

Solidarity with Machinists keeps Eastern fleet grounded

Unions fight company takebacks

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Nearly a week after a strike by 8,500 machinists began, the operations of Eastern Airlines — the seventh-largest U.S. airline — remain shut down tight.

The strikers, members of the International Association of Machinists, went on strike at 12:01 a.m. March 4 after 16 months of government-sponsored talks with Eastern failed to produce a contract proposal acceptable to the workers.

"Eastern management refused to negotiate seriously," explains a leaflet being

**Additional strike coverage
on pages 4-7.**

distributed by IAM Local 1018 at New York's LaGuardia Airport. The company continued to the end "to demand the unlimited right to farm out our work, pay cuts as high as 56 percent in some categories, massive work rule changes, the hiring of part-timers, cuts in pension benefits and more. Seeing that the acceptance of this contract would mean the breaking of our union, the IAM membership [nationally] voted 97 percent strong to authorize a strike."

The machinists — who work as mechanics, ramp service workers, stock clerks, and aircraft cleaners — are getting solid backing from the 3,400 members of the Air Line Pilots Association who work at Eastern. The pilots' refusal to cross the machin-



Members of machinists', pilots', and flight attendants' unions picket outside the Eastern Shuttle terminal at LaGuardia Airport in New York.

ists' picket lines has made it impossible for Eastern management to proceed with plans to run the airline during the strike.

ALPA reports that only 88 pilots have crossed machinists' picket lines, despite heavy pressure by Eastern management to do so. "Management tries to convince pilots that the IAM's fight is not ours,"

Capt. Mac McMullen from ALPA's strike committee told hundreds of pilots, flight attendants, and others gathered at rallies — joined together by video-hook-up — in eight cities March 7. "They are wrong. The future is ours. The continued shutdown depends on the unity of the Eastern family."

Continued on Page 5

All workers have stake in Eastern strike

"If Eastern Loses, the Public Loses," declared the editors of the *New York Times* on February 7. No more erroneous opinion could be stated about the stakes for working people in the outcome of the strike by members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) union against Eastern Airlines.

If Eastern Airlines loses, all working people will benefit!

The machinists, baggage handlers, flight attendants, pilots, and ramp services workers at Eastern are in the front line of the fight against the employers' economic of-

EDITORIAL

fensive on the living standards of all working people. The strike is a blow against the kind of concession contracts union after union was accepting a few years ago, often without much resistance. These pacts eliminated jobs, drove down wages and benefits, imposed speedups, and reduced health and safety regulations on the job.

Eastern's claim that these concessions are necessary to prevent the company from going bankrupt is another in a long list of blackmail threats that have become the coin of companies throughout the country. These threats have been sweetened by the

Continued on Page 22

Int'l guests barred from Grenada meet

BY STEVE CLARK

ST. GEORGE's, Grenada, March 9 — Four participants from the United States have been barred by the Grenadian government from attending celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Grenada revolution scheduled here for March 11-13.

The four — Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder publishers in New York, Meryl Lynn Farber, Argiris Malapanis, and August Nimtz — were informed by immigration officials at Port Salines airport that they were being granted only three-day visas. This makes it impossible for the four to stay in Grenada until the opening of the conference, Saturday evening, March 11.

The conference and celebration are being sponsored by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada. The MBPM has invited guests from throughout the Caribbean, North America, Europe, and elsewhere. At the same time that the four U.S. participants were arriving at Port Salines airport last evening, the Grenadian government delivered a letter to the MBPM informing it that none of its invited international guests would be permitted to enter Grenada to attend the gathering.

As we go to press, the U.S. participants have applied to the Grenada Passport office for visa extensions. The MBPM is preparing its response to this latest government attack on freedom of speech and political organization in Grenada.

Grenadian cops at the Port Salines airport also barred entry of a box of books belonging to MBPM deputy leader Einstein Louison that was being delivered by Pathfinder Director Steve Clark. Grenadian officials had first impounded the books last October when Pathfinder representative Norton Sandler sought to bring them into the country with him. At that time, Gre-

nada's Police Commissioner Cosmun Raymond told Pathfinder that the boxes were being held to be checked against "a list of banned books."

The undemocratic ban on Pathfinder publications last October met with protests from around the region and the world: editorials in Caribbean dailies, messages

Continued on Page 7

End U.S. intervention in El Salvador

On Saturday, March 18, broadly sponsored rallies and other protest activities will take place in more than 30 cities across the country, demanding that the U.S. government end its military intervention in El Salvador.

Following are the times and locations of the principal actions.

Boston: rally at noon in Boston Common.

Chicago: 12:30 p.m. assemble at Tribune Tower, 435 North Michigan.

Detroit: 1:00 p.m. march from Kennedy Square; 2:00 p.m. rally at Central United Methodist Church, Adams and Woodward.

Los Angeles: 11:30 a.m. assemble at Olympic and Broadway downtown. March to City Hall, Spring and 1st; 2:00 p.m. rally.

New York: 11:00 a.m. assemble at Union Square Park, march through midtown area, and rally at Times Square.

San Francisco: 10:00 a.m. assemble at Dolores Park, march through Mission and Castro districts, and rally at Federal Building.

British gov't grabs attack on Rushdie to curb rights

BY MARGARET JAYKO

British cabinet and parliamentary figures, cops, big-business newspaper editors and commentators, have all seized on the call to assassinate novelist Salman Rushdie, made by Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and others, to further limit the ability of working people to exercise their right to free speech and assembly. This has been accompanied by the portrayal of working people who are Muslims as fanatics and barbarians.

Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe announced March 8 that the government would expel 20-30 Iranians living in Britain.

(Meanwhile, in Washington, a senior

FBI official told the Senate that members of Iran's Revolutionary Guards have entered the United States posing as students. Such claims have been used before to justify stepped-up surveillance and harassment of Iranian students in the United States.)

• Demonstrations and speeches by immigrants who are Muslims are being scrutinized for possible legal action if they express support for Khomeini's threats against Rushdie.

In Nottingham, for example, a February 25 march against Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* was only allowed by the police to go ahead when the cops decided they were

Continued on Page 9

Women from across U.S. discuss farm crisis

BY JANICE PRESCOTT

DES MOINES, Iowa — "There's almost no such thing as a full-time farm family anymore," said Pete Brent. He and Ardith Brent are farmers who volunteered to make airport runs to ferry participants to the fourth annual rural women's conference held here February 16-17.

"And the worst part of it is," Ardith Brent added, "when you do have to take an outside job, you can't find anything that pays a living wage. You both have to work off the farm, and if you've been lucky enough to hold onto some part of your land, you both have to work the land, too."

The Brents' situation is not unusual. One woman, a member of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in rural Missouri, said she's on her tractor until three o'clock most days before going off to her second-shift job. "And then my husband comes in and keeps it running until dark."

Titled "Harvesting Our Potential," the conference was sponsored by Prairiefire, an organization that defends farmers, and the Iowa Inter-Church Agency for Peace and Justice. The UAW and other organizations also provided support.

400 attend

The conference drew some 400 participants from 21 states, mostly farm women or women newly pushed off the land. A number of unionists also attended, many sent by their locals.

Many discussions took place in the workshops, where participants grappled with questions of land reform, how to build alliances between farmers and unionists, free trade, farm subsidies, health care, farm bill lobbying, biotechnology, environmental pollution, and how to provide support to families who are losing or have lost their farms.

In the workshop titled "Understanding, not fearing, labor," Dave Willoughby, a former UAW officer who once headed the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, explained the dangers of homework — doing sewing or assembly work in the home. "Considering how low wages are in the garment industry already, why do they need homework?" he asked. "For one reason — to take advantage of you." He said there are 2,000 homeworkers in Iowa.

Low wages, no benefits

One example is the nut and bolt kits put together by entire families. "They set up their workshop in an unheated garage, and if they're very lucky, they can make more than \$4 an hour," Willoughby said. "But they don't count the time it takes to go into town to pick up the 1,000 pounds of bolts for assembly, or the wear on their car. And, of course, they get no benefits."

Willoughby explained why the auto workers' union was participating in the conference: "Organized labor is a small percentage of the population. We need allies. We need to unite to be bigger. We

come to farmers and other workers who aren't in unions because, while things such as health care and education are union issues, they're for the benefit of all."

Some participants blamed Japanese and other workers for problems in this country. Denise O'Brien, a farmer and representative of Prairiefire, explained that the problem is not with Japanese or other producers but with the owners worldwide, "because they don't respect boundaries."

"The solution," said one auto worker,

"is in solidarity. We have to raise the other workers up to our economic level, not fight them."

Billie Jean Young, who gave the keynote address, stressed the need for unity. "The successes of the civil rights movement of the 1960s were due to the fact that it embraced everyone. Many advances were made," she said, "not just by African-Americans but by other groups as well."

Young, who is director of the Southern Rural Women's Network in Jackson, Mississippi, as well as an author, teacher, and

actress, called for a stepped-up fight against racism.

She also stressed the importance of the role of farmers in making food safe, noting that they often have to take on the food conglomerates and the banks in order to do so. "Ultimately, who is going to control the natural resources in this country comes down to money," she said. "Other problems of this society — drugs, alcohol — come down to money. The only way to fight money is to wage a united struggle," said Young.

Ford in Britain blacklists unionists

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — In the last year Ford Motor Co. has dismissed four union activists from its Dagenham plant in east London. The firings are part of a broader antiunion offensive bent on weakening trade union organization, cutting jobs, speeding up work, and taking other measures to boost profits.

Shane Brennan was set up for alleged "sabotage" just after he had been elected a shop steward. Political activist Paul Davidson was axed four days after starting work, victim of a coordinated employer blacklist. Ford escalated its attack by firing Transport and General Workers Union branch chair Mick Gosling last month.

Clare Smith, one of 200 women recently employed on the line in Ford Dagenham's Paint, Trim, and Assembly (PTA) plant, spoke out against Gosling's firing. Two weeks later Smith was hauled up into the personnel office and dismissed, allegedly for unsatisfactory references, and falsifying her job application. She had been there just under four months.

Blacklisting

"This has got nothing to do with references," said a worker on Smith's shift. "She was fired because she spoke out." If it is not reversed, Smith's firing will follow her around — part of a blacklisting operation organized by major firms.

Using state agencies and organizations such as the Economic League, employers can obtain files on hundreds of thousands of trade unionists and political activists.

On March 3 Denny Fitzpatrick was fired from her British Rail job at Paddington in London for failing to "disclose details of her employment with the Ford Motor Co." Three years ago she was also fired from the PTA plant at Ford Dagenham. A press witch-hunt against communist conspirators, "moles," and subversives accompanied her firing.

Another rail union activist at Euston in London has also been fired as a result of blacklisting. "The British Rail Board is clearly conspiring with other companies in compiling and using blacklists," said prominent rail union activist Geoff Revel. In a third blacklisting case, in Sheffield,

South Yorkshire, the Amalgamated Engineering Union secretary has written to Easterbrook Allcard's concerning its firing of Pamela Holmes. Holmes, a previous union convenor at the James Neill engineering firm, was dismissed from Allcard's January 20 for "not meeting the company's requirements."

Blacklisting has become the target of new labor movement and civil liberties protests. Labour Member of Parliament Maria Fyfe recently sponsored a parliamentary bill against the Economic League. The Trades Union Congress, Brit-

ain's largest union federation, established a special subcommittee to take up this question.

A meeting of prominent union officials has insured that Fitzpatrick will have "full union backing in a campaign for her reinstatement." Smith's case is coming before the union bodies at Ford this week. Workers at the plant where Holmes worked have organized a protest petition as the first step in a campaign for her reinstatement.

Clare Smith, Denny Fitzpatrick, and Pamela Holmes contributed to this article.

Socialist subscription drive to kick off March 25

BY FRED FELDMAN

On Saturday, March 25, *Militant* distributors around the world — across the United States and in cities from Stockholm, Sweden, to Sydney, Australia — will be on the streets for the opening day of an eight-week campaign to win thousands of new readers for five socialist periodicals. The effort will conclude May 20.

Militant distributors in the United States, Canada, Britain, Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand, and Australia are now considering what goals they should adopt for the drive. A scoreboard with the goals will appear in the March 31 issue of the *Militant*, which will be shipped to distributors on March 23.

The campaign is aimed at gaining new subscribers for the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the French-language monthly *Lutte ouvrière* — the first time *Lutte ouvrière*, published in Montréal, Canada, has been included in a drive to expand circulation.

Distributors will also adopt goals for the sale of single copies of the Marxist political journals *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

In addition, many new readers of the socialist publications will be introduced to the Action Program to Confront the Com-

ing Economic Crisis, put forward by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. The Action Program pamphlet describes the problems facing working people and makes proposals about how workers and farmers can struggle to counter them.

The circulation campaign will open soon after the conclusion of the current four-week effort to win renewals of subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

After three weeks of the renewal effort, 207 *Militant* readers and 32 subscribers to *Perspectiva Mundial* have renewed — an average of 80 per week. "That's a big increase from the normal renewal rate of 50 per week," stated *Militant* circulation director Norton Sandler. "It shows the potential when our distributors organize systematically to have discussions with subscribers about the struggles and other political issues that these publications report on."

Sandler said that 43 of the renewals have come from Canada.

A team of distributors from Charleston, West Virginia, recently obtained renewals of *Militant* subscriptions from two coal miners and a hospital worker in the Willamson area.

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Pamphlets by Castro, Guevara promoted at Philippines meeting

BY PETER THIERJUNG

MANILA, Philippines — More than 150 people participated in a meeting here on February 25 to celebrate the publication of two new pamphlets. They were *Socialism and Man* by Che Guevara and "Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods" a speech delivered by Cuban President Fidel Castro last July 26.

The meeting was a joint effort by Amistad, the Philippine-Cuban Friendship and Cultural Association; and by Pathfinder, the publisher of many books and pamphlets by revolutionary leaders.

Speakers at the event included Ana María González, the Cuban ambassador to the Philippines; Prof. Ed Garcia and Dr. Francisco Nemenzo, Filipino political figures; Danilo Vizmanos, vice-president of Amistad; Benjamin Pimentel of Amistad; and Deborah Shnookal of Pathfinder. Susan Fernandez, a well-known Filipina singer, provided a cultural presentation.

Ambassador González welcomed the publication of the new pamphlets. "Che's ideas are as relevant as they ever have been," she said.

Vizmanos, who was a political prisoner under Ferdinand Marcos' regime, encouraged the promotion of the pamphlets "because Cuba's example is particularly relevant to the Philippines today."

Shnookal described Pathfinder's publishing and distribution efforts and explained why getting Guevara's writings and Castro's speeches into print are a needed contribution for the consideration of revolutionary fighters the world over.

Workers, peasants, youth

Attending the meeting were members of trade union and peasant organizations, as well as a variety of political groups. Many were young people and students who had discussed Cuba's example in the fight for socialism with Pathfinder representatives from the United States and New Zealand.

One goal of the meeting was to win new members for Amistad, and 15 signed up afterwards.

Promoting sales of the two pamphlets was a focus of Pathfinder's participation in the 10-day Manila Bookfair, held February 18-26. During the event 122 copies of each pamphlet were sold. This was the third year Pathfinder has participated in the bookfair, which includes publishers and book distributors from the Pacific and Asia.

Pathfinder's booth at the bookfair and campus tables at the University of the Philippines became centers for political discussion, as well as for book sales. A cross-section of people visiting the booth and campus tables were keen on learning more about the coming capitalist economic crisis and what impact it would have on world politics. More than 200 bought the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* pamphlet.

Learning about contemporary revolutionary struggles from Africa to Central America was an important aspect of the book purchases. *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life* sold 42 copies, and *Thomas Sankara Speaks* sold 34 copies. *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution* sold 22 copies and *Sandinistas Speak*, a book that contains the historic program of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, sold almost 20 copies.

Two books published by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia and reprinted in the Philippines remain popular. They are *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, which sold 25 copies, and *Fidel and Religion*, which sold 20.

The basic works of Marxism drew much attention, as did Pathfinder's series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. *The History of the Russian Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, a prominent leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution, was a hot item; the 20 copies available sold out quickly. Another book that attracted a lot of attention was the *Leninist Strategy of*

Party Building by Joseph Hansen, a longtime leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. This book documents a debate on guerrilla warfare, which took place among Latin American revolutionaries in the late 1960s and early '70s.

'New International,' 'Militant'

The interest in revolutionary strategy and forging a world communist leadership today was reflected in the sales of more than 70 copies of *New International* magazine.

The *Militant* newspaper was prominently displayed at the bookfair. Dozens of copies of the February 17 issue with front-page coverage on the cease-fire in El Salvador and the issue of land reform in Nicaragua, along with the center-spread reprint of Fidel Castro's speech on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, were sold. Twenty-three people decided to buy introductory subscriptions.

In the Philippines the minimum daily wage is 67 pesos, or US\$3.50. With the average Pathfinder pamphlet marked at 25 pesos and books averaging 100 pesos with some marked as high as 200, it appeared at first that expense would inhibit sales. But this was not to be the case.

The level of interest in political ideas in the Philippines today created a determina-



Militant/Russell Johnson

Sugar workers march in Philippines in 1987. Struggles of workers and farmers have spurred political discussion, including on Cuban revolution.

tion among many to buy the Pathfinder titles. Groups of young people pooling their financial resources would appear daily at the booth. They were setting up common libraries. Sales at bookfair and campus ta-

bles totaled nearly \$4,000.

On March 4 Amistad sponsored an organizing meeting at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines where Pathfinder books and pamphlets were also promoted.

Curtis defense slams newspaper attack

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — In a story on the front page of the Iowa section, the March 7 *Des Moines Register* claimed that "a year ago, it was Mark Curtis... who was receiving letters of support from all over the world. But now, many of the same people who backed Curtis have retracted their support of him and written to apologize to the girl's family."

Curtis, a packinghouse worker and political activist in Des Moines, was arrested March 4, 1988, severely beaten by the police, and framed up on false rape and burglary charges. He is currently serving a 25-year jail sentence.

The article goes on to quote letters from several people who dissociated themselves from Curtis' fight for justice after his conviction in an unfair trial last September.

"Last fall, following the conviction, a letter signed by Keith Morris was sent to union officials and political and civil liberties activists throughout the United States and other countries as part of a mass mailing," according to Stu Singer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "We sent out a point-by-point answer to it on December 5."

'Some were confused by letter'

"The Morris letter repeats and adds new lies to the cop frame-up that Curtis raped Morris' 15-year-old daughter," Singer said. "Some people were confused, intimidated, and some decided not to support Curtis after the conviction and after reading the frame-up charges in Morris' letter. But since the trial, 2,500 new people have added their names as sponsors of the defense committee, including many prominent people from around the world."

"The Workers League, an operation that poses as a socialist group, has made the reprinting and circulating of the Morris letter and numerous articles promoting the cop frame-up, government prosecution, and jailing of Mark Curtis a central campaign of their newspaper, the *Bulletin*," Singer said.

