continue to be able to get their money out of S&Ls that fail.

But some voices in the ruling circles are not so confident. The June 11 *Economist*, a weekly magazine published in London, warned, "Deposit insurance has bred a

Insurance Nightmare

Net worth of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. at year end. In billions of dollars.

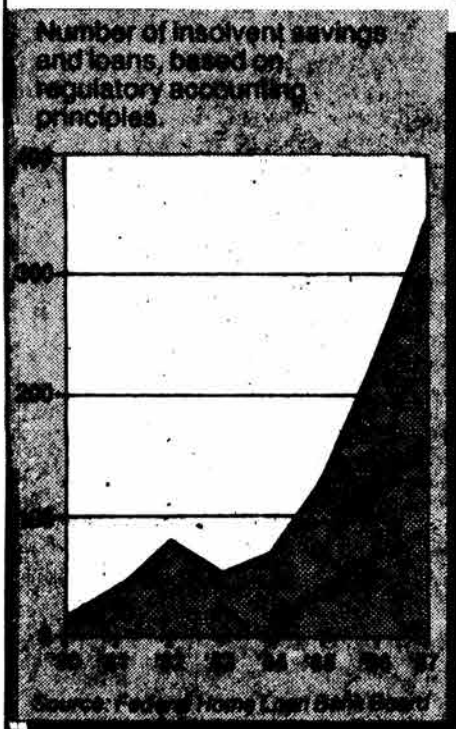


Sources: Federal Home Loan Bank Board; General Accounting Office

dangerous illusion of stability in America's financial system, just as portfolio insurance created an illusion of liquidity in its stockmarket.

"Deposit insurance," the article continued, "is a time bomb waiting to explode. Detonation will depend on how long it takes depositors to wake up to the risks in the system. If they do, the consequences in terms of a panic among depositors, and the ensuing fall-out in the bond and foreign-exchange markets, risk making October's stockmarket crash look like a sideshow."

The Number of Insolvencies Surges



Jose Martí European Brigade will bring 250 to Cuba

BY CELIA PUGH

NOTTINGHAM, England — Two hundred fifty visitors from Europe will be going to Cuba during the month of July as part of the José Martí European Work Brigade.

The European brigadistas will be based at an international camp near Havana. They will be assigned to constructing foundations for family doctor clinics, houses, and other building projects currently under way. They will also take part in the agricultural work and visit hospitals, schools, factories, as well as having discussions with members of Cuban mass organizations.

On July 26 the brigadistas will join in the 35th anniversary celebration of the attack on the Moncada Barracks. That celebration marks the date when a small group of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro launched an attack on the military base, which is in Santiago de Cuba.

Though defeated, the attack marked the opening salvo in the Cuban revolutionary struggle that culminated with the overthrow of the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship on Jan. 1, 1959.

The Britain-Cuba Resource Centre has participated in the European brigade since 1975. This year the BCRC has selected 30 volunteers to participate from a range of women's and Black organizations, as well as unions. Consideration is also given to making sure that the delegation is represen-

tative of different parts of the country.

The delegation will include a miner sponsored by the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers and a representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia who lives in Britain.

The cost of the SWAPO brigadista will be covered through a BCRC fundraising event. In previous years these fundraisers have gone to sponsoring a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, a Grenadian revolutionary, and a British coal miner fired because of his strike activity.

At a preparatory weekend at the beginning of June, the Cuban consul in London said that the Cuban people see the international work brigades as a symbol of international solidarity. "You will see how the Cuban people view your willingness to work side by side with them," he said.

When the British brigadistas return, they will give eyewitness testimony to the efforts the Cuban people are making to strengthen their revolution. This will be done through sharing slides and other information from the tour with labor movement organizations and with journals.

Celia Pugh is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Nottingham, England, and will be participating in the José Martí European Work Brigade.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

West Africa marked for toxic waste dumping

The *Khian Sea*, a ship that has been unable to unload 10,000 tons of toxic incinerator ash for 20 months, is headed for West Africa according to its operator, the Amalgamated Shipping Co. of Freeport, Bahamas. The company says it has a representative in West Africa negotiating for the disposal of the ash.

In the West African country of Guinea, Norwegian consul Sigmund Strome was arrested at the beginning of June in connection with plans to dump 85,000 tons of toxic waste on Guinea's Kassa Island. Some 15,000 tons of the waste has already been dumped there.

Nigerian authorities are looking for an Italian businessman believed to be involved in the dumping of 2,000 tons of toxic waste in that country. The Senegalese government has vetoed a contract signed by a private Senegalese company to dispose of toxic waste there. The contract was signed with the Swiss firm Intercontract.

At its recent summit meeting the Organization of African Unity unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the dumping of toxic waste in Africa by the industrialized countries as "a crime against Africa and Africans."

The *Khian Sea* left Philadelphia in October 1986 loaded with approximately 15,000 tons of toxic incinerator ash. The cargo has been rejected by the Bahamas, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Haiti, and Guinea-Bissau. The ship dumped about 4,000 tons of the ash on a beach in Gonaïves, Haiti.

Dominicans defend Grenadian doctor

Twenty-six doctors from the Dominican Republic have signed a petition demanding that the government of Grenada permit Grenadian doctor Terry Marryshow to practice his profession.

Marryshow is one of 10 Grenadians who graduated with medical degrees from the University of Havana in Cuba in 1986. Upon returning to Grenada they were denied the right to practice medicine.

Two of the doctors left the country. Seven others were forced to go through another two-year internship program. The government has refused to admit Marryshow to the internship program on political grounds. Marryshow was

elected leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement at its convention in May. The late prime minister Maurice Bishop headed the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada until he and several of his closest associates were killed in a 1983 coup.

A statement from the Dominican Medical Association said, "The Dominican Medical Association opposes every act of discrimination against any citizen; in the case of doctors, we are opposed to discrimination for ideological reasons or because of where they received their training as general doctor or specialist, and in particular because of their ideological position or membership in a political party."

Honduran, Salvadoran armies in joint attack

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador has denounced incursions into Honduras by Salvadoran military helicopters. The Salvadoran and Honduran governments carry out joint operations in Honduras against the FMLN.

Radio Venceremos, official voice of the FMLN, confirmed that Salvadoran helicopters departed from Joateca, in Morazán Province, 199 kilometers northeast of San Salvador, and arrived in La Paz Province in Honduras.

The FMLN reported that numerous civilians in Honduras have been victims of the joint army operations.