The *Register* quotes *Bulletin* editor Martin McLaughlin about some people who have withdrawn support.

Singer emphasized: "We want to show the Morris letter and the material from the *Bulletin* and the *Register* defending the cops and prosecution to everyone we ask to sponsor the defense effort. Every supporter has to be familiar with the frame-up charges, the lies and threats, and be able to

answer them. As more people learn the facts — who Mark is, what he was involved in, the injustices of the trial, the forces involved in trying to continue the frame-up now — we will continue to win new support."

First anniversary meeting

The *Register* chose not to mention a well-publicized meeting and dance held March 4 at the Des Moines Best Western hotel. The event was held to celebrate the first year of the international fight for justice for Curtis.

Nick Castle, Hollywood director and film writer, who is producing a video that tells the story of Mark Curtis, was a featured speaker at the event.

Castle showed a segment of his filming

of Curtis in Anamosa prison. On the tape Curtis expressed his appreciation for the many letters of support he receives daily from around the world.

The *Register* quotes Keith Morris as saying that the "dozens of letters" he received are "all pretty repetitious.... And they're a lot like closing the barn door after the horse is already out in the pasture." Morris hasn't bothered to read many of the letters that have arrived recently, the *Register* noted.

Singer said that the Curtis fight is far from over. "Mark will be appealing his conviction, and a civil suit will soon be filed against the police for the brutal beating they gave him. We will continue winning new prominent sponsors and exposing this frame-up. Justice will be won."

Students force top Republican to quit post at Howard Univ.

BY GLENN FIDLER
AND ROBERT BUSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On March 7 the students at Howard University scored a victory in their fight to oust Lee Atwater from the board of trustees.

Howard is one of the largest universities in the country with a predominantly Black student body. Atwater is the chairman of the Republican Party's National Committee and had been placed on the board in January.

On the day before, 1,000 students took control of the university's administration building. The next morning the students withstood an assault from university and district police. At noon, TV news cameras filmed a scuffle between students and police, who broke into the building.

Equipped with a helicopter, SWAT team, and riot gear, police prepared for an "all-out assault" that was to include the use of tear gas. Moments later, Washington Mayor Marion Barry arrived with the chief of police and agreed to call off the action.

The students regard Atwater's views as racist and incompatible with that of the university. The students charged that he seeks the overturn of civil rights legislation, supports the South African regime, and waged a racist campaign around the prison furlough issue centered on the case of Willie Horton, a Black prisoner, during the 1988

presidential campaign.

The students argue that using Atwater to raise funds for the university would amount to "exploiting and increasing economic class divisions in the Black community."

The students also demand an answer to long-standing grievances that include housing, financial aid, security, and the student curriculum, which they call "Eurocentric."

The protest began March 3, when 2,000 students occupied an auditorium and prevented entertainer Bill Cosby from speaking at the university's 122nd anniversary commemoration.

The students have vowed to continue their protest until their demands are met, including the guarantee of no reprisals.

Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

Airline unions hit by 6 years of takebacks

BY FRED FELDMAN

Wage cuts, speedup, lost jobs, and weakened or busted unions. That's what airline workers have been up against for most of the past decade. The following are some examples of the setbacks that have been dealt to these unionists.

After chipping away at wages and working conditions for a number of years, the airline owners went into high gear against the unions in 1983. Faced with a demand for a 40 percent wage cut for nonmechanics and the elimination of 600 jobs, 2,000 members of the International Association of Machinists at Continental Airlines went on strike on August 13.

Continental, a subsidiary of Texas Air Corp. which now includes Eastern Airlines as well — fired all those who refused to cross the picket line and brought in scabs. The Air Line Pilots Association declined to join the walkout.

On September 24 Continental filed for bankruptcy, citing "excessive labor costs." Abrogating its contracts with the unions, Continental laid off all of its 12,000 employees. The airline then rehired about 4,200 of them at about 50 percent of their previous pay.

Pilots, flight attendants

Those pilots, for example, who were getting the maximum pay of \$77,000 a year took a cut to \$42,000. Flight attendants who were making \$28,000 were offered \$15,000.

The pilots and flight attendants then joined the Machinists' picket lines, proclaiming a strike on October 1. But Continental was able to keep operating with a nonunion work force. The busting of the unions at a major airline gave a big boost to attacks by other employers.

Two days after Continental went into bankruptcy, then-Eastern Airlines President Frank Borman threatened that the airline would also go into bankruptcy unless the workers accepted large pay cuts and other takebacks.

At the end of 1983, the International Association of Machinists, Transport Workers Union, and Air Line Pilots Association at Eastern agreed to an 18 percent pay cut, in exchange for 25 percent of a new, watered-down issue of company stock. Union officials were granted seats on the board of directors.

One year later, the company refused to implement the scheduled restoration of the 18 percent cut.

New agreements in February 1985 resulted in cuts of 13 percent from full contract rates.

In 1986 the company imposed a four-tier wage system on flight attendants, including special low rates for those from Latin America.

The owners of United Airlines negotiated a 1983 contract with the Machinists and other unions that included a two-tier wage setup and other takebacks.

Despite a 1985 strike by the airline pilots that was defeated by hiring hundreds of scabs, the company was able to extend the two-tier agreement to pilots as well. In 1987, United management scored further gains, including a 13 percent cut for new hires known as the "C-scale" — a third tier — and expansion of the hiring of part-time workers.

Pan American

After a strike, Pan American Airlines workers were forced to accept major takebacks in 1985. From 1980 to 1984, the Pan Am unions had already suffered \$300 million in takebacks. The 1985 pacts established two-tier wage scales, with "B scale" wages 30 to 36 percent below previous rates. The pact allowed the company to raise the proportion of part-timers in the work force to 15 percent, including bringing back laid off unionists as part-timers. Part-timers were barred from the union. About 700 jobs of food workers were eliminated, and the jobs of ramp workers and airplane cleaners were combined.

In 1986 TWA workers had to accept an

across-the-board \$2-per-hour pay cut and other takebacks. The Independent Federation of Flight Attendants waged a 10-week strike against attempts to impose even more takebacks on them.

TWA President Carl Icahn justified the attack on the flight attendants with statements that the women attendants were not "breadwinners" and should therefore get lower wages and work longer hours than others.

TWA responded to the strike by hiring nonunion flight attendants and continuing to operate. On May 19, the flight attendants' leadership offered to return to work unconditionally, while still rejecting the TWA contract. Some 3,000 union flight attendants are still fighting to get their jobs back at TWA.

These setbacks are the background to the current battle in Eastern. Since December 1987, when the previous contract with the Machinists' union expired, the owners have refused to negotiate a new agreement unless the Machinists accept wage cuts of more than 50 percent, unlimited contracting out, and the elimination of many union rights.

Air safety is victim of profit drive

BY FRED FELDMAN

The safety of the airways is among the stakes in the fight being waged by Eastern Airlines workers against management's attempt to slash or eliminate union rights, impose lower wages, increase speedup, and lengthen the workday.

As part of its efforts to strengthen its profit position, Eastern Airlines relies on one of the most aged fleets of planes now in operation. Eastern aircraft average 15.11 years, surpassed only by Northwest (15.47) and TWA (15.29). The average age of U.S. airliners has increased from 10 years in 1979 to nearly 13 years today.

A few days before the strike began March 4, there was a grisly demonstration of the declining safety of the aging aircraft being sent aloft by U.S. airlines.

Nine passengers were killed February 24 when the fuselage of United Airlines Flight 811 suddenly ripped open and several rows of passengers were sucked out of the plane to the Pacific Ocean below. The Boeing 747 was 19 years old.

"A huge gust of wind swept the cabin," reported one surviving passenger after the crew made an emergency landing in Honolulu. "There were shoes blown back from the front of the plane. A stewardess went flying. . . ."

"I could not hear. I could not breathe," said another. Many passengers reported that their oxygen masks did not drop down, as they are supposed to when sudden decompression takes place.

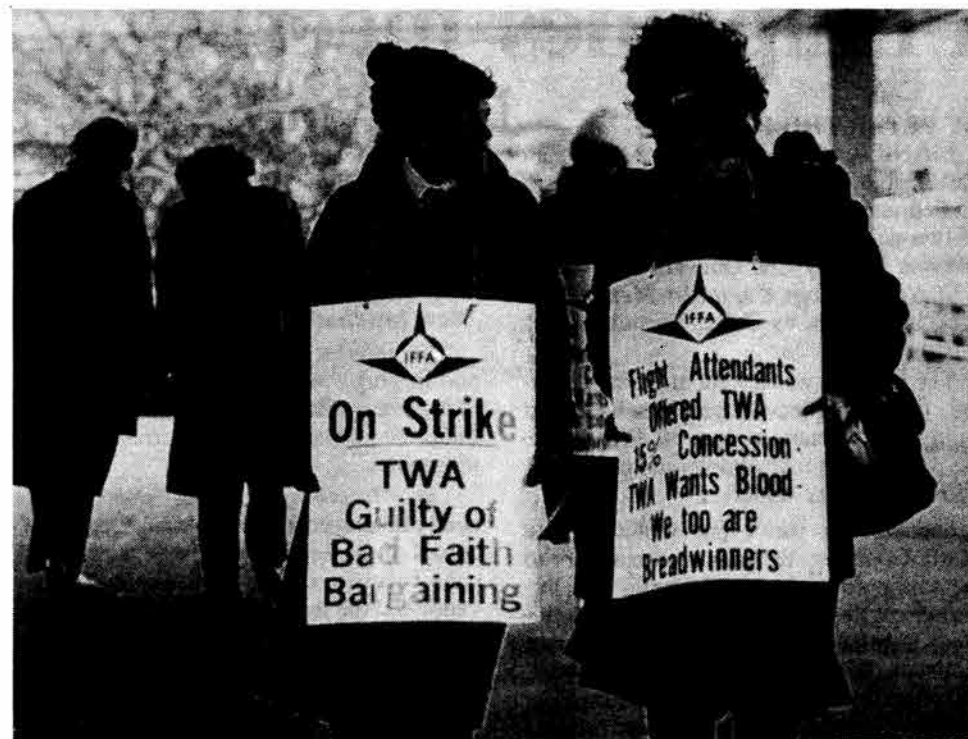
On December 26 a hole opened in the skin of an Eastern Airlines Boeing 727, forcing an emergency landing. Last April, part of the cabin walls and roof blew off of an Aloha Airlines Boeing jet, sweeping a flight attendant to her death. The 19-year-old Aloha jet had made 90,000 flights — 15,000 more than the designers had allowed for.

Following the Aloha incident, all Boeing jetliners with more than 30,000 flights were subjected to a visual inspection by the Federal Aviation Administration. Cracks in fuselage joints and rivets were found in more than half.

On October 18 an official of the National Transportation Safety Board described the "chilling discovery" of 30-inch cracks on a 19-year-old Continental Airlines jet — cracks that had been missed in the earlier FAA inspection. Like Eastern Airlines, Continental is owned by Texas Air Corp.

On February 24 a study sponsored by the industry's Air Transport Board called for 200 repairs to be made on each of 700 Boeing airliners, and 100 each on 500 planes supplied by McDonnell Douglas. The recommendation was described as an effort to head off possible action on airline safety by the White House or Congress.

Every stage of the decline in airline safety has been linked to attacks on the



Flight attendants waged 1986 strike against Trans World Airlines' imposition of wage cut.

workers in the industry — beginning with the federal government's firing in 1981 of 11,000 striking air controllers.

The controllers demanded shorter hours, earlier retirement, and other measures to ease the intense stress of their jobs. The safety of air travel, they charged, was being undermined by speedup measures.

The ability of the air control system to guarantee safe flights has never recovered from the blow dealt by the government's crushing of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

Flight attendants, mechanics, pilots, and other airline workers at U.S. airlines have

come under steadily growing pressure to work faster, longer, and under more unsafe conditions. Union rights, which make it more possible for workers to enforce safety rules, have been eroded.

Eastern's policy on absenteeism, for example, puts heavy pressure on mechanics and other personnel to work when they are partially incapacitated by illness on penalty of being fired or otherwise disciplined.

And along with wages and working conditions, the inspection, replacement, and repair of aging aircraft have been targets of cutbacks and corner-cutting.

'Icahn men' spy on airport workers

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — Special "security" teams, known as "Icahn men," are spying on union members and building cases against them at airports all over the country.

A group of "security" people, hired by Trans World Airlines board chairman and owner Carl Icahn, for example, targeted the TWA Dining Unit at John F. Kennedy International Airport February 1.

As a result of the Kennedy airport raid, six workers were suspended, pending hearings on charges of stealing from the company. The International Association of Machinists, which represents the workers, is backing grievances filed by the six. Two have since returned to work, and the other four have been fired.

The raid began during working hours when, without the workers knowing what

was happening, the "Icahn men" took photographs of the insides of workers' cars.

Dining Unit workers were then summoned to assemble in the break room, and the license plates of some workers' cars were read off.

The "security" force then searched the cars of workers, including opening the trunks. Items taken from the cars were placed on a rack and wheeled through the Dining Unit for everyone to see.

Workers in the Dining Unit, many of them immigrant women, huddled in groups to discuss what was going on. Some were visibly frightened. Another said of the accused workers, "They are thieves. They deserved it."

A young woman commented, "Icahn is a shrewd man. Four of these workers are 'A' scale, making twice as much as you and me. Don't you think Icahn wants to get rid of them?"

"We are innocent," a woman said. "Make the company prove we did something wrong."

Several days later, the company announced it was offering a \$5,000 reward to any worker who reports theft from TWA by a coworker.

The company's contract with the Machinists expired December 31, and a three-month mediation process is now underway. TWA is asking for major concessions.

TWA's operating profits for 1987 were a record \$240.3 million. During the first quarter of 1988, the company had its best first-quarter operating performance in more than 20 years.

Wage concessions wrung out of the unions in 1986, including an across-the-board \$2 per hour wage cut, contributed to the company's profit bonanza.



TWA Chairman Carl Icahn

Nancy Rosenstock, who works as a TWA kitchen helper, is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1056.

Airline unions shut down Eastern

Continued from front page

Some 5,900 members of Transport Workers Union Local 553, which organizes flight attendants at Eastern, are also backing the machinists' strike. "We realize if Lorenzo destroys the IAM workers' livelihood, we are his next target," explained TWU Local 553 head Mary Jane Barry.

On March 7 a federal judge in Miami ruled that the pilots had the right to refuse to cross the machinists' picket lines. Eastern management had gone to court the previous day, seeking a court order to force the pilots back to work.

The airline's rapid paralysis could be seen by the few flights taking off once the strike began. According to the company, 85 Eastern flights took off Saturday, March 4, 93 on Sunday; and 40 on Monday. Only a handful of flights were even scheduled after that — some of the airline's hourly shuttles from Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C., and several flights from Miami to South America. Few passengers, however, were on board.

Normally, the airline has 1,040 flights per day, carrying about 100,000 passengers to 102 cities in 27 states, the Caribbean, and Latin America.

As operations ground to a halt, Eastern began laying off reservation clerks and other nonunion employees. On March 6 and 7, some 9,500 were laid off, leaving only 1,500 Eastern employees at work. Some of the laid-off workers joined the strikers on the picket lines.

Pre-strike lockout

During the morning of March 3, with the strike set to begin at midnight, the machinists were abruptly locked out by management, which cited fear of "sabotage" of company property and equipment by union members.

At Miami's International Airport, workers were told at 10:30 a.m. that they had five minutes to gather their belongings and vacate the property. Police canine units were brought in to enforce the order.

Union shop stewards arrived, and the machinists marched together from the hangers over to the union hall. When another contingent of workers from the maintenance shops joined the march, cheers turned to chants of "We will win, we will win."

Some 500 workers at the Atlanta airport, after being locked out, gathered for a rally that continued until midnight in front of the union's new strike headquarters — several large, blue tents near Eastern's maintenance base at Hartsfield International Airport.

As the strike deadline neared, machinists in many cities gathered at union halls to begin counting down, often joined by family members and supporters from other unions. At midnight, the picket lines went up.

At New York's LaGuardia Airport, despite an order to keep the number of pickets to six, the line at the main Eastern terminal quickly swelled to several hundred after strikers marched over from the union hall, setting up picket lines at other sites on the way. The pickets remained in front of the terminal, despite repeated pleas from the police to move.

At 3:00 a.m., when a late flight from Miami arrived, the pickets waited with anticipation for the reaction from the flight crew coming off the plane — the first to land there since the strike began. A loud cheer went up when the machinists saw the pilots walk out of the terminal wearing buttons in support of the strikers.

ALPA member Brian Cassidy was the first pilot to walk off a plane and off Eastern property after midnight. After landing in Phoenix on a midnight turnaround flight, the captain said he was going to fly the plane back to Atlanta. Cassidy called ALPA's strike headquarters and got the word that the pilots were backing the strike. He picked up his bag and walked off the plane.

From the moment the strike started, workers from other airlines and members

of other unions have joined Eastern machinists, pilots, and flight attendants on the picket lines. Strike support rallies have been organized in a number of cities, including one of 1,500 in Atlanta, one of Eastern's largest hubs.

In addition to Eastern terminals and facilities, the strikers are picketing Continental Airlines' operations. Both Eastern and Continental are owned by Texas Air Corp. In 1983-84, Texas Air's owners — spearheaded by Chairman Frank Lorenzo — went on a drive that broke the unions at Continental.

At New York's Kennedy Airport, 900 IAM members at Trans World Airlines — who themselves are fighting concession demands from TWA President Carl Icahn — packed three union meetings March 3 to discuss how they could support the Eastern workers. They helped set up a large picket line at Kennedy on Saturday and are continuing to staff picket lines there.

At LaGuardia, pickets — whose spirits are high despite bitterly cold weather — report that other unionists stop by to bring hot coffee, soup, and food. The Teamsters have a recreational vehicle parked near the picket line, where strikers can duck in for a few minutes to get warm. The drivers of many of the cars and trucks that go by honk their horns and wave to strikers to show their support.

Some of the volunteer pickets in New York are food service workers employed by Marriott, which provides meals for Eastern flights. Among them are dozens who have been laid off as a result of the strike. Víctor, an Ecuadorian-born Marriott worker, explained that most of the 1,500 workers in food service are immigrants from Latin America. They are also in the IAM.

In Los Angeles, on Saturday morning, March 4, IAM members from McDonnell-Douglas and Lockheed, two large aerospace complexes, joined a strike support



Militant/Sam Manuel

Supported by other unionists, strikers have maintained 24-hour pickets at Eastern terminals.

rally at the Los Angeles International Airport. Some 300 auto workers, longshoremen, Teamsters, farm workers, and members of the cemetery workers' union were among those who attended. The latter are now on an organizing drive in the Los Angeles Catholic archdiocese.

At the Detroit airport, where there are less than 50 Eastern strikers, IAM members from Northwest Airlines, the major carrier there, are putting in four-hour shifts on their days off to staff the picket lines. Hundreds of red ribbons — nationally, a symbol of support for the strikers — are being worn by ticket agents and ground crews from all the airlines with operations there. On March 4 several hundred Detroit-area unionists attended a rally at the airport for the strikers.

In Philadelphia, despite a Port Authority

order to have only two people per gate, picket lines have ranged from 10 to 50. Rail workers, sheetmetal workers, pipefitters, and Teamsters have come to walk the picket line with the strikers, and bring donations.

Many Eastern ticket agents, who are not union members, are supporting the strike, and some have joined the picket lines. At the Philadelphia airport, several have been fired for refusing to do machinists' jobs, or declining to put in the 12-hour days Eastern was demanding before the layoffs began.

At Washington, D.C.'s National Airport, unorganized ticket and gate agents have also been on the picket line. One was sent home for wearing a red arm band.

In San Juan, Puerto Rico, where Eastern recently completed a new multi-million

Continued on next page

African National Congress leader in Atlanta supports strikers

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — "No member of the African National Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions, or the United Democratic Front in this country will ever cross the picket line" at Eastern Airlines Sifiso Makhathini told a March 4 meeting here. The gathering, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, was organized in solidarity with striking workers at Eastern Airlines. Makhathini spoke representing the Atlanta chapters of the ANC and SACTU, two leading organizations in South Africa fighting to end apartheid.

Makhathini explained that in the worldwide struggle of working people it is necessary to always remember the meaning of "an injury to one is an injury to all."

"Eastern workers are involved in a very bitter struggle," he continued. "I say this because of experience. In 1987, mine workers in South Africa went on strike. The strike weapon is very important, and what Eastern workers are doing is very important. What we're doing tonight is also very important in helping the strike weapon."

Makhathini described how Eastern is targeting immigrant workers, including some Black South Africans, in the Atlanta area to be used as strike-breaking scabs. Many immigrant workers come "to the United States because their country is poor," he said. "They're looking for jobs. The capitalists know this and use this. They have a reserve army of the unemployed."

"In South Africa, we organize the unemployed, so when we strike, the unemployed workers say they will not scab," he continued. "There are [immigrant workers] on the payrolls of Eastern. All trade unions must understand the company will

use scabs against the struggle."

"You just can't be anti-them [scabs], because they're workers — they're being used. We must have political solidarity with Eastern workers. We must stop scabs, because they're being used not only against the strike, but against the struggles of all workers," the ANC representative said.

After the program, Makhathini explained to several participants that Atlanta ANC chapter members had met with some of the Black South Africans being recruited by Eastern to try to convince them not to take the jobs.

What are 'secondary boycotts'?

A blow to union solidarity was dealt March 5, when a federal court issued an injunction against the right of rail union members to honor picket lines striking airline workers were planning to set up at commuter terminals. The machinists, who are on strike against Eastern Airlines, were planning what the bosses' press refers to as secondary boycotts, in an effort to win broader support for their strike.

This kind of labor solidarity was an important feature of the early labor movement in this country but has been severely curtailed over the last 50 years. It was common until the late 1940s, for example, for restaurant workers to picket the meat company that sold to the restaurant, or striking machine shop workers to set up pickets at companies that supplied their shop with steel or other materials.

That right was taken away from most unions with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, which amended the National

Dennis Drake, a laid-off member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709 also spoke. Drake used to work at Lockheed, the large aerospace corporation here. He explained that thousands of laid-off Lockheed workers have the skills to do maintenance work on Eastern's aircraft. "They should not do it," he said. "They mustn't cross the picket lines. This strike is for all workers."

The 8,000-10,000 workers laid off by Lockheed in the past year have also been targeted for recruitment as scabs by Eastern management.

Labor Relations Act of 1935. The Railway Labor Act of 1926, which governs the rail unions and companies, was not affected by Taft-Hartley. Congress declined to enact a similar amendment to the Railway Act.

In the early 1980s the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees attempted to set up pickets at other railroads during its strike against Burlington Northern Railroad. The company obtained an injunction that stopped the pickets. But in 1987 the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the union on the ground that the Railway Labor Act protected the rail unions' rights to "secondary" pickets.

With support for Eastern's machinists running high among railworkers, President George Bush has threatened to ask Congress for legislation banning secondary strikes in the transportation industry if the strike spreads. In 1934 Congress amended the Railway Act to include the airline industry.

EASTERN STRIKE

Unions shut Eastern

Continued from previous page

dollar terminal, some 65 strikers and supporters were on the picket line the first day of the strike, carrying handpainted signs in Spanish. About 40 percent of passenger flights to Puerto Rico are Eastern.

Eastern prepares for strike

The strike began after a 30-day "cooling off" period between the IAM and Eastern ended at midnight March 3.

This marked the end of months of government-sponsored talks between the union and Eastern management during which the company refused to back away from its demands for \$150 million in further concessions from the machinists. As the strike deadline neared, the National Mediation Board, which presided over the talks, had asked President George Bush to intervene by setting up an emergency panel. This would have pushed the countdown back 60 days. Bush rejected the recommendation.

Eastern management thought it was well-prepared for a strike. They had hired private security outfits to guard Eastern equipment and property, and intimidate the workers. They had hired hundreds of workers to act as scabs to replace IAM members. They were prepared to order non-union workers, along with people from management, to perform IAM members' jobs. Some 200 management personnel were lined up as pilots, in addition to the 600 pilots that Eastern calculated would cross the picket lines to fly their planes. This did not happen.

Meanwhile, the scabs are being held "like hostages," as one Washington, D.C., IAM member put it. They've been flown into various cities and are now holed up in hotels most of the time. Occasionally, they're bused into the airports for a few hours' work.

Secondary pickets

After the strike began, the IAM leadership planned to extend picket lines to Amtrak and other rail lines in New York, New Jersey, Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities with heavy commuter rail traffic, beginning the morning of March 6. The Long Island Railroad and Metro-North commuter rail line, for example, carry more than 450,000 riders into New York City each day. The New Jersey Transit rail line carries thousands more.

Such secondary pickets, prohibited by federal law for most unions, are legal for rail and airline unions, which are covered by special legislation in the Railway Labor Act.

Despite the pickets' legality, federal judges in New York and Philadelphia issued court orders March 5 barring them from going up, and the union leadership announced it would abide by the decision.

On March 8 a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York began hearing an appeal by the union of the order blocking the rail pickets. The injunction was extended to March 10, however, pending the outcome of the hearing.

President Bush has threatened to push emergency legislation through Congress banning secondary picketing of any kind in the event picketing is extended.

Many Eastern strikers were disappointed by the court order stopping the pickets at railroads. Leo, a mechanic who has worked at Eastern for 23 years, was walking the picket line on Sunday night March 5, a few hours after the injunction came down. "How can they change the law overnight?" he asked. "There's a conspiracy by the government against the labor movement."

Many rail workers were also disappointed. While little had been done to explain the issues in the Eastern strike to rail unionists — or what was going to happen Monday morning when pickets went up — as word spread about what was planned, rail workers began discussing what they would do.

Most decided they would honor the picket lines, and some were eager to show their support for the Eastern strikers. In Philadelphia, workers on the South East Pennsylvania Transit Authority (SEPTA) commuter line were looking forward to honoring the IAM's picket lines. SEPTA workers, who had a strike broken in 1983,

have been forced to take major wage and other concessions. "Lorenzo is at the wrong place — he should be working for SEPTA. He fits the mold," commented one engineer.

In New York, some bus drivers — hoping the machinists would send pickets to the bus lines where they work — called into the strike offices to let the machinists know what time their runs started.

Workers at other airlines have also been discussing what they would do in the event that Eastern workers extend pickets to other airlines. At Northwest Airlines in Boston, where ramp workers are wearing red ribbons to back the Eastern workers, many have said they will not cross a picket line if one is set up. This is despite a court injunction obtained by Northwest — along with United, TWA, and USAir — to force union members to cross secondary picket lines. Unions at these four carriers have been forced to include "no strike" pledges in their contracts.

Eastern's owners, other capitalists in
Continued on next page



Militant/Ernest Mailhot

Strike is inspiration to other workers facing contract negotiations

'It tells it like it is about the strike'

BY SAM MANUEL

"The *Militant*! I bought that paper yesterday on the line. It really told it like it is about our strike," said a 33-year-old jet mechanic as we walked along the picket line and talked about issues in the strike. He was among the nearly 200 members of the International Association of Machinists across the country who had bought copies of the *Militant* during the first days of their strike against Eastern Airlines.

On the first night of the strike a member of the striking union who also helps to distribute the *Militant* sold 44 copies and four subscriptions to strikers who work at Eastern's terminal at LaGuardia Airport in New York.

Union members at Newark International Airport bought 12 *Militants* and two copies of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* in the week before the strike. The sales team also sold 13 copies of the French-language *Lutte ouvrière* to Haitian taxi drivers at the airport.

The 11 papers a sales team in Atlanta had brought with them were sold in a matter of minutes to IAM members outside a meeting called to take the strike vote. The *Militant* got a good reception from strikers who had set up an informational picket line for several weeks leading into the strike at a hotel near the city's Hartsfield International Airport. Butler Aviation was interviewing potential scabs at the hotel.

A shop steward on the picket line bought a copy of the *Militant* and a pamphlet describing the fightback waged by the P-9 local of the United Food and Commercial Workers against the Hormel company several years ago.

A sales team in Philadelphia sold 11 copies of the *Militant* on their first trip to the picket lines. They report that the number of sales has gone up with each return trip.

In several areas where there are organized distributors of the *Militant* papers were reordered when bundles were sold out early in the week. Salespeople in Miami, Eastern's home terminal, ordered 50 additional papers. Their original bundle of 75 was sold in the first few days of the strike. Salespeople in Newark reordered 250 papers. In the first days of the strike the *Militant* business office received reorders totaling 560 papers. The *Militant* business office sent out bundles totaling 4,397 to distributors this week.

Militant circulation director Norton Sandler explained that these initial responses show the need for every area to substantially raise their bundles for the next issue.

The next issue of the *Militant* will carry continued coverage of the Eastern strike. It will also feature presentations on the significance of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution by two central leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, Tomás Borge and Víctor Tirado.

Distributors of the *Militant* are making stepped-up efforts to sell the paper at plant gates and factories organized by other

unions in addition to those organized by the IAM. Nine copies of the *Militant* were sold to workers at the Merck pharmaceutical plant in Rahway, New Jersey. Another nine copies of the *Militant* and one *PM* were sold to workers at a meat-packing plant in Carlstadt, New Jersey.

Militant salespeople have found that most strikers buy the paper to read the coverage of the strike. But strikers are also interested in other struggles reported in the paper — from the fight to stop cop brutality against Blacks in Canada to the explosive protests in Venezuela against government-imposed austerity measures.

Anyone interested in helping to sell the *Militant* is urged to order a bundle by filling out the coupon below and sending it to: the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Bundles can be ordered for .70 per paper.

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Young Socialist Alliance backs Eastern strikers

NEW YORK — "Young people everywhere have a big stake in supporting the 8,500 machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines," said the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee in a statement released March 6. The YSA is a communist youth organization with chapters in many cities, towns, and campuses throughout the United States.

"These workers — victims of a vicious antiunion assault by Eastern's owners — aren't just fighting for themselves," the statement stressed. "Conditions for all other working people, in unions or not — including for young people just now trying to get their first jobs — will be affected by the outcome of this strike. The machinists know they're not walking the picket line just for themselves. As one ramp worker at the Newark airport picket line put it, 'We're not doing this for ourselves, we're doing it for the next generation.'"

"Flight attendants and pilots are out on

the picket lines with the strikers, as are members of other unions," the statement said. "High school and college students and young political activists belong out there too."

"There's an added reason why young people need to play a role in building support for the strike," the YSA statement went on. "Many of the workers being recruited by Eastern to work as scabs during the strike are young. They're among the millions of young people who've never had a decent job, or often, any job at all."

"By actively backing the strike, young people can help explain to the airline workers and other unionists the importance of the labor movement mounting a real fight for jobs for all workers — a fight that would undercut the bosses' ability to recruit workers driven by desperation to become scabs during a strike. The need for active solidarity among all workers is one of the lessons this strike is driving home."

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Miami: spirits high on eve of strike

BY ALAN GUMMERSON

MIAMI — The atmosphere was charged with anticipation at a countdown vigil leading up to the midnight start of the Eastern strike here March 3. The street in front of the International Association of Machinists Local 702 union hall had been closed off by police earlier in the day. By 11:00 p.m. it was filled with 1,500 machinists, their family members, and other supporters.

A settlement was still a possibility, since last-minute negotiations were being held between Eastern and the IAM in Washington, D.C. During a contract fight six years ago, a settlement was announced literally at the last minute as picket lines were al-

ready going up around the airports.

This time it was clear that the overwhelming sentiment of the unionists gathered in the street was for the strike to begin. Chants against Texas Air Chairman Frank Lorenzo broke out frequently. Cardboard signs with Lorenzo's name were burned, as were Eastern uniform shirts. Pilots, whose union leaders had by then announced their intention to honor IAM picket lines, were cheered as they walked through the crowd. "I can't wait to strike," said one IAM member, "just to pay them back for the abuse I've had to take since Lorenzo took over."

A cheer went up from one side of the crowd when 30 members of the Haitian community organization Veye-Yo joined the rally to express solidarity with the strik-

ers. They carried signs that read, "Equal justice for Eastern union workers" and "An injury to one worker is an injury to all." Earlier in the evening, much of the regular Friday night Veye-Yo meeting was devoted to a discussion of the issues in the Eastern strike.

At about 11:45 p.m., pickets for the first shift piled into the union's school bus to be driven to their assigned picket locations around the airport. The bus was escorted by 15 unionists on motorcycles. When they started their engines, a roar went up from the crowd.

When midnight finally arrived, the crowd surged across the street and up to the chain-link fence around Eastern's property. A couple of unionists began to shake the fence, causing the police riot squad to

scramble into formation.

The crowd left the fence and went back into the middle of 36th Street, a six-lane-wide artery that runs by the Eastern hangars and maintenance shops along the north side of Miami International Airport. Traffic came to a standstill for 15 minutes as an effigy of Lorenzo was tossed in the air, again and again, until it disintegrated.

Finally the cops — whose riot squad had by now lined up in front of Eastern's fence with clubs out, helmets on, and visors down — were able to persuade the crowd to move off 36th Street and back onto the sidewalk in front of the union hall.

Alan Gummerson is a member of IAM Local 702. He works on the ramp at Miami International Airport.



Tony Savino

Airline unions shut down Eastern

Continued from Page 6

and out of the airline industry, and the federal government were all shocked by the pilots' strong backing of the machinists. E.J. Breen from APLA told the March 7 rallies that pilot support for the shutdown began "from the bottom."

The pilots were themselves involved in negotiations with Eastern right up until the March 3 deadline, and Lorenzo clearly banked on being able to cut a deal with ALPA. So sure was he that the pilots would not honor the machinists' picket lines that he visited Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner shortly before the strike deadline and assured him that the pilots would cross.

Pilots vote to back strike

On March 3, however, the pilots cast an overwhelming vote to honor the machinists' strike, and the 17-member ALPA council at Eastern endorsed that course unanimously. "We're not having to work hard to have them stay out," said ALPA official Rick Chapman. What Eastern management doesn't understand, he said, is that "this is more than about jobs, more than economics."

The pilots, who — along with flight attendants — gave Eastern a 20 percent wage cut in 1986, have learned from the airline employers' "divide and conquer" strategy

that going it alone hasn't worked. They saw the unions broken at Continental in 1983.

Many pilots also fear that Lorenzo is out to break up Eastern and will simply force them to accept more concessions — regardless of what he says now — if he can succeed in beating the machinists.

Pilots in uniform are on the picket lines at airports around the country, and pilots from other airlines have also joined.

On March 7 the pilots' union organized rallies in Atlanta, Miami, Chicago, Boston, Houston, and three sites in the New York-New Jersey area.

The same day, ALPA members at other airlines began following safety procedures to the letter, a move that airlines fear may cause delays in flights.

Bankruptcy threat

Eastern's response to the strike's success was to file bankruptcy in federal bankruptcy court in New York March 9. Eastern President Phil Bakes explained at a news conference that management plans to use the action to give the airline a "chance at a new life." On the picket line at the LaGuardia shuttle terminal, one striker responded to the news of the bankruptcy by explaining that Lorenzo's action had been expected by many workers for a long time. "This has been his plan all along," he said. A pilot added, "What do you expect? This

will be the third airline Lorenzo's taken to bankruptcy." Another machinist said, "We don't like to see this. But we still have our pride and integrity intact."

Representatives of the machinists', pilots', and flight attendants' unions are urging Congress to pass legislation that would compel Bush to intervene in the strike. Their hope is for a government-imposed settlement that would be more favorable to the unions than the one Eastern is trying to force on them.

While many strikers are also favorable to government intervention, others want Bush to stay out of the dispute. After years of abuse by the company and months of government red tape, they are relieved to finally be able to stand up and fight.

Int'l guests barred from Grenada meeting

Continued from front page

from members of U.S. Congress and the British and Australian parliaments, and organizations of writers, publishers, and journalists.

In the months since the seizure of the boxes, Louison contacted the Grenadian police on numerous occasions seeking release of the books. Instead, in early March police officials returned the books by air freight to Pathfinder in New York.

Clark, who was already scheduled to attend the March 11-13 conference, brought a shipment of the books with him to present to Louison for display at the 10th anniversary celebrations.

In seizing the books, police inspector Ruben told Clark that "these books are restricted" in Grenada. He refused to cite under what laws or to explain how the list of "restricted" books was determined.

Customs officials also impounded personal books and newspapers being carried by the other three U.S. conference guests. These included the mystery novel *Our Man in Havana*, by Graham Greene, which the police officials said was "restricted" also.

In order to draw up a receipt of the impounded literature, Ruben unpacked the books and pamphlets and neatly laid them out on a table in the customs area. Soon some 12 to 15 airport employees had gathered around.

As the frowning police official hunched over his paper work, an animated discus-

sion developed at the table. "Che — he was a struggle man," said a baggage handler, picking up the recent Pathfinder anthology of Guevara's works.

"*Malcolm X and Afro-American History* — I've read that," said a young customs employee. "His mother was from Grenada, you know?" He also asked the price of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, adding that it was impossible to get books by Marx, Engels, or Lenin in local bookstores or the public library.

Another worker read the *Militant* coverage on the Eastern Airlines strike and jotted down subscription information.

"I don't understand why these books are considered subversive," grumbled another, thumbing through the collection of speeches by African revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara.

One customs official was convinced to return a packet of Mark Curtis Defense Committee materials.

Of course, special interest was shown in *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, the article "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" in the magazine *New International*, and the recent book *One People, One Destiny*, edited by Don Rojas, Bishop's press secretary at the time of the Grenadian leader's murder in an October 1983 counterrevolutionary coup. "Don Rojas — he stood by Bishop," said one customs woman. "He still writes a lot about Grenada, doesn't he?"