South Korean workers end strike at Hyundai

Workers in South Korea ended a 24-day strike on June 20 after management at Hyundai Motor Co. agreed to resume negotiations on wage increases. Union leaders told the workers that Hyundai assured there would be a wage hike.

At one of the company's subsidiaries, Hyundai Precision and Industry Co., 2,000 workers ended a 25-day walkout after winning an 18.5 percent pay raise.

An estimated 91 companies were hit with strikes in South Korea in May and June. Among them were also the large Dae Woo, and Kia Motors. Strikes have also broken out at shipyards, machine tool makers, and parts suppliers. The Trade and Industry Ministry has counted 860 labor disputes since January, 344 of them at manufacturing companies.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

See how civilized? — Israel has closed the West Bank prison center for children nine to 16. According to the Israeli paper *Ma'ariv*, the shutdown came after revelations of assaults on inmates.



Harry Ring

Some of the 281 children were released as a goodwill gesture toward Ramadan, an Islamic holiday. The rest are being dispersed in other prisons.

How to balance the budget —

"Indeed, in dying four years earlier than a nonsmoker, a typical male smoker saves society some \$20,000 in Social Security benefits alone..." — From a *New York Times* think piece on the social cost of smoking.

Maybe it will evaporate — The British nuclear industry is pocketing £400 million a year reprocessing other countries' spent nuclear fuel and storing their radioactive waste. The experts are pondering various ways to ultimately get rid of the stuff. Each would cost several billion pounds, and nobody really knows if any would work.

Our ferocious watchdog — The Occupational Safety and Health Administration is weighing a cut in job exposure limits for 234

toxic chemicals and bringing 168 new ones under government regulation. The proposal includes no monitoring requirement.

Not-to-worry dep't — "WASHINGTON — A top official of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has told a House subcommittee that more than half the nation's 109 nuclear reactors have some substandard studs and bolts in safety-related locations. But he said that none of the substandard fasteners found so far posed a safety threat." — News item.

Whatever turns you on — The top bidder at an auction paid \$165,000 for a pair of shoes worn by Judy Garland in "The Wizard of Oz."

Ideal capitalist enterprise — The *Guardian* of London offers a warm salute to WPP, a top British ad agency. With liabilities of £64 million and a five-year debt potential of £100 million, the firm enjoyed net profit of £7 million.

"You have won \$10 million" — A study indicates that over a lifetime, the average person spends eight months opening junk mail.

\$\$\$\$ talks — "Is the American presidency for sale? Not exactly... But the nominating derby is now closed to the modestly heeled... It's a complex, expensive new industry where the spending ceiling (\$27.7 million in 1988) is also the minimum, and you need it up front." — News item.

With a dangling carrot? — Proceeding from the fact that the time spent in office chairs contributes to stress, aches, and pain, an inventor is marketing a desk with a treadmill, permitting the worker to walk while pounding the keyboard.

Shopping tip — In case you forgot Father's Day, Tourneau offers an 18K gold watch. It features a perpetual calendar and is "water resistant." \$39,400.

Housing tip — Feeling claustrophobic in that pint-sized pad? Check out the Long Island home of the late moneyman Otto Kahn. Needs repairs, but there are 170 rooms. It's \$52 million, but at least the broker won't chew your ear off. "This," he says, "is not an impulse item."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

An Action Program to Fight for the Rights of Workers and Farmers. Speaker: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., July 2, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$5, \$3 meeting only. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1988 Arizona Campaign. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Two Political Plays: Grenada 1983... The Invasion. *Grenada Field Report*, by G. Slate, and *Doors of the House Burned Down*, by F. Hayden. A benefit for the Orphans' Weaving Project in Somoto, Nicaragua. Sun., July 10, 8 p.m. La Peña, 3105 Shattuck Avenue. Donation: \$6. Presented by Berkeley Festival Theater Company. For more information call (415) 841-8688.

Oakland

East Bay Socialist Educational Conference: Prospects for Building a Mass Marxist Party. Sat., July 9. Class 1: The 1920s, 1 p.m.; lunch available. Class 2: The 1930s, 3 p.m. Speaker: Paul Montauk, veteran communist and former

CIO organizer. Class 3: An Action Program for the Working Class and Its Allies, 5 p.m. Speaker: Peter Thierjung, SWP candidate for Congress, 8th C.D. Dinner available 5 to 7 p.m. Party to follow. Donation: \$2 per class or \$5 for all three, plus nominal charge for meals. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 3702 Telegraph Ave. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Socialist Workers Campaign Barbecue and Picnic. Sat., July 2, 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. 2701 N Marshfield (near Diversey and Ashland). Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

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

The Cuban Revolution Today. Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, recently returned from Cuba; Debra Evenson, professor, DePaul University Law School, national president of National Lawyers Guild. Sat., July 30, 7 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

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

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Public Art and the Mural Movement. Speaker: Eva Cockcroft, award-winning muralist, author of *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*, founder and director of Artmakers, painter of Mother Jones portrait in Pathfinder Building mural. Saturday, July 9, Reception, 7p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Music and

social to follow. 141 Halsey Street, Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Mural Project. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Picnic. Meet James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., July 3, 1 p.m. Prospect Park. Take F Train to Fort Hamilton Parkway station. Sponsor: New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Manhattan

Somoza's Niece. A drama in 14 scenes adapted from the life of Sandinista Claudia Chamorro. Will air twice in July on WBAI-FM Radio (99.5 FM dial). Mon., July 11 at 10 p.m. and Sun., July 17 at 8:30 p.m. Casa Nicaragua Players. Produced by Annette Walker (in English).

Day of Happiness. Honor visiting brigade members from Nicaragua's AIDS Education Project. Sat., July 16, 8 p.m. Goddard Riverside Community Center, 593 Columbus Ave. (88th St.). Donation requested to support brigadistas' U.S. tour. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 928-3106.

The Crisis Facing Working People: a Program to Fight Back. Speakers: Kathleen Mickells, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president; James Harris, SWP candidate for Senate. Sat., July 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: New York Socialist Workers 1988 Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 219-3679.

Latin American Video Festival. Rich selection of classic and recent videos on Latin American politics and culture. Fri., July 22, 7 p.m. Goddard Riverside Community Center, 593 Columbus Ave. (corner of 88 St., basement). Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

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

TEXAS

Houston

An Informal Educational Series. Political dis-

cussions on Nicaragua, Cuba, South Africa, the stock market crash, women's liberation, Malcolm X. Classes will be every Monday, June 27 through July 25, 6:30 p.m., except for class on Cuba, to be held Tues., July 5. 4806 Alameda. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

March for Mandela. Sat., July 16, 10 a.m. at Memorial Park. Sponsor: City of Houston Anti-apartheid Team. For more information call (713) 523-5937.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

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

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

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

By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$7.95
Malcolm X on Afro-American History	\$4.95
Malcolm X Talks to Young People	\$0.75
Two Speeches by Malcolm X	\$2.00
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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850. Tucson: YSA, c/o Ursula Kolb, P.O. Box 853. Zip: 85702-0852. Tel: (602) 795-2146.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. Seaside: YSA, c/o Brian Olewude, 1790 Havana St. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-7948.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

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

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

INDIANA: Muncie: YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619½ N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

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

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

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

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843. Boston: SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: SWP, YSA, 407½ N. Main Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4725 Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0224.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001. Mid-Hudson: YSA, Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668. Pathfinder Books, 226-8445. Stony Brook: YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

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

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, c/o Mark Mateja, Edinboro University of Pa. Zip:

16412. Tel: (814) 398-2754. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 255 E. Main St., No. 1. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 6538, Churchland Station. Zip: 23707.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

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

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

Pacific Northwest woodworkers strike

BY CONNIE ALLEN
AND STEVE CRAINE

PORTLAND, Ore. — Some 6,700 Pacific Northwest lumber workers are on strike against five forest products companies, fighting to regain wages and benefits taken from them in 1986.

The strike began June 6, when woodworkers walked out at 18 lumber and plywood mills owned by Willamette Industries, Inc., Champion International Corp., and DAW Forest Products Co. A week later, workers at Lakeview Lumber Co. joined the strike. On June 20, lumber workers at 13 Boise Cascade Corp. plants widened the walkout. Mills in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana are now involved.

The strikers are members of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Western Council of Industrial

Workers (WCIW).

After a one-month strike in 1986, the wood industry imposed major cuts in wages and benefits on the lumber workers. The companies claimed these givebacks were necessary for them to stay in business. But profits at Willamette, for example, doubled between 1985 and 1987, and now woodworkers want the cuts restored.

On June 11, the lumber workers got a boost when 175 paperworkers walked off the job at Willamette's mill in Bend, Oregon. These strikers are members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 406.

Local 406's contract expired last August. When the union and Willamette were unable to reach a new agreement, the company imposed its final offer on the workers in October. This means workers will get a 60-cents-per-hour wage cut the first year,

and a 40-cents-per-hour cut each of the next two years. The union has refused to sign this contract, despite the company's offer of a bonus it claims is equal to the second year's wage cut. The local finally decided to strike.

In addition, 300 other paperworkers — members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paperworkers — at Willamette's Albany, Oregon, mill honored a picket line set up by the lumber strikers June 20.

The *Militant* spoke with striking lumber workers in Sweet Home and Lebanon, Oregon. Several thought that perhaps the cuts demanded by Willamette and other forest products companies might have been necessary in 1986. But, they added, the woodworkers have sacrificed enough, and the companies should pay a fair wage now. Some explained that the company never thinks it is making enough money.

Many strikers pointed out that they will never get back the wages lost over the last two years. But, they added, they are prepared to stay out until they get a contract with wages and benefits restored to 1986 levels. Don Garron, an IWA business agent at Willamette's Sweet Home mill, said the 1986 wage cut amounted to 17 per cent. Wages were frozen for the following two years.

Willamette is offering bonuses instead of a wage increase. The unions say this is completely unacceptable, and have issued a leaflet explaining why these bonuses are a rip-off.

Strikers also expressed confidence that they are better prepared and have more community support than in 1986. While we were visiting picket lines, many people driving by honked their horns to show support. "If this were a jury trial," said one striker, "we'd win for sure."

The Women's Hardship Auxiliary on Mills has organized a food collection and gone to local businesses to get donations.

Contract discussions continue with other forest products companies, including Weyerhaeuser, where 6,000 union members work. One company, Bohemia, Inc., has agreed to a contract that restores wages and benefits to 1986 levels. The unions are hopeful that this can serve as a model for others.

A total of 38,000 workers are affected by these negotiations. Most of their contracts expired June 1. The WCIW says another 15,000 workers may be out in the next several weeks. Workers on the picket lines now are looking forward to this extension of the strike.

Farmers, farm workers hit by drought

Continued from front page

there's some rain and the temperature comes down within the next couple of weeks, this could become the worst agricultural disaster in the history of this country."

"Wheat harvests in this area are normally 30 to 40 bushels per acre," said one Salina, Kansas, farmer interviewed by the *Militant*. "But most of my neighbors are getting 20."

The wide scope of the drought is creating a different situation than last year, "when farmers in the Midwest could send hay to drought-stricken farmers in the South," explained Linda Currie of Rural Outreach Coalition of Kansas. "The hardest hit," Curry told the *Militant*, "will be farmers who were in serious danger of bankruptcy going into the drought. In Kansas, one-quarter of the farmers are in this situation. With yields down, crops burning, and losses of cattle, farmers can't meet commitments to their lenders. Farmers who have already received advance subsidy payments are afraid they will end up owing money and without a crop."

Brent Beesley, president of the Farm Credit Corp. of America, an arm of the federal Farm Credit System, conceded that some 95,000 farmers owing money to FCS could be pushed toward foreclosure by the drought.

According to Fernando Cuevas of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, more than three-quarters of migrant farm workers arriving in Ohio and Michigan are finding no work.

Cuevas is demanding that Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste provide disaster aid for small farmers and farm workers in that state.

The disaster for many U.S. farmers, and potentially for millions of people around the world who depend on the food they produce, has been a windfall for speculators in the commodities markets in Chicago and elsewhere. "In the grain trading pits at the Chicago Board of Trade, one drought, at least, is over," reported the June 23 *Wall Street Journal*. "After five years of lackluster profits for commodity futures traders, the grain pits suddenly are booming again. The dry weather that's withering much of the nation's crop land already has sent many commodity prices soaring past the highs set during the 1983 drought. Most grain and soybean traders' incomes are shooting up as well."

As the prices of soybean, oat, and corn futures have rocketed, the increases are beginning to be reflected in rising prices of cereals, pasta, mayonnaise, and other products in retail stores.

Some farmers are covered by federally subsidized crop insurance, but this usually returns only 50 to 80 percent of the cash invested in planting the crop. And the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* reported June 25 that only 25 percent of Minnesota farmers had crop insurance.

"What are we supposed to live on?" asked Gene Irlbeck, a southwestern Minnesota farmer who is on the board of the farmers' organization Groundswell, in a telephone interview with the *Militant*.