The interest in revolutionary literature

among the airport employees is an indication of why the U.S.-imposed Grenadian regime is seeking to ban them inside Grenada. MBPM leaders blasted the seizure of the books at a speak-out in a working-class neighborhood here last night to build support for the upcoming 10th anniversary rally on March 13. The book banning is already being covered by the media in the region.

Over the past year the Grenadian government has come in for condemnation by international human rights groups and others for violations of democratic and political rights — including book banning and visa denials on political grounds. This pressure has contributed to splits in the ruling New National Party and to the decision by the NNP to remove Prime Minister Herbert Blaize as party leader.

The government was also forced to back down early this year from one of its most flagrant undemocratic acts; it finally granted a passport to MBPM leader Einstein Louison, who had been banned from traveling outside the country since 1984.

Protest messages are needed to demand that the Grenadian government rescind its politically discriminatory immigration policies, as well as its ban on the freedom to bring into Grenada and circulate books and periodicals. Messages can be sent to:

Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, Police Commissioner Cosmun Raymond, and the U.S. embassy, all in St. George's, Grenada.

Militant Labor Forums

The Battle at Eastern: Which Way Forward for Airline Workers?

Baltimore

Speaker: **Nancy Brown**, member Machinists Lodge 796 and representative Socialist Workers Party; others.

Sun., March 12, 6 p.m.
2913 Greenmount Ave.

\$2 donation. Call (301) 235-0014

Brooklyn

Speakers: **Susan Lantz**, director of labor and community affairs, TWA Independent Federation of Flight Attendants; **Ernest Mailhot**, member Machinists Local Lodge 1018, Socialist Workers Party; **John Di Paola**, president, IAM Local Lodge 1018 at LaGuardia; **Carmen Gonzalez**, chairperson N.Y. Transport Workers Union Local 553; Spokesperson from the **Air Line Pilots Association**.

Sat., March 11, 7 p.m.
Public School 321, (7th Ave. btw 1st and 2nd streets)

\$3 donation Call (718) 398-6983, (212) 219-3679, or (201) 643-3341

Greensboro

Sun., March 12, 7 p.m.
2219 E Market St.

\$2 donation Call (919) 272-5996

Back Eastern workers, socialist candidates urge

James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, and Thabo Ntweng, SWP candidate for Miami mayor, are urging full backing for machinists now on strike against Eastern Airlines.

"The fight of the International Association of Machinists mechanics and ground service workers against Eastern Airlines deserves the support of all working people," Harris said in a statement re-

the Black community's struggles against cop brutality.

"By championing such demands, union workers can defeat the propaganda of [Eastern head] Frank Lorenzo, who seeks to portray the fight of IAM members at Eastern as an isolated fight by high-paid workers trying to protect privileged jobs."

"In 16 months of the contract fight at Eastern, labor-hating Democratic and Republican party

"I joined protesting students this morning at Fairfax High. Every student I talked with backed their teachers' demands for a pay increase and opposed the school superintendent's threat to stop pay to teachers who withhold grades from the district. Stop stalling on teachers' just demands! Stop suspension of students for participating in protest rallies and marches!"

In response to the school board's rejection of the demand for a 12 percent pay increase by the 22,000-member union, 70 percent of teachers refused for a period of time to file students' grades with the district, giving students instead union-issued grade cards. School officials used this to try to turn students and parents against the teachers.

The issue of bilingual education is a big one in the Los Angeles schools, and in the current contract negotiations between the teachers and school board. Opponents of bilingual education in the teachers' union have gotten the agreement of union officials to hold a vote on whether or not to end bonus pay for bilingual teachers. "Ending such pay would further undermine the school system's already weakened bilingual education program," Britton stressed. "With the largest number of students needing bilingual education of any U.S. city, we need to strengthen and expand these programs, not head in the opposite direction."

Britton is a member of Local 1-547 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union at Chevron's El Segundo refinery.

Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of St. Louis, took part in a debate on health care sponsored by the St. Louis Medical Society February 15. Leonard took the floor early during the discussion period and explained that there aren't any local solutions to the growing health-care problems faced by working people in the city.

Rising infant mortality rates, declining life expectancy for Blacks, and lack of care for people with AIDS, and the spread of the disease itself, reflect the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, Leonard explained.

In contrast to the decaying medical care available in the United States, he described the accomplishments of the socialist revolution in Cuba, which provides free, high-quality health care for the Cuban people. Cuba has a lower infant mortality rate than St. Louis, he noted.

Leonard also challenged his Democratic and Republican opponents to defend legal abortion, and urged those present at the health-care debate to attend the April 9 national march for abortion rights to be held in Washington, D.C. Earlier in the month, Leonard and his backers participated in a rally of 600 abortion rights supporters at a clinic targeted by the antiabortion "Operation Rescue" outfit.

Chris Hoepfner, a meat-packer in South Omaha, Nebraska, and chairperson of the Omaha Social-

ist Workers Party, will be the SWP's candidate for City Council District 3 in this year's municipal elections. Veteran unionist Joe Swanson is the party's candidate for mayor in the city.

Miami mayoral candidate Ntweng, spoke to 150 Haitian immigrants and their supporters at a candlelight march organized by Veye-Yo, a Haitian community organization, in early February.

The march was called to protest discrimination against Haitians by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to commemorate the death of Dimessia Joseph. Joseph was killed three years ago while participating in a Miami demonstration celebrating the ouster of former Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier. He was hit by a car driven into the crowd by a suspected Duvalier supporter.

"We must have unity right here in the United States," Ntweng urged. "Workers here must unite in solidarity with Haitians, because we all face the same enemy."

"Nicaraguan immigrants are not the enemy — the United States government is," Ntweng added. He was referring to recent charges that conditions for Miami's working people are being worsened by the increased number of refugees coming there from Nicaragua. Ntweng's remarks were received with enthusiasm.

Pat Nixon from Los Angeles, Dave Sandor from St. Louis, and Linda Joyce from Miami contributed to this column.

CAMPAIGNING FOR SOCIALISM

leased February 27. "The strategy of the airline bosses is clear. They seek to hire nonunion and lower-paid workers — many of them Black, Latino, young, female, or new immigrants — to replace striking IAM workers. If they can successfully portray the IAM workers as interested only in short-term gains for themselves at the expense of other workers, then the IAM workers at Eastern will be isolated from the support they need to win."

"More than ever, the unions in this country need a perspective that unifies all their members and unites them with other workers here in the U.S. and throughout the world."

A statement by Ntweng being circulated by supporters in Miami also explains the need for class solidarity. "The union movement needs to champion a fight for jobs for all," the candidate said. He urged the unions to defend the rights of immigrant workers, support affirmative action, and back

politicians, judges, and government bureaucrats have greased the skids for Lorenzo's offensive. Now is the time to turn to the real, long-term allies of Eastern workers: other union workers, unorganized workers, immigrant workers, and the unemployed."

Joel Britton, SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, joined several hundred students at a rally in front of Fairfax High School in early February. The protest was one of dozens by thousands of junior high and high school students in the Los Angeles Unified School District supporting teachers' demands for higher pay. With 600,000 students, the Los Angeles school district is the second-largest in the country.

After talking over the issues in the teachers' fight for decent wages with students at Fairfax, Britton sent the following message to the Los Angeles School Board:

Des Moines socialist campaigns to defend Curtis

BY TED LEONARD

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, 1st Ward, spoke here at a meeting marking the first year of the fight for justice for imprisoned political and union activist Mark Curtis. Bailey used the March 4 event to answer Police Chief William Moulder's assertion that "Curtis had his day in court."

Earlier that week Bailey had answered a question from the *Des Moines Register* about whether she thought the city police

were racist and sexist by demanding that the cops who had beat Mark Curtis be prosecuted. Before printing Bailey's answer, the *Register* contacted Moulder for a reply. He denied any misconduct by his officers and said that "Curtis had his day in court."

Bailey told the meeting that the judge and prosecutor prevented Curtis' beating from being introduced into evidence at his trial last September on trumped-up burglary charges. Further, the police justified the beating by charging Curtis with two counts of assaulting a police officer. After

Curtis filed a complaint, the cops conducted their own internal investigation and found themselves innocent of any wrongdoing.

In the face of protests mounted by the international defense campaign on behalf of Mark Curtis, the prosecutor dropped the charges of assaulting a police officer.

Contrary to Moulder's claims, Bailey pointed out, "Curtis never had his day in court." She also reported that she has written a letter to the *Register* refuting Moulder that has yet to be published.

"Illegal drugs are big business financed by the banks and protected by various police agencies," Bailey is quoted as saying by the *Register* on March 4.

That day she also participated in a candidate's forum. When asked if she supported city money being used to provide treatment for addicts, Bailey answered, "We need free rehabilitation clinics that offer treatment on demand. Drug possession should be decriminalized so users can come forward for medical help without fear of prosecution."

Bailey explained the source of drug abuse: "This system spawns the hopelessness and misery that leads hundreds of thousands of youth in Des Moines and around the country to escape through drugs. What they need is to become part of a fighting movement for social justice that will give them confidence and a sense of worth."

In a series leading up to the March 7 election, one of the local TV stations interviewed each of the seven candidates. "Nan Bailey, the Socialist Workers Party representative for City Council, says the working man and woman is the center of her election campaign," reported the announcer.

At Drake University earlier in the week, about 75 people attended a presentation by Randall Robinson, head of TransAfrica, on the fight against apartheid. Bailey participated, discussing her support for the struggles of working people from the 1st Ward to South Africa.



Nan Bailey

Militant/Ted Leonard

Justice Dep't may review Irish activist's deportation case

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh said he will decide whether he will review a legal decision favorable to Joseph Doherty, an Irish political prisoner here fighting deportation to Britain.

Thornburgh acted in response to a request by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which wants him to review — and overturn — a decision by the Immigration Board of Appeals that Doherty is entitled to his day in court.

Doherty has been jailed here since 1983, pending deportation. Last November the immigration appeals board ruled he had "a well-founded fear of persecution" in Britain. The board decided he was entitled to a court hearing on whether he should be released from prison while applying for political asylum in the United States.

The board's decision blocked a deportation order issued by Thornburgh's predecessor, Edwin Meese.

In February the Justice Department told the INS and Doherty's lawyer, Mary Borecz Pike, to submit briefs to Thornburgh on whether or not he should review the appeals board decision blocking Doherty's deportation.

British authorities accuse Doherty of

killing a captain of the British occupation forces in northern Ireland.

Along with seven other Irish Republican Army prisoners, Doherty escaped jail. He fled to the United States but was later arrested by the FBI here.

Since then, Doherty has won a half dozen legal victories in his fight against the government's efforts to hand him over to the British, culminating in the appeals board decision that he could not be deported without having a court hearing. The INS now has, in effect, appealed to the attorney general to overturn that decision. This would reinstate Meese's deportation order.

Doherty's fight has won substantial support in the Irish community, and among other partisans of democratic rights and Irish freedom.

In a statement here, attorney Pike said that while the INS continues to utilize legal appeals, Doherty "remains in prison, uncharged, and unconvicted of crimes against the laws of this nation. And, on June 18, 1989, he will begin his seventh year in an American federal prison."

To contribute to Doherty's defense, or for further information on the case, write to the National Committee for Joseph Doherty, P.O. Box 20474, Midtown Station, New York, N.Y. 10129.

Socialist presidential ticket final vote total in 1988: 15,604

The final vote total for the Socialist Workers Party 1988 ticket of James Warren for president and Kathleen Mickells for vice-president was 15,604, according to *Ballot Access News*, published in San Francisco. Warren and Mickells were on the ballot in 15 states and Washington, D.C.

In addition, SWP senatorial candidates garnered 28,786 votes. The highest totals were 11,239 votes for James Harris, SWP candidate for Senate in New York; 5,192 for Tom Fiske in New Jersey; 4,821 for Mark Friedman in Michigan; 3,105 for Wendy Lyons in Minnesota; 3,026 for Patricia Grogan in Wisconsin; and 1,233 for William Arth in Utah.

Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. House of Representatives received 9,598 votes.

British gov't moves to restrict rights

Continued from front page

satisfied there would be no book burnings, no backing for the calls for Rushdie's murder, and no attacks on bookshops, according to the February 26 London *Observer*.

- Some capitalist politicians have demanded the deportation of immigrants who support Khomeini.

- The Special Branch, Britain's plainclothes force, is increasing its surveillance of Iranian students and others who back the regime in Tehran.

- Some Labour Party members of Parliament are agitating to expand Britain's blasphemy laws to encompass Islam, arguing that it's discriminatory to only punish people who are guilty of irreverence toward Christianity.

The last time someone was convicted under the blasphemy laws was in 1978, when *Gay News* and its editors were prosecuted for publishing a poem government authorities deemed offensive. At that time, one of the judges suggested that a blasphemy law would look more acceptable if it included religions other than Christianity.

- The city council in Bradford, a town in West Yorkshire in the north of England that has a large Asian community, removed *The Satanic Verses* from library shelves.

Britain leads pack in censorship

Whitehall's utilization of the Rushdie affair to shrink the political space working people have to function in comes in the middle of a several-year-long campaign to restrict democratic rights and room for dissident activities.

Antiunion legislation; draconian measures against those struggling for a united, independent Ireland; stepped-up cop brutality and abuse; restrictions on the rights of people who are arrested; and denial of the right of government employees to speak freely are some of the methods that have been employed by the Conservative Party-Labour Party government.

London is winning a well-deserved reputation for trampling on fundamental rights:

- The two houses of Parliament have been debating the Security Service Bill, which sanctions bugging and burglary by the MI5 (Britain's counterpart of the Fed-

eral Bureau of Investigation) of those who dissent from government policies.

- Parliament is considering a revision of the Official Secrets Act, to impose an absolute, life-long duty of confidentiality on members of the secret police.

The government fought the publication of the book *Spycatcher* by former spy Peter Wright. It recently tried to prevent the publication of the memoirs of former MI6 agent (Britain's Secret Intelligence Service — equivalent of Central Intelligence Agency) Anthony Cavendish. It jailed a government clerk in 1983 who leaked to the press a government memorandum that U.S. cruise missiles were about to be installed in Britain. And it tried a Ministry of Defense official in 1984 who gave Parliament details of a government memo that raised a question about the 1982 sinking of the Argentine battleship, the *General Belgrano*, during London's attempt to militarily seize the Malvinas Islands from Argentina.

- Other government censorship moves have included the broadcasting gag on Irish republicans and the attempt to suppress the TV documentary "Death on the Rock," which portrayed British soldiers gunning down three Irish nationalists in Gibraltar last year. The government put journalist Duncan Campbell under virtual house arrest after he did an episode for the British Broadcasting Corp. TV series "Secret Society" about an \$800 million spy satellite that the administration of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had developed without informing Parliament.

Thatcher government joins attack

The British government has now also endorsed Khomeini's charges against *The Satanic Verses*. In a BBC radio interview, Foreign Secretary Howe stated, "We do understand that the book itself has been found deeply offensive by people of the Muslim faith. We can understand why it has been criticized. It is a book that is offensive in many other ways as well."

What especially provoked Howe's ire about Rushdie in his defense of the rights of immigrant workers and opposition to British imperialism. The book describes Thatcher as "Mrs. Torture." Rushdie's novel, Howe said, "is extremely rude about



G.M. Cookson

Police harassment and intimidation of Black communities is not new in Britain, as photo from Brixton, 1981, shows. Under guise of defense of Rushdie, government is stepping up restrictions on ability of immigrants to exercise their rights.

us. It compares Britain with Hitler's Germany." (Rushdie denies this charge.) Howe continued, "This book is offensive about our government and about our society, and we resent that."

Howe is only one of the voices in the international chorus of reaction who have implicitly or explicitly questioned Rushdie's right to publish the novel — all of whom are foes of the Iranian revolution and of working people who are Muslims.

Former U.S. president James Carter wrote in an op-ed column in the *New York Times* prior to Howe's statement, "We should be sensitive to the concern and anger that prevails even among the more moderate Moslems."

"Ayatollah Khomeini's offer of paradise to Rushdie's assassin has caused writers and public officials in Western nations to become almost exclusively occupied with the author's rights," wrote Carter. "Western leaders should make it clear that in protecting Rushdie's life and civil rights, there is no endorsement of an insult to the sacred beliefs of our Moslem friends." This is the man who ordered a military incursion into Iran in 1980.

"To sever diplomatic relations with Iran over this altercation," added Carter, "is an overreaction that could be quite costly in future years."

Patrick Buchanan, the right-wing communications director in the Reagan White House, wrote a ringing defense of the fight against blasphemy:

"Whatever the corruptions and brutalities done in the name of Christianity, the 'blasphemers' who tore down the church also ushered in The Terror, the dictatorship and the Napoleonic wars, and not a few of their acolytes ended their days on the guillotine. . . .

"For the tens of thousands who perished in the Age of Faith, tens of millions have perished in our brief Age of Reason. . . .

"Salman Rushdie did to Islam in 'The Satanic Verses' what Martin Scorsese did to Christianity in 'The Last Temptation of Christ'; i.e., he defecated upon it. . . .

In its first public comment on the events, the Vatican's newspaper declared that parts of *The Satanic Verses* could be considered "blasphemous." The article, while not condoning the death threats against Rushdie, focused on attacking him. "It is certainly fair to ask what kind of art or liberty we are dealing with when, in their name, people's most profound dimension is attacked and their sensitivity as believers is offended," said *L'Osservatore Romano*.

The chief rabbi of Israel's Ashkenazic Jews (Jews whose origins are in Eastern Europe), Avraham Shapira, proposed banning *The Satanic Verses* from publication

in Israel because, he asserted, it offends religious sensibilities. "It is forbidden to publish books that offend the sensibilities of believers of any religion," he said, citing an Israeli law.

The South African government was one of the first to ban the book, after a speaking tour for Rushdie — ironically enough, on censorship — was canceled as a result of protests.

Reactionary capitalist regimes in the Middle East and Asia, from Saudi Arabia to Bangladesh, have also banned *The Satanic Verses* in the name of opposition to blasphemy.

Anxious not to break ties with Iran

Despite the best efforts of British ruling-class politicians, Tehran broke diplomatic relations with Whitehall on March 7. London, like Bonn, Paris, and Washington, has become eager to normalize relations with the Iranian government, given that the regime is not about to be overthrown.

Khomeini's decision to issue a call for Rushdie's assassination in Britain and to break all relations with London was a political response to the central challenge facing Iran's rulers today: how to advance the country economically and socially.

The calculated character of the move is highlighted by the fact that nothing was done by the Iranian government until five months after *The Satanic Verses* was published and other countries had already banned it. It was only when it became clear that the controversy around it could advance their political aims, that Khomeini and others in the government decided to latch on to the book to stave off further moves toward closer ties with Western capitalist governments.

The gigantic economic and social crisis facing Iran, which the exceedingly bloody war with Iraq only worsened, has generated major debates in Iranian ruling circles over how to break out of the crisis that Iran finds itself in.

There's a great deal of support among top government officials for closer diplomatic and economic relations with the capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States as a way to ease the crisis.

Khomeini's supporters, on the other hand, believe this is a mistake. They appear to be holding out for the alternative of closer relations with Moscow. This was illustrated by Khomeini's demonstrative meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the same time that London was coming in for heavy abuse for its defense of Rushdie.

Correction to 'Militant' article

In last week's *Militant* article titled, "Attack on Rushdie strikes at democratic rights," statements attributed to Brian Grogan, national secretary of the Communist League of Britain, inaccurately portrayed his views.

- In the article's two lead paragraphs, Grogan was quoted as saying: "The fight to defend Salman Rushdie is a crucial one for working people all over the world"; and "The reactionary campaign against Rushdie, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, is a mortal threat to all democratic rights — freedom of speech, freedom to write, freedom of religion. And this crusade against 'blasphemy' has given a handle to the ruling parties in Britain to increase the use of censorship against all those — from Northern Ireland to the Asian communities — who are fighting for their rights."

Grogan actually holds that:

"The British government is utilizing the calls for banning Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses*, and the threats on his life, to intensify its continued assault on democratic rights, including the right to demonstrate, the right to speak out and publish, and the right to practice religion without state interference. Those fighting for their rights, from Northern Ireland to the Asian communities in Britain, are the first — but not the only — victims of such restrictions."

"Working people the world over must stand four-square against every attempt to strengthen censorship and restrict free speech as we defend Rushdie's right to publish his book and everyone's right to read it."

- Elsewhere in the article, Grogan was quoted as saying, "By pushing this reactionary line, Khomeini is leading the assault on a world scale on religious rights and freedoms, under the guise of defense of religion."

Grogan does not hold this view. He argues that "Khomeini's reactionary line is giving aid and comfort to the imperialist ruling classes around the world in their assault on religious rights and freedoms, under the guise of defense of religion."

- The last misrepresentation was:

"Islam is not the culture of the oppressed and exploited. People of differing social classes adhere to the religion called Islam, and they give it a different content depending on their class interests. In the name of Islam, there have been important struggles against imperialism and other forms of oppression. . . ."

Grogan's actual view is:

"Islam is not the culture of the oppressed and exploited. It's a religion, and like all religions, it is an obstacle to workers and farmers understanding the world and becoming conscious of our own potential power to take united action which can put an end to oppression and exploitation."

"People of different social classes adhere to the religion called Islam. Important struggles against imperialism and other forms of oppression have been carried out under the banner of Islam. These struggles are progressive — but the banner they are carried out under is not, anymore than if it were Christianity, Buddhism, or Judaism."

Defense committee leader welcomed in Sweden

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving 25 years in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an interna-

mö, and Eskilstuna. More than 50 people signed up as sponsors of the defense committee through her tour.

Kaku spoke in Stockholm to a local meeting of the "Dala Rebellion," a movement in the trade

borg is Sweden's single largest industrial workplace. Kaku met with two members of the executive committee of the metal workers' union at Volvo, Claes Andersson and Peter Börjesson. Göte Kildén, chairperson of one of the big subdivisions of the union at Volvo, was present as well. Kildén is chairperson of the Socialist Party and a supporter of the defense committee.

Andersson and Börjesson promised to take up Curtis' case at a March meeting of all the unions at Volvo-owned companies. These unions represent 64,000 workers, most of them in the metal and food industries.

Andersson and Börjesson also contacted the major Social Democratic daily, *Arbetet*, which interviewed Kaku and ran an extensive article on the case. "Many things suggest that it is Mark's political activity that is behind the verdict," Börjesson told the paper. "We think that all organizations that wish to protect democracy and human rights should take a look at this case," he added.

In Malmö, Anna Christensen, professor of law and well-known spokesperson for democratic rights, told the biggest liberal daily in southern Sweden, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, "I was convinced after talking to his wife, Kate, for two hours. . . I signed and became a sponsor for the defense committee."

Bengt Svensson is the chairperson of the union at a garment plant

in Malmö. A couple of years ago he was fired for his union activity. But the union members, mostly women and immigrants, went on strike and forced management to take him back. Kaku talked with Svensson, who thought the slogan "United we stand, divided we fall" is true all over the world.

Kaku addressed an open air meeting in Stockholm demanding the release from prison of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco. (He won his freedom on February 24.)

"Mark Curtis was framed, beaten, and imprisoned for fighting for the rights of immigrant workers and trying to better the working conditions of slaughterhouse workers," she said. "Hugo Blanco was arrested and imprisoned for his activities in trying to organize peasants."

"From Peru to the United States, the repression is the same," Kaku continued. "When workers and farmers are in struggle, the police agencies and the courts that represent the interests of the bosses are used more and more against us."

The television news magazine *Åtta dagar* (Eight Days) has bought the rights for the episode of the U.S. television show "On Trial" that featured Curtis' trial. The magazine also interviewed Kaku. The program was broadcast throughout Sweden on February 26 with a replay the next night.

trade union activists from all over Sweden gathered in Falun, some 200 miles northwest of Stockholm. It was the national meeting of the "Dala Rebellion."

The gathering was partly a protest against "the unfair economic policies of the government, stealing from the poor and giving to the rich," according to the conference manifesto, and partly a discussion about how to continue fighting.

A Curtis defense table was set up outside the conference hall. Many people stopped by, especially young workers. Twenty-six people became defense committee sponsors.

One of the conference speakers was a representative of a student group that had just organized a demonstration of 10,000 students protesting proposed cuts in state subsidies to the schools and demanding more money for the educational system. He and two other student representatives signed up as supporters of the Curtis defense effort.

One worker, who was fired from his job a couple of years ago after he defended a woman welder he worked with, became a sponsor, donated \$17, and has become a Curtis defense activist.

Inge Hinnemo from Stockholm and Erik Dahlrot from Södertälje, Sweden, contributed to this column.

On January 21 more than 400

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

tional political campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

Kate Kaku, leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and wife of imprisoned union activist Mark Curtis, began her two-week tour in Sweden with a press conference in Stockholm February 6.

Bror Perjus, editor of *Mål och medel*, the weekly paper of the Swedish Food Workers Union, attended. The union's paper has already reported on the frame-up of the young packinghouse worker.

Perjus invited Kaku to a meeting at the national union office, where she spent several hours discussing the Curtis case with Perjus and Evert Kajhammar, international secretary of the Food Workers Union. The two trade union leaders offered valuable advice and helped make Kaku's tour a success.

Kaku visited four cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Göteborg, Mal-

unions in Sweden to press the national union leadership toward more militant struggle rather than making concessions to the bosses. The meeting involved 50 members of different trade unions.

Lars Isaksson, who chaired the meeting, was asked to write a statement in support of Curtis. Isaksson is president of the printers' union at one of Sweden's biggest dailies, *Svenska Dagbladet*. He invited Kaku for lunch and introduced her to journalists.

At a meeting of the metal workers' union inside the Alfa Laval plant in Tumba, a suburb of Stockholm, one of the union members made a presentation on Curtis' case. Afterward, Kaku had a two-hour discussion with 11 workers at the union office.

Some 30 students participated in a meeting with Kaku sponsored by four student organizations at Stockholm University.

At a meeting in Eskilstuna, Kaku spoke to about 25 people, mostly immigrants and refugee rights activists.

The Volvo auto plant in Göte-

San Francisco artists host benefit for Curtis

BY MARY SMITH

SAN FRANCISCO — "We dedicate our energies as cultural workers to the call for justice for Mark Curtis." With that pledge, Piri Thomas, author and poet, opened an evening of poetry and music at the Dolores Street Baptist Church in San Francisco on March 4.

Joining Thomas onstage were Mexican folk musician José Luis Orozco on the guitar and Rich Lesnick playing the flute and saxophone.

One hundred and fifty people attending the benefit for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee listened as Thomas explained that Curtis was "and I say still is," a packinghouse worker and political activist framed by police on rape and burglary charges in Des Moines, Iowa. Thomas likened the struggle to free Curtis to other struggles for social justice around the world, saying, "The enemy is a breed called greed."

The poetry read by Thomas throughout the evening reflected some of those international struggles. He read from Margaret Randall's "The Carlotta Collection," written while she lived in Cuba; a description of conditions facing Irish political prisoners written by Bobby Sands, who died on a hunger strike in 1981; from Puerto Rican poets Sandra Estevas and Pedro Petri; and from Janice Mirikitani from the Philippines.

Also included was a poem entitled "Prisoner Mark," written by Sonja Franeta, who attended Curtis' trial in Des Moines last September.

"The Cops and the Guards," by Roque Dalton, described the brutality of the Salvadoran security forces and the determination of the people of El Salvador to stand up to them. "An Unfinished Song," written by Victor Jara shortly before he was murdered during the coup in Chile in 1973, depicts the heroism of ordinary men and women. And Thomas' own work, "I Speak To You Pretoria," is a damning indictment of apartheid that holds open the hope of victory through the unity of Black and white in South Africa.

'You are not alone'

During the program, Thomas recited a letter he wrote to Curtis. Explaining that he had spent seven years in prison, the Puerto Rican writer stated he knew how prison felt. "But, Mark, you are not alone. Yes, it is true an injury to one is an injury to all.



Hosts and performers of March 4 Curtis benefit (left to right): Susana Muñoz, Rich Lesnick, Jack Foley, Piri Thomas, Miguel Pendás, Keryl McCord, Tony Ryan, and Francis Calpotura.

The world keeps hearing day by day of another injustice. Look inside your heart. You're gonna find us all there."

The reading was preceded by a reception, hosted by René Castro of Misión Gráfica; Jack Foley, who has a poetry program on radio station KPFA; poets Jack Hirschman, Nellie Wong, and Sarah Menefee; artist and teacher Malaquias Montoya; art critic and poet David Levi Strauss; Csaba Polony, editor of the literary magazine the *Left Curve*; political activists Arline and Jim Prigoff; and others.

Keryl McCord, production director of the Oakland Ensemble Theatre and a sponsor of the defense committee, welcomed people to the reading and introduced some of the other local sponsors, including Fran-

cis Calpotura of the Alliance for Philippine Concerns and Tony Ryan of the Nicaragua Center for Community Action. A special welcome was given to Scott Rutherford of the Nuremberg Actions Community, who was in the 13th day of a hunger strike in solidarity with Salvadoran refugees.

The poetry reading was videotaped by another defense committee sponsor, Susana Muñoz. She codirected the film *Las Madres*, a documentary about the mothers of the disappeared in Argentina. The film was nominated for an Academy Award as best documentary in 1987.

The evening attracted people who had already become convinced to join the fight to defend Mark Curtis, along with many who had heard a little about the case before. Others came to hear the poetry. Liter-

ature was available at tables representing the League of Filipino Students, Socialist Action, Pathfinder Books, and the South Bay Nicaragua Solidarity Committee.

A display listed some of the people and groups in the San Francisco Bay area that have joined the defense committee effort in the last two months. This includes Miles Myers, president of the California Federation of Teachers; David Aroner, executive director of Service Employees International Union Local 535; Richard Sawyer, business manager of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council; African Resource Center; and U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association.

The benefit raised \$2,100 for the Curtis defense effort.

'Dialogue with Society'

The last poem, "A Dialogue With Society," written by Piri Thomas, reflected the mood of many in the audience. The first few verses are:

"No longer can men, women and children bend their backs and make a cop-out to the freedom of dignity.

"Heed us well, racists, segregationists, bigots, multi-billion dollar murderers. Cause we're on our way.

"Do you want to hate? We'll put you all together So you can hate yourselves.

"Do you want to make war? We'll put you all together so you can waste yourselves.

"Heed well my word, my America. Live by the precepts that this country was supposedly founded on."

The poem ends:

"We are tired of demi-gods and tyrants bred by a mother and father who leave their marks on earth a death-chant, a mountain of suffering, a dirge.

"It is time for new bells to toll. It is time for new trumpets to blare. It is time for a new language to be heard. For from the very beginning of time to this time, we should have learned by now, we should have learned how, we should have learned to love."

'The oppressors have had to acknowledge the right of Namibia to independence'

Fidel Castro speaks to Namibian students on what it will take to gain freedom

The following speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro was given January 29 at the Hendrick Witbooi School for Namibian students on Cuba's Isle of Youth. It is reprinted from the February 12 English-language *Granma Weekly Review* published in Havana. The subheadings and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

Throughout these 10 years that your school has been open I have visited you on many occasions and have always spoken words of encouragement, support, hope. Today we all realize that a very big change has taken place: we're no longer speaking of the future, we're speaking of the present. We're no longer speaking of tomorrow, we're speaking of today.

As a consequence of the heroic struggle of the Namibian people, the heroic struggle of the Angolan fighters, the heroic struggle of the Cuban fighters, and the large international solidarity that has been given to the just and noble cause of the Namibian people, the racists, the fascists, the oppressors of Namibia have had no choice but to acknowledge the right of Namibia to independence.

All of that is marching on. I'm not going to explain to you now what you learned about yourselves throughout 1988 — a tough year, a difficult year, a tense year — and what occurred not just in the military field but also in the political and diplomatic field. Following protracted and tough negotiations and on the basis of the new balance of forces that was created in southwest Africa, it was possi-

ble to reach the accords whereby United Nations Resolution 435 is now beginning to be implemented.

So I say here that we are not satisfied with the report by the secretary-general. The Third World is not satisfied. The Nonaligned countries are not satisfied. It does satisfy, in any case, the five permanent members of the Security Council who have acted close together in all this — a group that has the privilege of veto power concerning UN resolutions.

That's why the Movement of Nonaligned Countries has continued to wage its battle and pressure others, and the countries belonging to the Organization of African Unity, too, have continued to struggle and continued to work. All the friends of the Namibian cause have continued to work on issuing warnings, denouncing the dangers and consequences that might derive from any mistake in this connection because what is involved now is to guarantee impartial elections; prevent the electoral process from being manipulated; prevent trickery and cheating during the elections; prevent the racists and their allies from sowing fear among the Namibian people; and

1. The permanent members of the Security Council are Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Currently the rotating members are Algeria, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, Finland, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, and Yugoslavia. According to the UN Charter any one of the five permanent members can veto a proposal.

making sure they cannot prevent the Namibian people from expressing themselves with full freedom in the elections.

Mobilize world public opinion

The friends of the Namibian cause have been warning about and denouncing all this, and they'll go on struggling, they'll go on battling, they'll go on mobilizing world public opinion in order to make it very difficult for the racists to manipulate the elections. I don't think it would be easy for them to do this. Yet it doesn't hurt to take all the steps and all the measures necessary to make it impossible for the racists to mock the will of the Namibian people.

Moreover, I trust that all five permanent members of the Security Council are aware of the heavy responsibility placed on them if the racists succeeded in their efforts to mock the free determination and free election of the Namibian people.¹

Naturally, that is not going to depend only on the UN soldiers stationed there, nor only on the civilian officials assigned there. It is a big country, and that's why these men must be distributed throughout a large territory, to

Continued on ISR/6

“It is Namibians themselves who must mobilize and unite to wage this last battle, the political battle. It is necessary to mobilize the whole people . . .”

ble to reach the accords whereby United Nations Resolution 435 is now beginning to be implemented.

You all also know, since this is a long, complicated process that the UN must take part in it, given that in line with the resolution I mentioned they are charged with responsibility over the Namibian independence process.

You should know that a big battle has been waged in the UN Security Council where the Nonaligned countries closed ranks vis-à-vis the opinions of the Security Council permanent members, which for reasons of an economic nature, they argue, advocated a reduction of the troops that have to be present in Namibia when Resolution 435 begins to be implemented.

This seriously worried all the friends of the cause of Namibia. A struggle was waged, and in the end a resolution unanimously signed by the Security Council was obtained, a fairly acceptable one in accordance with the goals being sought. And although in that resolution a recommendation was put to the UN secretary-general to make an effort to cut down on expenses, it said nothing about a reduction of troops.

Nonaligned countries not satisfied

The UN secretary-general and his team of associates drafted a report. We're not satisfied with that report, the Third World countries are not satisfied with that report, the Nonaligned movement countries are not satisfied with that report, given that the report mentions starting not with 7,500 men but with approximately 4,650 and if it becomes necessary, to increase the figure later on. The opposite would have seemed much better to us: start with the 7,500 called for under Resolution 435 and reduce the figure later if it was proved that such a large number was not necessary, or that we could do without some of them.



Afrapix, Impact Visuals/John Liebenberg
Namibians demonstrate against visit to their country by South African President Pieter Botha last year. Namibia is occupied by apartheid government troops.

Nicaraguan president's speech on economic

Introduction

For the information of our readers, this month's *International Socialist Review* publishes a January 30 speech by Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua, to that country's National Assembly. In his speech Ortega announces far-reaching economic measures, including an end to land expropriations. A news article on the speech appeared in the February 17 *Militant*.

Leading up to this speech, Ortega had announced sweeping austerity measures on Dec. 31, 1988: a 60 percent cut in government investments, a 40 percent cut in the budget of the Ministry of the Interior, and a 29 percent cut in the budget of the army. The córdoba, Nicaragua's currency, was devalued by 117 percent.

Inflation in Nicaragua ran an estimated 23,000 percent in 1988. In his year-end message, Ortega called for a modest wage increase, which was later set at 120 to 300 percent. Bus fares, meanwhile, were raised from .5 to 100 córdobas.

In the January 30 speech printed here, Ortega announces that the government will no longer confiscate the holdings of big landowners to meet the needs of landless peasants. This makes official what had already been happening over the past several years, as the government gave out land to fewer and fewer peasants and all but

"The proper example for Nicaragua, he went on, would be the Scandinavian countries," *Time* reported.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has also announced that it is discussing changes in its program and organizational structure. FSLN leader Bayardo Arce, in an interview in the Dec. 28, 1988, *Barricada*, said the Sandinistas "have a different outlook than we had when we were fighting the dictatorship" 10 years ago. The FSLN is carrying out a "programmatic revision," he explained, which will lead to a "restructuring of the party to correspond to its new programmatic content."

The January 30 speech by Ortega follows. The text is taken from *Barricada*, the FSLN daily, which printed major excerpts from the speech on January 31. The translation, subheadings, and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

Daniel Ortega

Brother Nicaraguans, we're gathered here this morning to take a look at the Economic Program for 1989. It's important to understand this program in the context of the revolution approaching its 10th anniversary. Today we face a new situation, with conditions more favorable for working toward the goals of the transformation that took place in Nicaragua on July 19, 1979.

Until January 20 of this year, the economic programs we've been applying year after year were in direct response to the aggression against our country carried out by the government headed by former U.S. president Ronald Reagan. From Jan. 20, 1981, to Jan. 20, 1989, a total of 57,357 Nicaraguans were killed or wounded in the war.

This gives us an idea of the scope of the aggression the Nicaraguan people have had to endure. You who are representatives elected by the people to draft and develop a new legal code, in fact an entire legal framework, can appreciate the significance of the ruling by the International Court of Justice. That decision fully confirms that the social and political problems Nicaragua has been experiencing during the last eight years were caused by the U.S. government's aggressive, illegal, terrorist policies. The ruling of the International Court was very clear in condemning the U.S. government.