North American Farm Alliance leader Merle Hansen called for an end to the government's policy of selling off surplus grain stockpiles. "The grain is probably being bought up by the big grain companies" and other speculators, he said. This would give them still tighter control of the grain and feed markets. Hansen demanded

a full audit of the stockpiles. "That grain is needed to provide food security for the people of this country and other countries," he said.

"There should be a moratorium on farm foreclosures right away," Hansen concluded. "And haying and grazing should be allowed on farmland set aside" under current farm laws for purposes of conservation or restricting production.

Kathleen Fitzgerald in Detroit, Argiris Malapanis in Minneapolis, and Arlene Rubinstein in Kansas City, Missouri, contributed to this article.

Muralist discusses her work

Continued from Page 3

represented by other writers, who might present our murals in isolation as art objects, with the sociopolitical context left out. Because for us the social and political context and results of the mural are as much a part of its value as the esthetic. The esthetics are important but so are these other elements."

Cockcroft said she got involved in the Pathfinder Mural Project early in its development. Mike Alewitz, artistic director of the project, and a representative of Pathfinder "asked me for advice about mural painting in New York — who to contact for help, scaffolding, legal questions, and other things I have a lot of experience with. And since I support the production of political murals, I was very happy to give any help I could."

Cockcroft has spoken out publicly in support of the mural, including denouncing the city government's attempt to impose \$3,500 in fines on Pathfinder for posting handbills publicizing the project.

Along with folksinger Pete Seeger, poet

Sonia Sanchez, and filmmaker Emile d'Antonio, Cockcroft recently signed a letter appealing for funds for the mural project. A campaign is now under way to raise the \$30,000 needed to complete the work. To make a contribution or obtain further information, fill out the coupon below.

Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution of ☐ \$1,000; ☐ \$500; ☐ \$100; ☐ \$50; ☐ \$25. Other amount \$ _____. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.

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Send to: Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: (212) 741-0690.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

July 7, 1978

The highest court of the land has declared itself on the side of anti-Black, anti-woman bigots with its June 28 decision legitimizing the false concept of "reverse discrimination."

The Supreme Court ruled five-to-four that Allan Bakke — a white civil engineer — must be admitted to the University of California Medical School at Davis. The justices found unconstitutional the school's special admissions program, which sets aside 16 of 100 slots for oppressed minorities.

It was a clear rejection of affirmative action quotas.

Within hours 250 angry pickets demonstrated at the Federal Building in San Francisco to protest the ruling. The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision moved ahead with plans for June 29 protests in major cities across the country.

Bakke sued the university after his application for admission was rejected in 1973

and again in 1974. Despite the fact that he was rejected for one of the regular slots, he charged discrimination for being excluded from one of the slots reserved for minority students.

Prior to establishing the special program, the first class at the medical school in 1968 had no Blacks, no Chicanos, no Native Americans, and only three Asians.



NEW YORK, July 2 — A formal call for a March on Washington has finally been issued by seven civil rights groups. Both Rev. Martin Luther King and NAACP Executive-secretary Roy Wilkins stressed in the announcement made here today that the action on August 28 would involve no "civil disobedience" or sit-ins in Congress.

The plans, said Wilkins, call for a simple march up Pennsylvania Avenue and a two-hour meeting at the Lincoln Memorial.

ACTION PROGRAM AVAILABLE IN PAMPHLET

Pathfinder is rushing into print two pamphlets with "An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis" proposed by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. The pamphlets will appear in English and in Spanish. **ORDER YOUR BUNDLE NOW!**

Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. \$1 each, with a 50 percent discount on orders of 10 or more. (Free for prisoners.)

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Farmers need emergency relief

The federal government must take immediate measures to prevent even a single farmer or farm worker from being victimized as a consequence of the drought now afflicting much of the Midwest, South, and northern Great Plains.

Natural disasters like droughts are often not preventable. But action by the government can prevent them from becoming social disasters that bring ruin to the lives of tens of thousands of human beings.

For thousands of working farmers who were already finding it hard to meet their debt payments, the destruction of much or all of their crops raises the prospect of default on their debts and foreclosure of their farms in the coming months. An emergency moratorium on debt payment and foreclosure is required.

The government should provide farmers with long-term, interest-free loans to tide them over this crisis period.

Wherever needed, farm families should be guaranteed food, medical care, and other necessities of life for the duration of the emergency.

Farm workers and other workers laid off as a result of the drought should receive unemployment compensation at union scale until they find other work. They should be guaranteed food, medical care, decent housing, and travel expenses.

Farmers, like other working people, have always tried to help each other in the face of disasters like this. Farmers who have escaped drought conditions often donate hay or other crops to those in need. These basic expressions of human solidarity should be generalized by the government and organized as a nationally coordinated

and financed effort to distribute forage where it's needed.

To head off the further destruction of livestock, corn and other commodities in government storage should be provided for feed. Forage and grazing on government land should be permitted during the drought, and on land kept out of production under current farm laws.

Commodities in government storage should also be used to prevent famine in other countries. The harsh situation now facing U.S. farmers, who provide a sizable part of the world's food supply, could otherwise turn into a death warrant for many people in parts of Asia and Africa.

Instead, the government is selling its stored commodities to private speculators — tightening the grip of the big grain merchants on the supplies of grain and feed. Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance, has urged halting the sale of U.S. surplus commodities to keep them out of the hands of the speculators. His proposal deserves support.

Emergency measures should also be taken to restore, wherever possible, the fertility of land rendered arid by the drought, at no cost to the farmers who worked the land. Working farmers whose land proves unsalvageable, and who wish to continue farming, should get whatever federal help they need to obtain sufficient land to resume farming elsewhere.

All working people in the cities, small towns, and rural areas of the United States and around the world have a stake in making it possible for drought-stricken working farmers to continue producing or resume doing so as quickly as possible.

No U.S. aid to Angolan 'contras'!

Opponents of Washington's policy in southern Africa should demand an immediate end to all aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Aid to the contra group has been one of the main vehicles for waging the 13-year U.S.-South African war against the government of Angola.

That war is at the center of the fight to abolish colonial and imperialist domination in the region. The defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau in 1974-75 and the winning of independence by Zimbabwe in 1980, were major victories along that road.

Jonas Savimbi, UNITA's leader, visited Washington in June as Congress began considering how much aid to give his group. Protesters greeted his visit in several cities. The Reagan administration has proposed giving UNITA twice the \$15 million it has received over the last two years.

The direct victims of this aid are the workers and farmers of Angola. Ten thousand Angolans — many civilian men, women, and children — had been killed by the UNITA bandits by 1983. And many more have died since. An estimated 50,000 civilians have been maimed by land mines planted by UNITA. Famine threatens nearly 500,000 peasants displaced by the war.

The apartheid regime in South Africa gives UNITA

five times the amount given by Washington in military aid. Pretoria's troops fight alongside those of UNITA and the Angolan government and occupy parts of southern Angola. Aid to UNITA is aid to the apartheid regime.

The stakes in the war in Angola go way beyond that country. It is part of the broader battle for a free and independent Namibia, and a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

The apartheid regime and Washington were dealt a tremendous blow when the South African invasion of Angola was turned back in 1975 with the aid of thousands of internationalist fighters from Cuba. Cuban forces have remained in Angola ever since to help defend that country from unceasing South African aggression. The sacrifices of the Angolan and Cuban fighters over more than a decade have forced Pretoria and Washington to begin negotiations.

The Angolan and Cuban governments have proposed four steps to end the war: independence for Namibia and an end to the South African occupation; withdrawal of South African troops from Angola; respect for the sovereignty of the government and people of Angola; and an end to U.S.-South African aid to UNITA. Those demands deserve the support of every opponent of apartheid and supporter of the right to self-determination.

Stop frame-up of Mark Curtis!

Continued from front page

road this labor activist and antiwar fighter to jail.

The stakes in this battle are high — for all concerned.

Why are the cops so keen to frame up Curtis?

From their point of view, Curtis is a troublemaker. He works with and organizes others to protest U.S. government policy in Central America. He speaks out against cop attacks on immigrant workers. He stands up for his own and his coworkers' rights on the job. He's a foe of racism and sexism, and he belongs to a communist organization. And he does it all openly, exercising his constitutional right to discuss with working people in the United States and around the world the evils of capitalism and how to get rid of it.

It's these political views and activities — and not illegal deeds of any type — that are behind the attack on Curtis.

This frame-up comes at a time when working people are feeling more insecure than ever about our future as a result of the crash of the stock market last October and the attacks on our wages and working and living conditions for more than a decade. A worldwide economic and social crisis is on the agenda that will spark sharp confrontations between those who work for a living and those who profit from the labor of others. In these conflicts, the repressive power of the government will be brought to bear on the side of the employers and their agents.

Curtis' fight, therefore, is a harbinger of what the future holds for larger numbers of working people. The

goal of those who concocted this frame-up and beat up Curtis is to intimidate into silence and inactivity those working people who are willing to stand up to the employers, the cops, and the government, and who try to organize others to do likewise.

But the frame-up artists face some serious obstacles. Many of the ideas that Curtis is being victimized for are ideas that broad layers of working people either agree with or are interested in discussing.

The record of lawbreaking by the FBI and other cop agencies that's been exposed in recent years means that there are millions of people who have no trouble believing that cops do frame up political activists. Once people hear the facts and learn who Curtis is, many sense the whole thing stinks and take his side.

The importance of defending Curtis' rights as part of defending everyone's is clearer for a lot of working people and political activists in light of the struggles over rights and living conditions of the past several years.

The single most effective thing that can be done to fight this frame-up is to maximize the number of organizations and individuals who publicly and loudly protest this attack. The harder we fight for justice for Curtis, the higher the political price the ruling class has to pay for this frame-up — and the next one.

Everybody should send messages to police chief Moulder demanding:

- Drop the charges against Mark Curtis!
- Prosecute the cops who beat him up!

The 'greenhouse effect' and our future

BY DOUG JENNESS

When you walk into a greenhouse in the middle of winter, it immediately hits you how warm it is. The glass panels effectively trap energy from the sun that otherwise would be reflected back toward space, making it possible to raise tropical flowers in Minnesota in January and to pick tomatoes in southern Argentina in July.

If a transparent envelope could somehow be wrapped around the earth that would allow the sun's rays in, but

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

block the escape of much of the sun's heat, the temperature on the planet would likely rise too.

For nearly 90 years, many scientists have suggested that carbon dioxide could create this "greenhouse effect" if enough of the gas were released into the atmosphere as the result of burning fossil fuels. This view sparked considerable discussion as the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere increased in the last few decades.

Now, James Hansen of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has publicly stated that global temperatures have been rising in recent years and "the evidence is pretty strong that the greenhouse effect is here." This is what he told a Senate committee on June 23.

Hansen's announcement created something of a stir, partly because it coincided with a drought that has stricken a considerable section of the United States. The NASA scientist said that the warming trend "increases the likelihood of such events." However, he cautioned, "it is not possible to blame a specific heat wave/drought on the greenhouse effect."

Other scientists are less certain that the "greenhouse effect" has arrived. They point out that the apparent global warming trend of the last few years has occurred in too short a time frame to make definite generalizations. Accurate statistics on atmospheric temperature have been kept for only 130 years — a mere speck of time. Moreover, even within that time span there have been periods of global cooling, as between 1940 and 1960, for example.

But whether or not the "greenhouse effect" is here, as long as there's a possibility that it might happen or may have already begun, it's a matter for concern.

One immediate measure to reduce carbon dioxide levels and otherwise improve our environment is to halt the wholesale destruction of forests around the world. Plants need carbon dioxide as part of their life cycle and forests are the main consumer of carbon dioxide on land.

Deforestation is especially devastating in the tropics, where 76,000 acres of trees are cleared daily — an annual loss of forested area nearly the size of Pennsylvania. And at present only one acre of trees is planted for every 10 acres cleared.

Already as much as a fifth or more of the Amazon forest in South America, which constitutes a third of the world's total rain forest, has been cut. And nearly two-thirds of the Central American forests have been cleared or severely degraded since 1950. At the current rate of destruction, the world's tropical forests could be entirely gone in 70 years.

The biggest factor in clearing the forests of Latin America is cattle ranching. Big cattle ranchers, under the auspices of North American meat processors, produce meat for the fast-food chains in North America. And they rake in hefty profits.

In Europe and North America, damage linked to air pollutants or acid rain affects trees covering more than 12 million acres — an area the size of New Jersey and Maryland combined. In West Germany a recent government survey showed that half the country's trees are damaged.

The causes of acid rain are now well known. Sulfur and nitrogen oxides emitted from fossil-fuel combustion are converted in the atmosphere to sulfuric and nitric acids. When these fall to earth, they pollute lakes, making them inhabitable to most forms of life, and they kill trees.