The damage inflicted on the Nicaraguan economy by the U.S. war totals more than \$12.3 billion. This is why Nicaragua filed suit against the United States at the International Court of Justice.

There is no doubt that the U.S. war increased tensions within the country itself. It not only caused the loss of lives and economic damages, but it hurt our ability to construct a mixed economy and a system of political pluralism. It caused a polarization of positions. But even in the most difficult circumstances, when our country faced the threat of an imminent invasion by U.S. troops, we called on all political forces in the country to put aside party differences and adopt a nationalist stand to confront the U.S. aggression.

The situation we face with the new U.S. administration is not totally clear. But what's clear is that there is a trend in the world in favor of peace and negotiated solutions to conflicts. Therefore favorable conditions exist for the definitive achievement of the goal of the Nicaraguan people, one that seems to be shared by all the parties and economic, social, and religious organizations in our country: the goal of peace.

It is now time to bury the war and build peace. It is time to put the interests of the poor, humble, and hard-working people above party interests, which lead to false and demagogic positions. Now is the time to show our respect for the Nicaraguan mothers who have been victims of the U.S. government's war.

We must now consolidate the victory achieved on Jan. 20, 1989. This is the moment to build peace, without,

“There is a trend in the world in favor of peace and negotiated solutions to conflicts . . .”

however, lowering our guard in the military defense of our revolution.

This is the time to prove who the real Nicaraguans are, who is prepared to live together like brothers. We must now tell Cain that he can't continue killing his brother, he can't keep raising his voice to encourage and applaud the killing of his brothers. This is Nicaragua's hour, the hour of Abel, the time to build peace.

To build peace, we must put more effort into defending the economy. Political speeches and demagogic positions don't resolve problems. Brilliant analyses that pro-

vide no answers and only predict catastrophes do not help the people build the peace they want. It is the producers and workers who will establish the foundations for building peace. They are the formidable force that sparks production and will produce peace in Nicaragua.

In 1980 Nicaragua exported \$450 million worth of goods. In 1981, \$499 million; in 1982, \$407 million; and in 1983, \$428 million.

We received loans from other countries and the support of the U.S. government itself during the first years of the revolution, when President Carter (not Reagan) pressed the U.S. Congress to approve an economic package for Nicaragua of as much as \$75 million. And it was approved. In those years, we had access to multilateral credit sources and, for the first time, financial aid from Latin American and European governments.

Despite the disastrous state we found the Nicaraguan economy in when the revolution triumphed in July 1979, we were soon able to reach the export figures I've enumerated by making use of economic mechanisms promoted by the revolution. This was in spite of the fact that the international market paid little for what we exported and charged us a lot for what we imported.

Reagan becomes president

But on Jan. 20, 1981, Reagan became president and began cutting aid to our country with his covert and overt operations. He also began to pressure the governments of Latin America and Europe, through international organizations, to block financial support and credits for Nicaragua.

President Reagan's policies began to gain momentum and increase the cost of defending the country. These policies directly and indirectly harmed the Nicaraguan economy.

But despite the new costs imposed by the Reagan administration's policy of aggression, we were determined not only to maintain but continue to develop social and economic programs that would benefit our people. We had made extraordinary efforts in 1979 and 1980 through these programs to provide the people with everything that was denied them from 1821* to 1979.

This meant that as our economy began to suffer from the U.S. war, we stuck to the policy of maintaining spending levels that were increasingly higher than our material resources and foreign aid permitted. In the first place, the money was spent on military defense, which became the country's principal task. We also kept the 1979-80 social and economic programs going, maintaining and improving education and health services for the Nicaraguan people.

There were three different phases in the history of our economy. During the first period, from 1980 to '83, through great efforts, we succeeded in keeping our export earnings above \$400 million. In the second period, from

“The damage inflicted on our economy by the U.S. war was \$12.3 billion. This loss hurt our ability to construct a mixed economy and political pluralism . . .”

1984 to '85, income from exports held to around \$300 million. From 1986 to '88, they were in the range of \$200 million.

Political differences aside, it's very easy to understand the causes of our country's economic crisis. You don't have to be an expert who graduated from a U.S. or European university.

The cause of the war is very clear. The effects of the war are clear. And it's also obvious what our sin has been: our determination to keep all Nicaraguans employed and to maintain social services for all Nicaraguans. In other words, the same level of spending was maintained while our income decreased.

Then, as the war intensified and costs increased, we began to make significant cuts. But these cuts weren't big enough to create a balance — to satisfy the demand for jobs and services among the population, and the producers' demand for investment and credit.

Our exports — coffee, cotton, sugar, seafood, and gold — as well as domestic production of food and other basic items, were subsidized. These products were subsidized for all Nicaraguans, including those producers who say there is no mixed economy here and that there are no opportunities for production, but who have been

*The year that Mexico and the Central American countries, including Nicaragua, won independence from Spain.



Militant/Larry Seigle

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega

ceased expropriations of big private farms. (An estimated 60,000 peasant families still lacked sufficient land as of 1987.)

Ortega also reports in the speech below that tens of thousands of workers, many of them public employees, will be laid off (roughly 35,000 layoffs have subsequently been announced).

(Readers may find it useful to refer to earlier *Militant* coverage of the government's austerity policies, including a speech by Ortega printed in the July 1, 1988, *Militant*. For background on the government's agrarian reform policy, see articles in the Aug. 28, 1987, and July 8, 1988, *Militants*.)

Government officials have also begun meeting with capitalist landowners and businessmen to negotiate agreements, including authorizing ranchers for the first time to directly export some beef. Up to now, all goods for export had to be sold to the state.

The government also began discussions with businessmen on reopening some state-owned plants under private ownership, with the owners having the right to control exports. An article elsewhere in this issue of the *Militant* reports on the discussion taking place around the cattle ranchers' proposal that the country's largest meat-packing plant be returned to private hands.

Ortega and Agriculture Minister Jaime Wheelock have also given major interviews to the international media about the economic measures. "We want to send clear signals to everyone," Wheelock told the *New York Times*. "We want to make a long-term strategic arrangement with the private owners, which is to say the expropriations have finished."

In an interview with *Time* magazine, Ortega said, "We're convinced our model should not be the countries of Eastern Europe or Cuba."

crisis, cutbacks, and accord with capitalists

producing in this country for 10 years with subsidized credits and subsidized imported products. Food staples were also subsidized for the population.

But the conditions for granting such subsidies did not exist. What existed were conditions for the implementation of a full-scale war economy. And on several occasions we said that, in view of the way the confrontation with the United States was proceeding, we would be obliged to apply such economic policies. We all know what that means: total rationing and state intervention in all areas of production and distribution of resources.

But in an attempt to strengthen and develop the mixed-economy system and political pluralism — even in such difficult conditions — and because there was still some leeway, we stuck to the policy of subsidies.

Now it is our obligation, because the situation both inside and outside the country allows for it — to make a more organized, coherent, unified effort than we have been over the past years.

What we need now is a more organized effort — a concerted effort by the workers and farmers, and the state, to save the economy, to consolidate and develop the mixed-economy system. Unless we are able to make a qualitative leap under these conditions — which are complex and difficult but more favorable than those that existed

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for all . . .

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Before January 20 — and unless we can make a serious effort in the struggle to end inflation, increase exports, and develop production, then we will definitely be obliged to apply a war-economy policy.

Curbing inflation

And we must take these measures now, because of the levels of inflation reached at the end of 1988. We had an inflation rate of 111.3 percent in November and 126.6 percent in December. If that trend were to continue, January's inflation rate would be 150 or 200 percent — who knows how high. We've decided that we cannot allow this to happen. We've already adopted the appropriate actions to insure that January's inflation will be lower than December's.

Since January 1989 we've been implementing anti-inflationary measures. Based on November prices, when the exchange rate stood at 920 córdobas to the dollar, our expenditures totaled 1 trillion, 47 billion, 92.5 million córdobas — a figure that's difficult to express.

This would be good if it reflected real production and foreign financial assistance. However this isn't the case, because our real income totaled only 586 billion, 92.5 million córdobas. That is, all we really had available to spend was 586 billion, 92.5 million córdobas, but we spent 461 billion córdobas more than that.

This is what we call inflation, that is, money that has nothing to back it up. We really only had 586 billion córdobas, but we were simply printing money, inflating the amount in circulation. That's how we ended up with such a high figure for expenditures, a total of 1.0470925 trillion córdobas.

So what we've done is to take 461 billion córdobas out of that inflated amount of money in circulation. We lowered investments by 166 billion córdobas. (We're talking about current investments. Some of them are 20, 30, or 40 percent complete; others are 60 or 80 percent complete.)

So we have cut investments by 166 billion córdobas. We also reduced a budget that had already been slightly reduced in the last few years — the monetary figure was larger, but the real value was less. We have reduced this budget by 89 billion córdobas. In addition, we are cutting 206 billion córdobas in loans that would have subsidized production and other investments.

If we add up the investment cut of 166 billion, the budget cut of 89 billion, and the cut in loans of 206 billion, we come up with the 461 billion figure.

But even with this cut, our expenses are slightly higher than our real income. We have 586 billion córdobas in expenses, despite the 461 billion córdobas cut, and we've had to add 16 billion more, for a total expense figure of 602 billion córdobas.

The Finance Ministry will have to find ways to cover these 16 billion córdobas. It will have to sell or rent some property . . . as well as such things as vehicles, typewriters, computers, etc . . . to cover the 16 billion córdobas so that we won't be issuing paper money.



Militant/Larry Seigle
Impoverished peasant children in Matagalpa Province, Nicaragua. Ortega said, “The social and political problems Nicaragua has been experiencing the last eight years were caused by the U.S. government's aggressive, illegal, terrorist policies.”

We're making an effort to prevent the overall deficit from going above 11.3 percent. This involves a very big effort because in 1987 the deficit was 52 percent, and all of it was the result of simply printing money. Of the 11.3 percent deficit we're talking about now, only 4 percent of it will come from printing money.

Measures' consequences

The measures we are adopting will have certain consequences. They will not kill people but they will reduce the number of jobs and affect producers and businessmen. Why? Because we'll cut not only the budget but also investments and loans, limiting credit to companies or producers who will repay the loans. This is the principle.

I don't know if those who are for capitalism would applaud if our banks operated the way they operate under that system. We all know that under capitalism, when the producer goes to get money from the bank, he has to put up something as collateral. Often it is his own property, and if he doesn't pay, the bank doesn't wait. The bank forecloses on you even if you come up with the story that there was too much rain.

Therefore we do not use marketing mechanisms and financial levers to develop or consolidate a capitalist system in our country. We do it to develop a system in which wealth is distributed equally.

Some Nicaraguan producers weren't making sacrifices along with the rest of the country. Some of them who made good profits were converting that money into dollars and going to the United States to spend it or investing it in another country. Some producers have bought farms in other Central American countries with the profits they have accumulated throughout these years. In other words, they've taken capital out of the country, instead of reinvesting it in their own enterprises here.

On the other hand we must recognize the work done by a lot of producers, by the majority of producers on the land, who have stuck to their farms. They haven't even left the country to vacation in Miami. If they have a farm in the province of Matagalpa they only go as far as the town of Matagalpa to vacation, or from their farm out in the boonies in Chontales to vacation in Juigalpa. They rarely visit Managua. These producers have reinvested their money here, and they've made an effort to increase production, along with their workers.

Since the economic measures we are proposing will cause unemployment we are obligated to find other jobs for the workers. Where? In the productive sector.

The coffee industry can easily absorb 10,000 workers to increase coffee production. In any case, generating new jobs in the sectors that will be affected will have to

be the result of an increase in income, both domestic and foreign. That is, there must be a substantial increase in production that will result in real jobs, not make-work jobs.

Wages and prices policy

We will have to design wage policy as we go, in conjunction with price policy. In the past, in applying the policy of subsidies, we allowed imported products to be bought at artificially low prices. More recently, however, we have been forced to devalue our currency, which has automatically caused price increases. Pressure for higher wages follows. It's rational for the workers to demand, “If prices were raised, then my wages should be raised a little.”

We must attack the problem from several directions. First we have to stabilize the exchange rate so that we reach a point this year when there will be only two rates

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It is time to put the interests of
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working people above party
interests . . .

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in the country, the official and the black-market rates.

Right now we have three exchange rates — the official rate, the rate of the currency-exchange dealers, and the black market rate. But there must be only two rates here: the official and the black market rate. And we must fight the black market. We must bring the currency exchange dealers' rate into line with the real value of the currency.

Along with this, we are going to calculate the real production costs at various enterprises. Because we face a problem at some enterprises — really, in many enterprises — where they aren't yet well-organized and administered. (We're referring not only to state enterprises, but also to private enterprises.) They choose the easy way out. They want to keep their workers happy, so they increase their wages every time the workers demand an increase. This is done at the expense of increasing the prices of the products. That is not correct.

The prices of products in our country must be at least commensurate with prices in the Central American market. Our prices can't be higher than those in the Central American market — that's not possible.

We can't accept that certain groups of workers become privileged simply because the owners of some private en-

Continued on next page

Ortega's speech on economic measures

Continued from previous page

terprises or the administrators of some state enterprises take the easy way out and increase wages at the expense of increasing prices. In doing this, they hurt the entire Nicaraguan population. Products must be sold at their real price. If they sell, they'll sell at those prices, which will correspond to the costs imposed on us by the products we import on the international market.

Imports become more expensive

Imports become more expensive every day, and not only because they are made in the United States — they are also made in other countries — but because the international market works in dollars and the dollar is losing value daily. It isn't losing value as quickly as the córdoba, that's true, but the dollar is devaluated daily. So

“We had an inflation rate of 127% in December. We cannot allow this to continue . . .”

material we buy in European markets or other markets becomes more expensive by the day.

By supervising and controlling real production costs, enterprises will become better organized so that when they decide to increase workers' wages, this will be the result of increased production and sales — not only on the local market, but also abroad.

Wage adjustments shouldn't be made at the expense of the price of the products. They should be based on the production of the workers, of the enterprise as a whole.

Also, starting next week, we will keep the entire population informed of prices, especially staples, so they will have something to use as a reference. We don't have this at present. People are being easily exploited by speculators because of the lack of information on prices. There must be price guidelines that will help people when they're shopping.

I found in discussing the need for a concerted effort in our country that there was a phrase that kept coming up over and over again — a lack of credibility. I think it's true — there is a lack of credibility.

On Saturday, I met with leaders and members of the Sandinista Workers Federation [CST] and the Rural Workers Association [ATC], technicians and professionals of CONAPRO [Nicaraguan Federation of Professional Associations]; Heroes and Martyrs; and some comrades from UNAG [National Union of Farmers and Ranchers]. At that internal meeting I discussed these proposals with the workers, and I was interested in their point of view.

Workers don't trust producers, businessmen

Right away the workers from the CST and ATC told me that they did not trust some producers and businessmen. They told me they were willing to make sacrifices, that they have been making sacrifices, but that the producers and businessmen aren't doing likewise.

They named some producers and businessmen who are decapitalizing their own enterprises, according to the workers employed there.

I believe that if there is one voice we must listen to in this country, it is the voice of the workers. But what does this encounter tell us? That there's a lack of confidence, that the producers and businessmen have no credibility with the workers. The workers also distrust some of the directors of state enterprises, from both the agricultural and industrial sectors.

The workers I met with expressed their lack of confidence in shopkeepers, accusing them of being speculators. They also said the marketing fees imposed by the state marketing companies, the government, are not credible.

The workers expressed their distrust, and I believe this is the first thing we must take into account. These are the men who are working the farm for the producer, so that he can send his children to a good school, or even to a foreign school, so that the producer can have transportation, while the worker faces big deprivations. They feel that the producer is spending money on other things instead of sharing his profits with the workers, who are generating these profits alongside him. Instead of raising the worker's wages, they spend the money on other things.

Must generate trust

So there's a challenge here. We must generate trust on the part of the workers. Who must do this? Producers, private businessmen, and the directors of state enterprises; producing centers as well as marketing companies

must do this. The directors of state institutions and ministers of state are also obligated to create trust among the workers, because state workers also lack confidence in them.

This is a matter of concern. It's a serious problem that the workers have brought to light. And it must be resolved before, or at least along with, other problems.

We must win the workers' confidence, not through words but through deeds. The conduct of producers and businessmen — in both private and public enterprises — will determine whether workers will support these measures as energetically as they supported the struggle against the dictatorship and the fight against Yankee aggression. Workers are the ones who make the greatest sacrifices.

The producers also express a lack of trust. Some private producers, even UNAG members, have expressed mistrust with regard to their property.

UNAG has brought to our attention the cases of some producers who feel they have been treated unjustly when their land has been expropriated. Even though that land has been given to peasants, they consider that an injustice was committed in the case of producers who were working efficiently.

In the case of other producers, it's their political or ideological stance that leads them to repeat the refrain that the government has no credibility. And they do it precisely to sow mistrust.

But there are others who are skeptical as well, producers not affiliated with UNAG, but with other organizations, including COSEP [Superior Council of Private Enterprise]. These are people who are really producing, businessmen who are truly engaged in productive activities — in basic goods, construction, or commercial activities. Their mistrust can be explained by the tensions that U.S. aggression has generated in all areas, particularly in the economy and in politics.

There's also the producers' mistrust of bank policies. Bank policies are very tough now. They also feel that some of their efforts to increase production have not received proper attention or understanding. Some of their concerns are justified, such as the fact that the exchange rate does not reflect the real value of the córdoba, which results in losses and additional costs for them.

Creating confidence

But these are specific problems that can be solved. What's important is for workers to recover their trust in

“We don't use marketing mechanisms to develop capitalism. We do it to develop a system where wealth is distributed equally . . .”

the producers. Well, it's not a matter of recovering their trust — confidence can only be recovered if at one time it existed. However, workers have never trusted producers. We're not going to fall for the notion that workers were happy in the past with landowners who took land away from them or with bosses who exploited them on the farm or in the factory. Those who protested were fired, and if they refused to leave, they were seized by the National Guard and sent to prison.

The workers' distrust in producers and businessmen is historic, so we must make a historic effort to win their confidence.

What can the government do in the case of producers

who demand that we be trustworthy? Actions speak for themselves, and although some people say they feel insecure about their property, the truth is that right now 85 percent of the land is in the hands of private producers, either individuals or cooperatives. Only 15 percent is in the hands of the state or of state enterprises.

Why is this the case? Because even state-owned land has been given to peasants, either individually or as a cooperative. Today we have more private producers than ever before in the history of our country.

Banks have been financing the producers throughout these years — actions speak for themselves. Let a pro-

“Workers' distrust in businessmen is historic, so we must make a historic effort to win workers' confidence . . .”

ducer who is member of COSEP tell me whether this membership has prevented him from obtaining bank loans or from obtaining production supplies, parts, or machinery from PROAGRO [National Agricultural and Livestock Products Enterprise].