Acid rain can be eliminated. Scrubbers have been developed that can prevent the sulfuric and nitrogen compounds from being released into the atmosphere. The hitch is that they add costs to the manufacturers' operations. And pressed to keep profit rates up, the employers fiercely resist investing in this technology.

The atmosphere, as we know it, had its beginning about 2 billion years ago and evolved in an interconnected way with marine organisms capable of releasing free oxygen. It took millions of years to build an atmosphere that screened out the most destructive of the sun's rays and opened the land to living systems. Now, through our activity, one of those life forms, human beings, is threatening to substantially alter this life-sustaining biosphere. It will take a social and political struggle led by working people to avert this potential disaster.

Safety takes a backseat to profits on railroad

BY KAREN KOPPERUD
AND MINDY BRUDNO

An engineer, a conductor, and a brakeman were fired in early June by New Jersey Transit Rail Operations, following a collision in South Amboy between an engine they were operating and a passenger train that was

UNION TALK

stopped at a signal. The engine was traveling backwards at 10 to 15 miles per hour around a blind curve when the accident happened.

The only member of the crew who could see the passenger train was the brakeman — a new worker with six months' experience. The day of the accident was the first time since he was hired that the brakeman had been on an engine. He told the other crew members that he didn't say anything or stop the engine because he didn't realize that the engineer couldn't see the train.

All three fired workers — members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) — had reputations for being conscientious. The conductor had been given an "Employee of the Year" award by the company. The engineer had worked for the railroad 18 years. No trace of drugs or alcohol was found in the tests made on them.

Reaction to the firings from other rail workers was a mixture of shock, anger, and frustration. Most see it as a brutal response by the company to a situation that could happen to any of us. The UTU is going through channels to try to get the workers' jobs back.

The first sentence in the operating rules that all trans-

portation employees carry says, "Safety is of first importance." In reality, however, safety takes a backseat to cost-cutting efforts or on-time performance demands by the railroads.

One major factor in the New Jersey Transit accident was the inexperience of the train crew, which is the company's responsibility.

After a brief training period, trainmen in passenger service spend most of their time collecting tickets, opening doors, and making announcements. A new worker may go for months before he or she ever has to throw a switch or uncouple an engine.

An experienced brakeman, in this case, would have realized that the engineer's vision was obstructed, and taken action to stop the train.

New Jersey Transit Rail has hired hundreds of new brakemen in the last three years. Promotion to conductor is mandatory after about one year, whether or not the individual has the necessary work experience. "An accident waiting to happen" is how most rail workers view this situation.

The reason for this policy comes down to company greed. The conductor is in charge of the train, and is generally held responsible for any and all problems that arise. Many experienced conductors don't want to work that job because the additional pay is not enough to compensate for the level of responsibility involved. So newer workers are forced into the conductor's job.

The railroad managers knew for years that more trainmen were needed, due to more riders and the retirement of older workers. But they held off hiring them until they could impose a multi-tier wage setup on the union. The fired brakeman, for example, was earning 70 percent of full pay.

Some workers feel that allowing two trains into the same portion of track — as happened in this accident — is unsafe and the main reason the accident occurred.

This is common procedure, and is done to minimize delays in an overloaded system. But it is especially dangerous in areas where the engineer's visibility is limited by a curve, or when an unscheduled train is involved.

Rail safety has been sabotaged in many ways, including by cutting crew sizes, and forcing inexperienced workers to assume responsibilities for which they are insufficiently prepared. The Federal Railway Administration, the government agency responsible for rail safety, has gone along with this.

At the same time, the railroads and government claim they are promoting rail safety by pushing for mandatory random drug-testing of workers. This violation of workers' democratic rights serves to shift the blame for accidents that occur off of the railroad owners, and onto the workers themselves.

Our union is opposed to random drug-testing. In addition to backing this position with some union power, we need to educate other working people and the public in general about why drug-testing is not a solution to deteriorating rail safety. We also need to use our union strength to fight for safe conditions on the railroads, a fight for which we could get broad support. In the meantime, we should defend any rail workers who become scapegoats when company-caused accidents occur or who are victimized by drug-testing.

Karen Kopperud is an engineer and member of UTU Local 800. Mindy Brudno is a conductor and member of UTU Local 60. Both work at New Jersey Transit.

LETTERS

Veterans Peace Convoy

The Veterans Peace Convoy to Nicaragua stopped in Atlanta for one night en route to Washington, D.C. After the Reagan administration denied their right to leave the country from Laredo, Texas, they turned their trucks around and headed for Washington. There they plan to win support and protest until the U.S. government gives in.

At a potluck dinner at a local church, solidarity activists were able to talk with 30 of the convoyers traveling together.

David, a veteran of World War II, explained that he thought the U.S. government might have let them pass had they not been veterans. "But as veterans," he said, "the message was just too political, too strong. Our message is so clear to others, ordinary working people who are veterans, that they can do something to prevent another war like the one they fought in."

Gerry Condon of the Vets Peace Action Team gave an update on the vets' strategy.

"The convoy was not only having a tremendous impact in the United States," he said. "Support rallies were lined up through the length of Mexico, involving some 150 cities and towns."

"We'll stay in Washington until we win our right to take our trucks to Nicaragua," he continued. "And we'll win because they've picked the wrong issue to fight on. Not only because we're veterans. But because this fight has given a focus to all the different solidarity groups in this country who used to work separately. Now they're working together on this."

Liz Ziers
Atlanta, Georgia

Cuba trip

I recently traveled to Cuba where I had a chance to visit two women trade union leaders — Mildrey García Batista, the vice-president of the National Union of Communications Workers (SNTC), and Rosa Ortiz Villa, a union steward in Old Havana.

García explained that unions in Cuba are based on industries. The SNTC covers telecommunications, postal, radio, and press workers. Some 17,000 of the 33,000 SNTC workers are women, and they work in all skills and grades. Just

under 50 percent of the telephone engineers and technicians are women and the vice-minister of telecommunications is a woman.

Because of an emphasis on making sure that women receive "skill training," García explained that job segregation in Cuba is being reduced.

Discrimination in employment in Cuba is outlawed. The unions and the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) help to make sure that laws prohibiting discrimination in employment in Cuba are enforced. The fact that the Cuban government provides free nursery and boarding schools for children also enables women to get out of the home and into the work force.

García said the union is involved in helping workers obtain effective training so the SNTC and the communications ministry work out an annual training plan that enables workers to increase their skills.

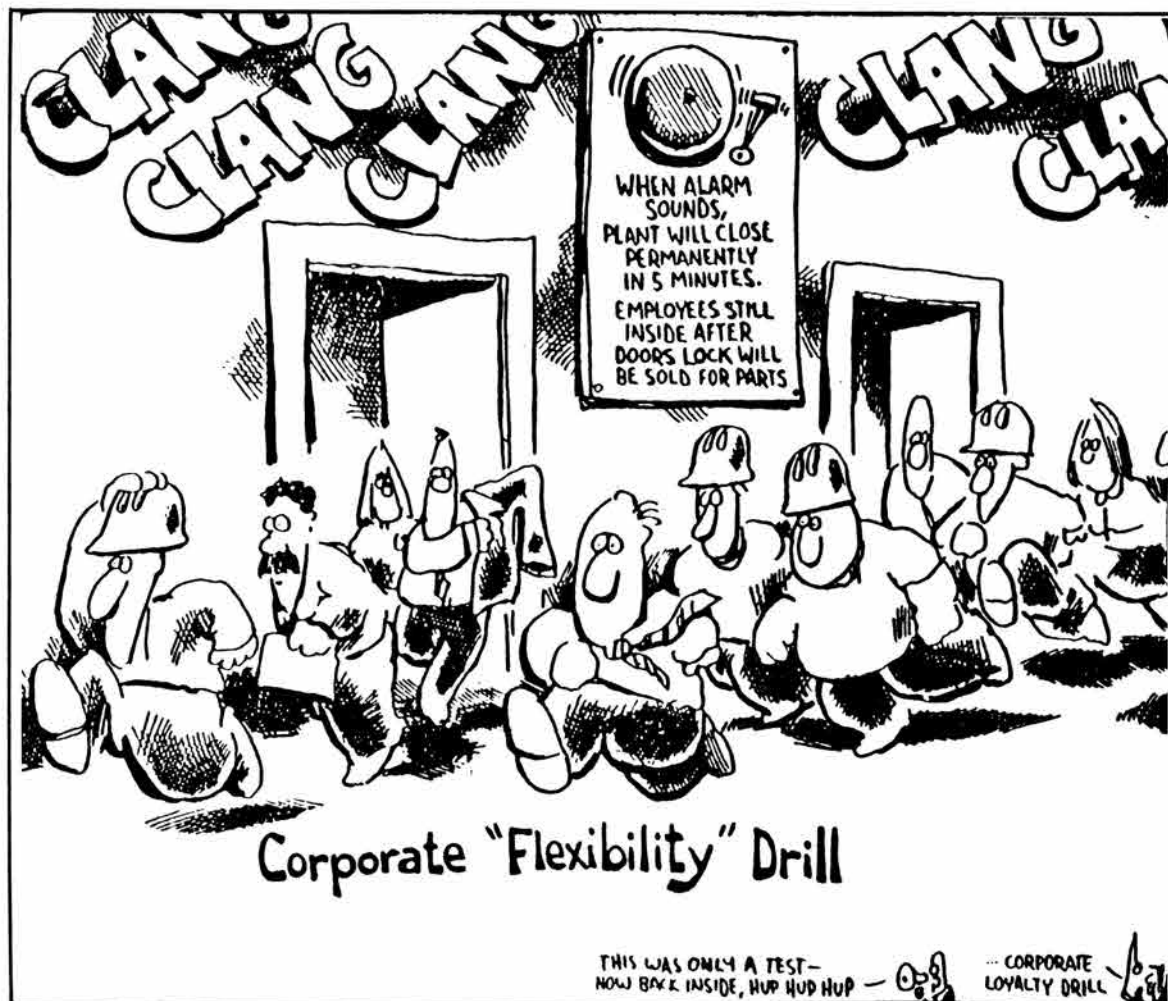
The union runs local, national, and international schools, she explained. In the latter, foreign trade unionists are educated at the union's expense. The union also organizes brigades of its members to work in other countries.

Rosa Ortiz volunteered and was recently chosen by her coworkers to represent them on the next international communications brigade which will go to either Angola or Nicaragua.

After being chosen, Ortiz contacted her five children to discuss the matter with them. From her eldest son to youngest daughter, a preuniversity student, the children congratulated her on the opportunity to emulate Che Guevara and become an international *brigadista*.

Ortiz explained that she had been a teenager at the time of the revolution. After the "Triumph" she got a job in communications and went to school at night, reaching the 12th grade. "Now my children are grown," she said, "this is my first opportunity to serve the revolution, to make my skills available to the people of another developing country."

Voluntary work for the mutual good is a way of life in Cuba. People look for collective solutions to their problems. Brigades organized out of workplaces construct socially necessary buildings such



New York rally protests apartheid

Angolan leader speaks on struggle for free Namibia, South Africa

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — "We would like to reiterate our total support for the struggles of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa, which are being carried out by the true freedom fighters within SWAPO and the ANC," said Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, minister of state of the People's Republic of Angola.

Van Dunem was cheered by a crowd of 200 people, mostly Blacks, as he spoke at the Harriet Tubman School in Harlem.

The South West Africa People's Organisation and the African National Congress of South Africa are the organizations leading the fight against the apartheid regime in Pretoria and for a democratic, nonracial Namibia and South Africa.

"And we say that even if South Africa were to increase the attacks it is making upon Angola because of the support we are giving our brothers in SWAPO and the ANC, we intend even to increase our support to those movements," proclaimed Van Dunem. The crowd rose with applause, and shouts of "Long live MPLA, SWAPO, and ANC."

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola is the ruling party in that country and led the war of independence against Portuguese colonialism.

Van Dunem was joined at the rally by Black rights activists Ben Chavis and Lennox Hinds. Representatives from the ANC and SWAPO also spoke at the meeting.

The Angolan minister of state had come to the United States, as head of a high-level government delegation, to meet with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and national security advisor Lt. Gen. Colin Powell. Since the beginning of May, representatives of the U.S., South African, Angolan, and Cuban governments have been holding talks with the aim of reaching a political settlement of the war against Angola.

Van Dunem reported that Shultz and Powell had counseled that the only way to end the fighting in Angola is to form a government of national reconciliation with the Angolan counterrevolutionary band, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Shultz offered the "good services" of his office to help bring

this reconciliation about, said Van Dunem.

UNITA, headed by Jonas Savimbi, is backed by Washington and Pretoria with arms and money. Over the last two years the Reagan administration has given the counterrevolutionary group \$30 million in military and other aid. South African troops fight along with UNITA forces against the Angolan government and occupy parts of southeastern Angola.

"There is no room for Savimbi within Angola," Van Dunem explained. "There can be no room for those who have killed their fathers, their sisters, and their brothers — for those who destroy property and create misery."