We have supported private producers regardless of their political ideology. The truth is that at times of confrontation with the Yankees — when the invasion of Yankee troops seemed imminent, when they mined our harbors, and when they embargoed our economy — we never attacked our producers. I believe that today we are in a better position to solve problems and overcome disagreements that were more acute when the Yankees were threatening us.

We are facing a specific situation in which we lack both domestic and international financing. The country needs \$237 million to implement even a limited economic program such as this one. We do not have that money.

No more reason to take land

The producers on the land have had the most reason perhaps to express concern that some of their land has been taken to give to peasants. But they know very well that only a very small group of producers have had their land taken away. In any case, in this new period, we will try to consolidate and develop the land we already have. The state's duty regarding agrarian reform is not only to give land to peasants, but also to promote production in those sectors that are vital for the country's economy. In that sense, there is no reason to take an inch of land from anyone. Enough land has been distributed already.

It's true that there are peasants requesting land, but we already have land to give them. There are cooperatives that have 500 or 1,000 manzanas of land where some members of the cooperative have left and there aren't enough people to work the land. So peasants requesting land have an opportunity there. There is land to work. Those peasants who don't have land can go strengthen those cooperatives. Those cooperatives must be strengthened.

We have land to give to the landless peasants who are demanding it, without having to take land from a single producer who is interested in participating in a real, national concerted effort.

Ranchers' demand for slaughterhouse

The ranchers, for example, have been demanding a slaughterhouse, which of course would have to function under the country's legal regulations. When we talked to

“The economic measures we are proposing will cause unemployment and will have recessionary elements . . .”

the workers about this, they expressed concern about the possibility of cheating by the producers. The problem is lack of trust.

However, we can easily make an effort to respond to this demand. The reality is that there are many mixed companies here operating with state and private capital. They have been operating for years since the revolution, but it seems that people want to forget this. In addition to mixed companies with foreign capital, mixed companies with Nicaraguan capital have been operating for years in every branch of our industry.

A slaughterhouse could definitely be established. The

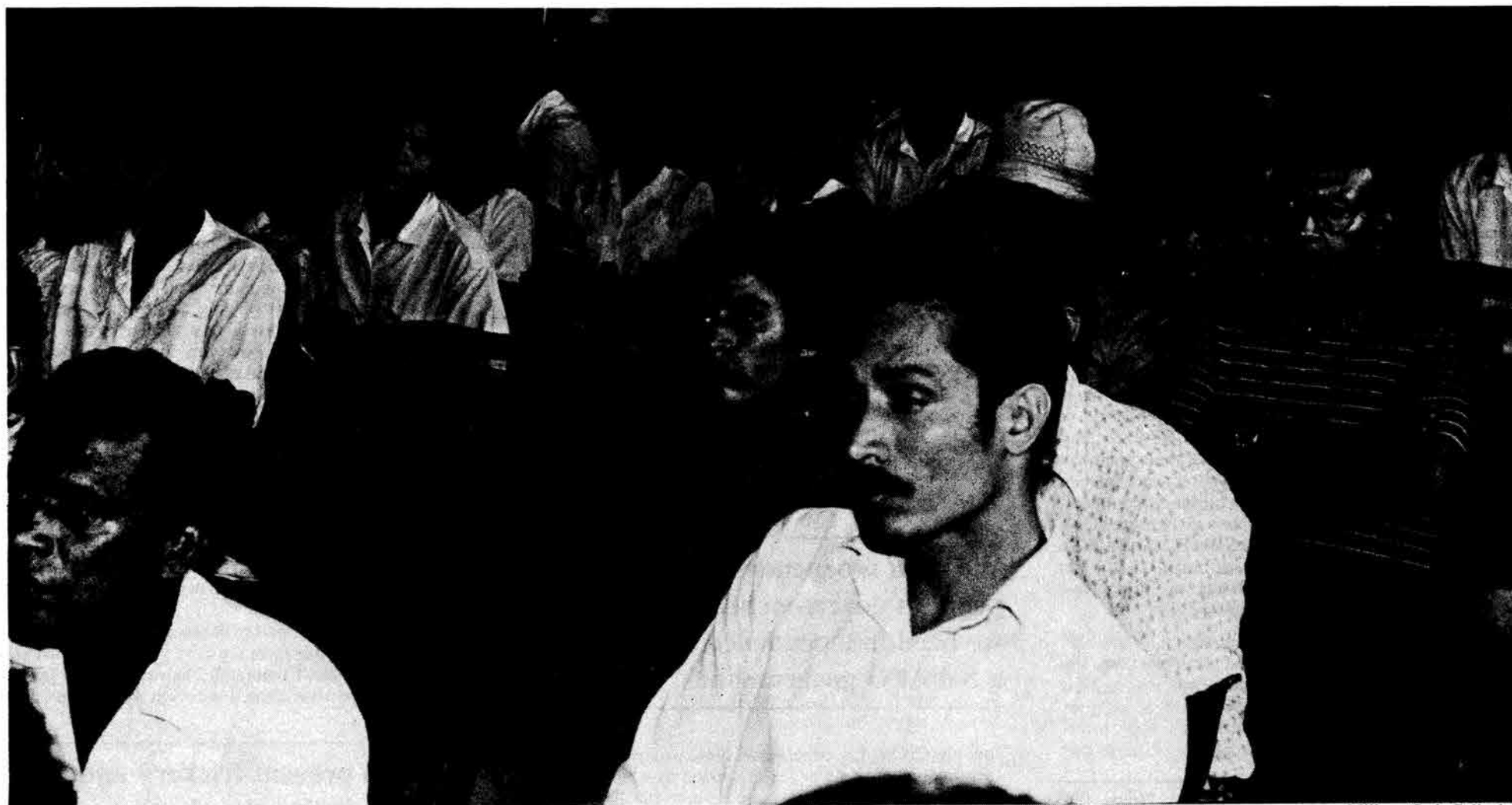
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Militant/Seth Galinsky

Workers in Managua listen to proposal to turn state-owned packinghouse over to wealthy cattle ranchers. The Nicaraguan president said, "We must generate trust on the part of workers" for the capitalist producers.

state-owned slaughterhouse is not being fully used at present. It could definitely benefit from the participation of private producers. We can find ways for the private producer to participate and for the state to participate if it wants to. In this way private enterprises that have encountered difficulties could be reactivated with state participation. We can work in that direction.

A national concerted effort doesn't mean that we will now all have the same ideology, or that everyone who is in some way connected to production will now have the

"The state-owned slaughterhouse could definitely benefit from participation of private producers . . ."

same ideology. It's not that. Our basic principle is that we respect different points of view.

Not renouncing ideology

This means that as Sandinista revolutionaries we aren't renouncing our ideology. We are not renouncing our socialist orientation. But we believe that this is the way to implement socialism, to build socialism in our Central American framework, in our Latin American framework.

We do not favor any particular method or blueprint. We believe that we must go about formulating our own approach, in our own context — as we have been doing. That is what our ideology and our way of thinking tell us.

We are Sandinistas, we are Marxists, Marxist-Leninists, and anything else you may wish to add. And we understand that the unfolding of the revolution in Nicaragua must take place while respecting the characteristics of our society. It must be developed in alliance with the basic sectors of our society and with all the social, political, economic, and religious groups that are willing to build a new Nicaragua based on a model in which a mixed economy, political pluralism, and nonalignment prevail.

Those who think differently, have another ideology, will go on working in terms of those ideas. Those who believe capitalism is the best system for Nicaragua will continue working on those terms. Those who also believe that subordinating Nicaragua to U.S. policy is best for our country will continue thinking and working along those lines.

In other words, each individual is entitled to his own thoughts, and that must be respected. We're not talking about people giving up their ideologies or subordinating political and ideological positions to one, single position. What we're talking about here is making it possible for everyone who says they're concerned about peace and about the people to join together at a time when we have a historic opportunity to build peace and increase production.

We must "córdobize" our economy — base it on the córdoba. It is true we have a store where people can buy things with dollars only. That store is known as the *diplotienda* [a store for diplomats], although in fact it is open to everyone who has dollars.

This store will earn \$13 million this year. The \$13 million will go to the finance minister, who will use the money to pay part of this year's expenses.

Creating conditions

We are creating conditions for a gradual increase in production by giving products their true value, establishing pricing mechanisms, and limiting inflation as much as we can. We do not expect a big immediate increase in production. That is not possible.

These measures have recessionary elements, but they are unavoidable. These recessionary elements are also temporary and will last only until the new economic steps are taken and a basis for increased production is established.

The new measures will necessarily strengthen the value of the córdoba. We tried to strengthen the córdoba by changing the currency at the beginning of 1988, but it didn't work. The córdoba began to devalue very quickly. It is possible to strengthen the córdoba if all these measures are implemented in a firm and consistent manner by

all sectors involved in production.

We believe Nicaraguans should consider today, January 30, a historic date — a day when we have committed ourselves, as part of a joint effort, to construct what U.S. aggression has not allowed us to construct in the past. Today I appeal to the sensitivity and honesty of all Nicaraguans so that this proposal will not be one that leads to political confrontation and demagoguery, be-

"There is no reason to take an inch of land from anyone. Enough land has been distributed already . . ."

cause we would then be playing with people's lives and with their future.

As leaders of this nation, identified with the workers and all those producers willing to produce, we will implement these measures. Moreover, these measures have already started to be implemented. We are certain, we are convinced, that just as we defeated the enemy in war we will defeat inflation and we will increase production. Thank you very much.



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Fidel Castro on Namibian independence

Continued from ISR/1

be able to control and watch over everything. Indeed I say it won't depend so much on them as on the Namibians themselves. It is the Namibians themselves who must mobilize and unite to wage this last battle, the political battle. It is necessary to mobilize the whole people, everywhere, and explain to them as often as necessary what the struggle is all about, what the interests of the Namibian people are, what the Namibian people ought to do.

That's why as of April 1, which marks the start — or should mark the start — of Resolution 435, a new stage of the utmost importance begins in the history of Namibia. No longer can independence be prevented, but independence alone is not enough, for at times there are independent countries ruled by a puppet government, or an antipopular government, or a reactionary government. We need independence and a people's government! In a word, we need independence and a SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation] government! Let's not mince words! [Applause and shouts of "Long live SWAPO!" and "Long live Sam Nujoma!"]

That's why we have no doubt about what the Namibian people will do in absolutely free and clean elections: the overwhelming majority of Namibians will vote against the oppressors, against the racists and their lackeys. That's what makes it so important at this stage to organize the people and advise the people. I think that

educated, well-trained, organized, disciplined group, I think that SWAPO will possibly need some of you to stay on there. Even if we said no, that all of you are coming back — and an effort must be made to have all of you return so that no one interrupts his or her studies, because you'll be much more useful to your country if you finish your training, for the better the training you have, the better you can serve your country in the future — still life is life, and I think that, no doubt, not all of you will come back because it might be that your organization will need you there. Yet they are as aware as we are of the convenience of your coming back, and if some of you have to give up your studies, let's hope it'll be a minimum.

A new chapter

That's why, comrades all from Namibia, a new chapter is now being opened in your lives and in the life of

“We need independence and a people's government. In a word, we need independence and a SWAPO government . . .”

your country, a new experience. Now you must be more serious than ever, be better organized than ever, study harder than ever, and be more responsible than ever, since the tasks that are now placed on your shoulders, those of you 18 or over, are very important tasks, decisive tasks.

That's why today there's happiness, the great happiness of realizing that independence is already a fact that nothing and no one can stop. There's your emotion on knowing you will be participating in that process, and our emotion on following it closely. And there's also a feeling of sadness, however paradoxical it may seem, for we think we'll be saying farewell to some of you because some won't be coming back after the process. In any case we will always hope you won't forget your Cuban friends and that once in a while, in one way or another, you may return, even if on a visit, to this Isle of Youth, which has been like a second homeland for the Namibian students. [Applause]

New generations of students will keep coming. It's already two schools they have here, and there's even talk about a third school for teenagers, which is what Namibia has most of. Young people are what Namibia has most of. Now, during the early years, you won't have all the facilities, all the schools to train those teenagers, those young people. That'll take time. But as far as this task is concerned, you can continue counting on us, and so you will have here one, two, three, four schools, as many as may be necessary for the young Namibian students. [Applause]

You've already created a tradition here. You've already set the guidelines. I imagine that even the lyrics of the songs will change. You won't be singing songs dreaming of the homeland to be liberated. They'll be songs of a liberated homeland, songs in keeping with the new life you want to build back home. Perhaps you won't want to reenact the Cassinga² drama on the stage here any longer, although it might be good to keep the memory alive. I hope that at least a few videocassettes were filmed of the impressive show you put on here for visitors. But I think that your tasks will be different, and that your aspirations and feelings will be different, even if it would be very good never to forget Cassinga.

That would be very good, because it should never be forgotten. That should never, ever be forgotten! It must be remembered often! It must be remembered always! It must be remembered now! Those photos depicting the monstrous massacre, the repugnant massacre must be reprinted by thousands, by hundreds of thousands, by millions, to show the people what the racists and the fascists were capable of doing to men and women, old people and children in Namibia.

It may be that a large part of the people there can't read or write. It may be that there are even sectors in a portion of Namibia that can't communicate with sectors from other portions because there's not even a common lan-

“We must prevent trickery and cheating during the elections; prevent the racists and their allies from sowing fear among the Namibian people . . .”

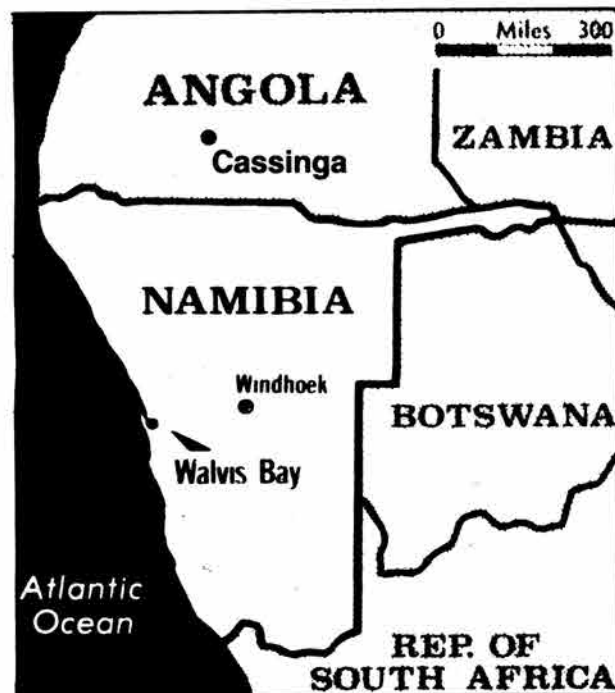
guage. But I think that vision is very eloquent, and those photos can be understood by any man or woman in any language and at any age, even by children.

Millions of those photos must be printed and distributed throughout Namibia to let the people realize that whoever votes for the puppets is voting for the allies of the murderers, the allies of the fascists and of the racists, the allies of those who despise the peoples and who have shed rivers of the Namibian people's blood.

I am certain you will be capable of fulfilling the tasks that SWAPO expects from you. I am certain that you will overcome.

Until we see each other soon! Or as Che used to say: Ever onward to victory! Free homeland or death! We shall win! [Ovation]

2. In May 1978 South African troops occupying Namibia massacred some 1,000 people in a Namibian refugee camp in Cassinga, Angola, near the Namibian border.



SWAPO will have to commit itself in depth to tackle this political task.

Exiles and refugees

Resolution 435 stipulates the return of refugees. It mentions a sum of money to cover that return, and yet no mention is made of such funds in the UN report advocating saving money. It says that it will depend on voluntary contributions. I think that, indeed, many countries will voluntarily contribute to that. But it really incenses us that no provision is made for such funds in the UN secretary-general's report.

The return of exiles and refugees is important, so that they can take part in the political battle. That's why it has been mentioned here that all Namibian students who are in Cuba and who meet the age requirement to take part in the process, should go back to Namibia following the implementation of UN Resolution 435, to work in the tasks of educating and guiding the people and to vote in the elections. Not a single vote should be lost. This will mean a new, big experience for you — for a large number of students here on the Isle of Youth above 18, and also in the rest of the country, who amount to a few hundred — given that you'll have to finish your courses and be ready to move and go to Namibia whenever SWAPO says so, to take part in that political process, and then come back to Cuba.

The academic year should not be lost. Naturally, the other matter is very important and everything must be subordinated to it, but there's no need to give up the year, because we'll have time to finish the course by the time you start moving out. Just think that you are not only going to junior and senior high school, technological school; some of you are taking university courses and it would really be a pity if you had to give up your studies.

No one can guarantee that 100 percent of those of you who leave will come back, because one never knows how things will turn out. It isn't that you won't want to come back; it's that since you make up a very valuable, well-



Namibians marking 10th anniversary of the 1978 massacre of 1,000 men, women, and children at the hands of South African troops in Angola. Castro said Cassinga massacre "must never be forgotten" as an example of what racists are capable of doing to Namibians.

U.S. bankers keep squeezing Venezuela despite mass protest

BY DON ROJAS

With fires still smoldering in the working-class neighborhoods of Caracas, city morgues overflowing, and food lines lengthening, Venezuelans last week returned to the grind of daily life following five days of popular protests against the International Monetary Fund and the economic program of the newly elected Social Democratic government.

The latest estimates counted 600 dead, thousands wounded, hundreds arrested, and millions of dollars in property destruction in the poor areas of the capital and in cities and towns across the country.

Ninety percent of the dead were killed by gunfire from police and heavily armed troops who are still patrolling city streets and guarding installations such as gas stations and supermarkets.

There were reports of serious shortages of food and medicine, and people waited for hours in long lines for bread, milk, and other essential items the prices of which had shot up by 100 percent.

Responding with unusual swiftness to shore up the badly shaken regime of President Carlos Andrés Pérez and to forestall further protests, the ruling classes of several imperialist countries agreed to extend loans and credits to Venezuela totaling close to \$2 billion over the next few months.

The U.S. government announced an immediate "emergency" \$450 million Treasury loan plus another \$600 million in stop-gap financing from a committee of 13 U.S. banks. The rest of the money will come from a pool of other capitalist countries, including Spain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan.

According to Venezuelan government officials, the new loans and credits will be used "to restructure the country's currency system" and prepay part of a \$1.6 billion payment on its overall \$33 billion foreign debt.

How loans will be used

Sources in Caracas said the monies will not be used to repair property damaged in last week's protests or to provide more food and medicines. Neither will the loans

and credits go toward funding social programs to ease the burdens for working people suffering through Venezuela's protracted economic crisis.

The borrowed money will be used to make payments to the very same creditors to whom Venezuela owes its huge foreign debt. One Latin American commentator stated, "This is more of the senseless cycle syndrome and a classic example of the illogic of capitalism."