Van Dunem added, "UNITA and its members are a national problem, an internal problem that our people can solve." He explained that the government's aim is to bring those who have been misled by Savimbi back into Angolan society in a constructive way. "But this problem can only be addressed after South African troops are withdrawn from our country," Van Dunem said.

The second meeting of the four governments concluded in Cairo, Egypt, on June 25. The Angolan and Cuban governments have proposed four steps to end the war. They are withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, recognition of Angolan sovereignty, independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of South African troops from that country, and an end to U.S. and South African aid to UNITA.

To move the talks forward the Angolan and Cuban governments took the initiative to remove the issue of U.S. and South African aid to UNITA from this level of the talks, and to pursue the issue with Washington and Pretoria separately.

While Van Dunem was speaking, Savimbi was also in the country hoping to meet with Reagan administration officials and seeking increased U.S. aid. The Harlem meeting was one of several activities to protest Savimbi's visit. An emergency picket line against Savimbi was held on June 23.

A news conference attended by several nationally known Black figures opposing Savimbi's visit was organized in Washington, D.C., by TransAfrica, a lobby on Africa and the Caribbean.



Militant photos by Sam Manuel
Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, Angolan minister of state (left) and Black rights fighter Ben Chavis addressed Harlem rally against U.S. and South African intervention in Angola. Chavis recently returned from a fact-finding tour of Angola.

Coal union ends nine-month strike at Wyoming mines

BY SCOTT BREEN

SHERIDAN, Wyo. — Members of United Mine Workers Locals 1972 and 2055 have ended their nine-month strike at Decker and Big Horn mines near here.

This followed a meeting with union Vice-president Cecil Roberts, who recommended that the strikers "unconditionally" return to work.

But when 120 union miners tried to report to Decker on the morning of June 28, company officials turned them away, saying there were no jobs available.

Decker Coal Co. is jointly owned by Peter Kiewit & Sons, a giant construction firm, and by NERCO, a subsidiary of Pacific Power & Light Company. Kiewit also owns the Big Horn mine.

Despite repeated attempts by the mine union to bargain with the company, Decker refused to budge on its demands. These include the unrestricted right to subcontract any or all of its mining operations, health insurance concessions that would shift hundreds of thousands of dollars in payments each year onto the backs of the workers, and unrestricted and secret control of the pension funds.

The company kept production going with scabs and hired no less than three private security firms to harass the strikers.

Kiewit has offered a \$250,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of individuals for "strike-related" acts. The company also offered to donate \$50,000 to establish a special government task force to investigate "strike-related crimes." Although Wyoming Gov. Michael Sullivan rejected company funding, he did establish a task force consisting of an agent from the state Department of Criminal Investigation, a Sheridan cop, and sheriff's deputy.

"All this is being put together for Decker Coal, not the community," union spokesman Whitey Wells told the *Sheridan Press*.

Echoing the company's line that the strikers are to blame for an increase in local "crime," the paper has published extensive interviews with the scabs.

One scab, Jeff Sajec, said he "doesn't blink an eye when he describes the union as

a vicious, violent organization."

"You can ... go back to 1984 and '85 and look at the A.T. Massey strike," he said. "You know, people were getting killed there. A miner got killed. A UMW local president ... two other union local members, and one other person associated with the union somehow were just sentenced in the murder," he said.

He is referring to the company-government orchestrated frame-up of United Mine Workers members Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Arnold Heightland, and James Darryl Smith. The four were tried and convicted on charges stemming from the death of a scab coal hauler during the Massey strike in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

Eight months ago UMW Local 1972 filed unfair labor practice charges against Decker with the National Labor Relations Board because of the company's refusal to negotiate. While the NLRB has stalled on ruling on that complaint, the board's Denver office filed a 39-charge complaint against the union on June 3 for acts of "intimidation" toward Decker and its employees.

Company violence

A union brochure points out that since the strike began Oct. 1, 1987, "We believe the company's gun thugs have committed many acts of violence in our community in an effort to blame these acts on local union members who have resided in the Sheridan area for years."

Most recently a court upheld the seizure of a union member's videotapes of internal meetings and discussions with their lawyers. To add insult to injury, the judge turned the tapes over to Kiewit's lawyers.

The UMW international paid out \$1.5 million from its selective-strike fund, alleviating some of the financial hardship. But the miners are going to continue to need support from working people. Messages of support and financial contributions can be sent to UMW Health and Welfare Fund, 443 E. College St., P.O. Box 66, Sheridan, Wyo. 82801.

Steve Warshall and Bob Hill also contributed to this article.

Pittston miners hold work stoppage

BY JIM ALTENBERG

McCLURE, Va. — "If we are pushed by Clinchfield into a time of war, so be it. Men and women all over this mountainous empire will come together as one. Touch one of us, and you touch us all," said Don McCamey, secretary-treasurer of District 28, United Mine Workers of America.

The union official spoke to hundreds of coal miners and their supporters at a memorial service June 21, marking the fifth anniversary of Virginia's worst mining disaster in 25 years. On June 21, 1983, a methane gas explosion at Clinchfield Coal's McClure No. 1 mine killed six miners and a foreman, including the first woman miner to lose her life underground.

The service was part of a six-day memorial work stoppage held by 2,800 miners employed by Pittston Coal Group, to protest the company's refusal to negotiate a contract with the miners' union. Pittston owns Clinchfield Coal, as well as mines in Kentucky and West Virginia.

Miners have been working without a contract at Pittston mines since the old one expired Feb. 1, 1988. The United Mine Workers has sought to avoid striking Pittston, despite the company's unwillingness to hold serious talks and despite months of provocations aimed at unionists and their families.

Before the contract expired, Pittston announced that it had hired Vance International, an armed strikebreaking outfit, to combat the union in the event of a strike. Retirees and disabled miners have had their health insurance and pensions cut off.

Miners told the *Militant* that increased numbers of foremen had been brought into the mines, who supposedly will produce coal if a strike occurs. They do nothing now but harass miners underground. Pittston has filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board to force the union to pay for lost production during the memorial period. At the same time, the company said it would continue to produce coal during these days.

A four-day memorial work stoppage was held in May. Miners' spouses have organized women's auxiliaries, which have joined with retired miners to raise funds, hold protests, and seek solidarity in the mining communities.

District 28 President Jackie Stump said June 20 that the union is asking members of its Pittston locals to sign up for selective strike benefits.

Mary Hinton, representing the Dickenson County Education Association, told the crowd in Clintwood that the teachers had voted to back the miners' union in its contract fight.