Backs off from moratorium

Pressured by working people to take a firm stand against the IMF and the banks, Pérez last week threatened a moratorium on interest payments but backed off under counterpressure from the international bankers in New York and Western Europe.

Worried that such a Venezuelan move could precipitate the formation of a continental debtor's cartel in Latin America, the owners and guardians of big finance capital moved rapidly to preempt this possibility.

They, more than most, recognize the potential danger of a sudden large-scale default of Latin American and other Third World debtor countries. Such an eventuality could speed up the arrival of the coming recession and nosedive the increasingly precarious world capitalist system deeper into crisis.

With his prestige and stature as an "enlightened liberal" severely tarnished, Pérez has come in for sharp criticisms in Venezuela. He has been especially faulted for sanctioning the police and army's bloody repression of the popular protests and for imposing the IMF austerity package before announcing modest wage increases to workers in the private sector.

Real wages have fallen

The majority of Venezuela's 18 million people have seen their real wages fall by 38 percent since 1983. A recent study published by the Latin American Institute for Social Research shows the proportion of Venezuelan families considered to be living in acute poverty rose from 22.5 percent in 1981 to 54 percent in 1987.

Editorial comments in the leading capitalist newspapers in the United States



Soldiers guard gutted stores in Caracas. Police and troops killed hundreds who protested austerity measures imposed to finance payments on foreign debt.

reflected a heightened concern on the part of a sector of the U.S. ruling class regarding the grave ramifications of the debt problems in Latin America.

The *New York Times* on March 3 cautioned that unless the Bush administration accelerates its promised debt relief proposals, "the flames could spread to many other Latin American democracies." The editors said, however, that charges the IMF set fire to the streets of Caracas were unfair to the fund.

It warned that the string of Latin American countries scheduled to vote in the coming months "could well elect radical populists preaching debt repudiation, anti-Americanism, and autarchy."

On March 2 the *Wall Street Journal* ex-

pressed confidence that Carlos Andrés Pérez will continue his economic austerity program "despite the violent unrest it has provoked."

Stating the austerity program is the "price Venezuela must pay for additional financing," it concluded that Brazil and Argentina "need to do belt-tightening similar to Venezuela's but may now be more reluctant to do so."

The growing frustration of Latin America's ruling elites over their inability to sensitize big business in the developed capitalist world to their economic difficulties was summed up by a Brazilian businessman last week: "How many more Caracases will be needed to focus the minds of the industrial powers?" he asked.

Actions planned to oppose U.S. maneuvers in S. Korea

The Korea Support Network and the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas have issued a call for protest activities this month against "Team Spirit '89" military exercises engineered by the Pentagon in South Korea this spring.

Joint "Team Spirit" exercises between U.S. and South Korean military forces have been held each year since 1976, when then-president James Carter began them to test Washington's ability "to dispatch forces to South Korea and to use tactical nuclear weapons," the protest call explains. More than 40,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea, and about 150 U.S. nuclear warheads are deployed there.

In 1988 Team Spirit exercises held from February to May involved 200,000 South Korean and U.S. military personnel. Some 60,000 U.S. troops participated, including 20,000 from National Guard units.

"This massive exercise is one of the largest peace-time military maneuvers ever undertaken by the Pentagon," the call stresses. "Described as 'defensive training for combat readiness,' in actuality 'Team Spirit' involves extensive practice of amphibious assaults, aerial and naval bombardment, anti-submarine warfare, commando and special forces rapid deployment operations, field maneuvers, and training for chemical and nuclear war. North Korea sees these massive exercises on its border as a significant threat and has several times broken off talks with South Korea during the yearly 'Team Spirit' exercises."

In February students in South Korea organized demonstrations against Team Spirit and President George Bush's visit to their country during his recent Asia tour.

March 18 is being recommended by protest organizers as a target date for demonstrations or vigils. Opponents of the U.S.

military presence in South Korea are also being urged to hold educational forums and other activities.

For more information, contact the Korea Support Network, c/o Committee for a New Korea Policy, 33 Central Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12210, (518) 434-4037; or the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, c/o The Peace Resource Center of San Diego, 5717 Lindo Paseo, San Diego, Calif. 92115, (619) 265-0730.

Nation's capital has highest cancer toll in the United States

Residents of Washington, D.C., die from cancer at a rate one-third higher than the national average. According to an unpublished report by the D.C. Commission of Public Health obtained by the *Washington Post*, an average of 225 D.C. residents died of cancer each year in the 1980s. This compares to an average of 169 deaths per 100,000 nationally.

The report found that the death rate from cancer for Black males in D.C. is substantially higher than the district's average.

Moreover, between 1950 and 1986 the mortality rate from cancer among whites declined 5 percent while it increased 41 percent among Black males.

Why the district has such a high cancer death rate puzzles many city officials. Public Health Commissioner Reed Tuckson, however, says that "the cancers that are killing people — they are preventable." Inadequate screening is a factor, he charges. When cancer is presented to a physician in the capital, it often is too late to do something about it, he said.

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Nicaraguan meat-packers resist move to return plant to capitalist ownership

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—Cattle ranchers are negotiating with the government here for the return of the country's largest meat-packing plant to private hands. The ranchers are also pressing for an end to the current government monopoly on beef exports.

The plant, known as Ifagán, was nationalized along with all other export-quality meat-packing plants after the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979.

Faganíc, an association of antigovernment capitalist cattle ranchers, and the progovernment National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) have been holding a series of meetings with officials of the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Reform about the projected privatization.

But many workers at the plant are opposed to returning it to capitalist hands.

Róger Trejos, organizational secretary of the union that represents the 250 workers at Ifagán, said, "If it were up to us to decide — and it would be utopian to think it's up to us — we would say, 'Go invest somewhere else where your investment is needed. But here, your investment is not necessary.'"

Trejos continued, "We are in favor of the mixed economy. But we do not understand the mixed economy as handing everything over to one sector."

'Workers are the owners'

Manuel Gutiérrez, national representative of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), said, "The owners of Ifagán, at this stage, are the workers."

When the capitalists owned the plant, Gutiérrez explained, the meat-packers there "were subjected to the most brutal capitalist exploitation our country has ever known." The toll was high in human terms, with many workers injured or mutilated, he added, as a result of unsafe conditions and the owners' disregard for human life.

"From the point of view of morality alone," Gutiérrez said, "it is the right of the workers to run this packinghouse."

Some of Ifagán's workers think the privatization proposal should be supported because it will mean more jobs. The capitalists have been talking about reopening the killing floor, which was closed in 1983.

"I think it's a good idea," Vidal Mejía said. "Maybe they will reopen the killing floor, and we will have more work."

Another worker commented, "Some of the guys complain how hard it was when it was private, but if you don't work hard, you don't produce."

At a February 16 union meeting to discuss the issue, however, many workers raised criticism and opposition to the proposal. Most of those who spoke contrasted present conditions at the plant to the way it was under capitalist ownership before the revolution.

"I remember how hard it used to be," Heriberto Valles told the meeting. "Once the company had me picked up by the National Guard for the crime of speaking out and organizing the workers."

'Now we have a union'

Another worker, who has been at Ifagán



Workers at Ifagán, country's largest meat-packing plant. When capitalists owned it, before Nicaraguan revolution, packinghouse workers "were subjected to the most brutal exploitation our country has ever known," according to a union representative.

for 23 years, added, "Before we didn't have a union. Now, not only do we have a union, but we have a voice in the administration." He said, "We can't let them take away this slaughterhouse, which has cost us so much."

Marcos Somoza Prado, 52, has worked at the plant for 23 years. He used to be on the killing floor but is now a carpenter. "Things were so much worse here before," he said. "Sometimes they made us work seven days a week. If you didn't come in to work on a Sunday, they gave you three days off or fired you."

Somoza Prado also spoke about the serious injuries workers suffered. Some workers developed carpal tunnel syndrome or arthritis. Others lost hands and fingers.

"Before, you couldn't say a thing," he added. "But today, you argue with the supervisor and the administrators, and they have to come to an agreement with you because it is your right."

The union's discussion was hampered because the workers have yet to learn the details of the government's negotiations with the cattlemen. The discussions have been held behind closed doors, and union representatives haven't been present.

One young worker asked, "Are we going to be fired? What's really going to happen? We need more information, otherwise we're just speculating."

CST representative Gutiérrez also addressed the meeting. Referring to the government's policy of seeking an "accord" with the capitalists, he said, "The accord policy does not mean overturning the conquests of July 19, 1979. It does not mean that the peasants will return one inch of land to the *somocistas*. And it does not mean returning Ifagán to the exploiters."

'No accord without workers'

Gutiérrez continued, "It means that the workers have the opportunity to consolidate the revolution. You cannot speak about an accord without the participation of the workers."

The president of the union at Ifagán, Francisco Méndez, closed the meeting. "We are not afraid of investment," he stated.

"Let them come and invest," he said, "but there must be conditions."

The conditions proposed by the union executive board were:

- The capitalists should be allowed a maximum of 49 percent of the shares of the company, leaving control of the factory in the hands of the government.

- The ranchers must pay a lifetime pension to all workers who have been injured on the job since the plant opened in 1960.

- They must pay back the investment the government has made in maintaining and improving the facilities since the plant was nationalized.

- The existing work conditions must be maintained. These include transportation for workers to and from work, seniority, production incentives, and respect for union participation in decision making.

The executive board plans to present its views to the government.

"Not only must the ranchers' views be considered," Gutiérrez told the *Militant*, "not only the state's views, but also the views of the workers must be considered."

'Stolen' property

According to Ernesto Salazar, representative of Faganíc, returning the packing plant to private hands is only fair, since Ifagán and other packing plants "were stolen"

from their rightful owners by the revolution.

"We feel we have a right to Ifagán," he said. "We are not talking about buying," Salazar stressed. "We are talking about the return of what is ours."

Faganíc insists on private management of the plant as a condition for investing capital.

"We don't want to make any big changes right away," said Juan Ramón Aragón, head of UNAG's national livestock commission. "The administration, personnel, all that would stay the same." Nonetheless, the goal, he said, is to make "a transition" to ending any government role in administering the plant. This would give the ranchers absolute control.

Aragón agrees with Faganíc that an end to the government monopoly on exports of beef and other agricultural products is necessary.

"We think the government should get out of marketing," Aragón said, "and concentrate on other activities such as health and education."

'A sensitive point'

According to Salazar, this demand has been raised with Jaime Wheelock, one of nine members of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Wheelock, who is also the minister of agrarian development and reform, has been the main government representative involved in the negotiations to arrive at an "accord."

Wheelock thinks relaxing the trade monopoly is "feasible," Salazar asserted. "But it's a sensitive point," and not now part of any written proposal.

Like many unionists here, Gutiérrez has strong objections to any loosening of the state monopoly on foreign trade. "The state control of foreign trade is a social demand of the workers," he said. "The fact that hard currency, instead of winding up in the pockets of capitalists in other countries, is distributed for the good of working people and the population in general, is extremely important."

U.S. gov't proposes end to meat and poultry plant checks

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Under a pending U.S. Department of Agriculture proposal, daily inspections of the country's 6,300 meat and poultry processing plants will soon be largely ended.

In 1987 government inspectors condemned 62 million birds and impounded 6,000 tons of meat. Under the new plan, owners of processing plants will become increasingly responsible for monitoring conditions in their own plants. Government inspections will be reduced to twice a week, then once a month, and could become as infrequent as twice a year.

While government officials say the plan is still experimental, the Agriculture Department is planning to cut the number of processing-plant inspectors in half by 1992, to 1,100.

Inspection of slaughtering operations has already moved in this direction, part of the Reagan administration's "deregulation" of various industries. The number of slaughtering inspectors has been cut from 8,400 a decade ago to 7,200 today.

In chicken slaughtering, for example, government inspection of every bird used to be required. Inspectors themselves would trim defective parts and condemn diseased or contaminated carcasses. In the late 1970s, trimming was turned over to the slaughterhouses, and the government began to allow washing, instead of trimming, of contaminated parts.

This allowed poultry plants to slaughter and process 70 birds a minute, up from 50. In 1984 the number of inspectors on a poultry production line was cut from three to two, and the line speed increased to 91 birds per minute.

In addition to worsening health and safety conditions for poultry workers, this speedup has contributed to the spread of

salmonella, bacteria that cause food poisoning, gastrointestinal inflammation, and other diseases. The number of reported salmonella cases is 40,000 a year — double the figures of 10 years ago — and actual cases may be as high as 2 million. This includes at least 2,000 deaths per year.

Under the new system, inspectors' schedules will include driving long distances between plants and less time actually carrying out inspections. Random, instead of regular, checks will reduce the chances of violations being caught at all.

David Carney, an inspector and official of the American Federation of Government Employees union, reported that while he was visiting a Cleveland processing plant, he noticed a "glitter" in a large tub of turkey meat. "It was full of metal shavings," he said. A defective meat-tenderizer had sprinkled shards of aluminum into the meat, which the plant's quality control person had already checked. "I ended up tagging 33,000 pounds of meat, and the plant had to condemn half of it. If this meat had gotten out of the plant, it could have caused serious damage."

Inspectors opposed to the Agriculture Department's plan also point out that some plant owners have been far from cooperative with government inspectors. What will happen when they're left to inspect themselves?

The American Meat Institute, to which 80 percent of U.S. red-meat processors belong, recently asked that the government plan be scrapped. Already faced with declining sales of red meat, the processors are concerned that the new regulations will drive away even more consumers.

Agriculture Department officials estimate that \$27 million a year can be saved by the inspection cutback.

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Crisis in New Zealand economy discussed at socialist conference

BY GEORGE FYSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Some 75 people attended a recent Socialist Education and Active Workers Conference held in Hamilton near here. The gathering, sponsored by the Socialist Action League (SAL), discussed the growing economic and social crisis facing New Zealand's workers and farmers.

International guest speakers were Jack Barnes, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party; John Gaige, the SWP's national farm work director; and Jonathan Silberman of Pathfinder publisher's London office.

Attending the conference were SAL members, their coworkers — including a number of Maoris and Pacific Islanders — a Canterbury, New Zealand, farmers' leader, and students and other young people. Of these, nine decided to join the SAL either at or following the conference.

This was the largest league gathering since 1981, and came after a period of intense political activity centered on participation in the late 1988 subscription drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and circulation of the magazine *New Internationalist*. Members and supporters of the SAL encountered a stepped-up level of political discussions as they carried out this drive.

The first major talk at the conference was on the "Workers States and Renewal of Communist Leadership," by Barnes.

This was followed by a panel discussion on the situation facing farmers, with John Gaige and Denis Hiestand, a leader of protesting farmers from Canterbury, which is in the South Island of New Zealand. Hiestand described the depths of depression conditions among New Zealand farmers today, 50 percent of whom, he said, are on some form of social welfare. He concluded that the only solution was for workers and farmers to join forces in order to mutually defend themselves.

Political perspectives after market crash

The second main presentation to the conference, "Political Perspectives: One Year After the Stock Market Crash," was given by Russell Johnson, national secretary of the SAL.

Johnson described the deep impact of the October 1987 stock market crash on the New Zealand economy and politics. The end of 1988, he said, saw deepening rifts in the Labour Party government, which was first elected in 1984. The sharpest division was seen in the December 1988 sacking of Finance Minister Roger Douglas. He had been the main architect of the application of "free market" principles to the New Zealand economy.

Thirty years of Cuban revolution celebrated at Australia meeting

SYDNEY, Australia — The 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution was celebrated here at a Militant Labor Forum on February 17. The principal speaker, Ron Poulsen, outlined some of the main ideas presented by Cuban President Fidel Castro in a series of speeches given to celebrate the anniversary in Cuba.

In these speeches, Poulsen explained, Castro highlighted the achievements of the 30 years of the revolution and the impact of the Cuban-Angolan victory over South Africa in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, in Angola, in early 1988.

The question of whether communism was in crisis as argued by commentators in the imperialist countries was also raised in the Cuban leader's speeches. Castro, Poulsen reported, stressed that the efforts of the Cuban people to advance toward a socialist society lay at the heart of the success and progress they have made.

Poulsen and a number of participants at the forum had recently returned from Cuba, where they had been part of a month-long work brigade organized by the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society.

These rifts, explained Johnson, reflected deep hesitations among New Zealand's rulers over how fast to move in attacking workers' rights and living standards.

New Zealand capitalism is in the midst of a severe recession, with unemployment running at 13 percent — a record high since the 1930s depression. Hardest hit of all the imperialist countries, the New Zealand stock market fell by 59 percent in October 1987. By September 1988 the index was still 50 percent below precrash levels. Sixty-eight of the 200 publicly listed companies in 1987 have disappeared altogether, and there are widespread fears about the stability of the banking system.

Twofold service of Labour

Johnson explained that the Labour government's service for the capitalist rulers of New Zealand has been twofold. Its number one contribution has been implementing sweeping "market oriented" reforms of the previously heavily protected economy, including "corporatization" and privatization of government departments; the reduction of import tariffs; removal of subsidies to farmers; and the reduction of legal protection for unions.

The government has also adopted a series of liberal policies, Johnson said, including the banning of nuclear warship visits, the Homosexual Law Reform, and promotion of a significant layer of Maoris and women into higher government jobs. Adopting such measures, widely supported by many in the middle class, won backing or acceptance of the government's more repressive and anti-working class actions, Johnson explained.

The effect of record unemployment was worsened by truly depressed conditions in some rural areas and among some layers of the population. For example, Johnson noted, Pacific Islanders are three times as likely to be out of work as New Zealanders of European origin (up from two times just one year ago). Maoris, the indigenous people of New Zealand, are four times as likely to be unemployed. In the north and east coast regions of the North Island, the level of unemployment among Maori youth is as high as 50 percent.

For several years the vast majority of workers have tended to keep their heads down, hoping that the crisis is going to hit somewhere other than their own factory or community.

Action Program

Johnson emphasized the importance of 700 New Zealand workers buying the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, which is printed in a Pathfinder pamphlet. This program is a vehicle for uniting working-class fighters internationally to defend themselves from the worsening conditions resulting from the capitalist crisis.

The period opening up, in New Zealand and throughout the world, will be one of mass rebellions against the intolerable conditions brought down on the heads of working people by capitalism, Johnson said. It will be a period when the bosses and the authorities will use rougher methods against workers and those fighting for their rights. But it will be a period in which the workers will get their chance to place their stamp on how society is going to develop, the SAL leader explained.

For communists, preparing the vanguard of workers to meet this challenge means looking first and foremost to the new layers of rebel youth coming into the factories, Johnson concluded.

John Gaige reported on the political stakes for the labor movement in the international fight to free Mark Curtis, an Iowa packinghouse worker and union activist serving 25 years in jail on a rape and burglary frame-up.

The Curtis defense case was central to the final major report at the conference, "Key Challenges in Building a Revolutionary Party Based in the Industrial Working Class Today." The collecting of a broad range of endorsers for the Mark Curtis De-



Russell Johnson, Socialist Action League national secretary, speaking at conference.

fense Committee was set as a priority for the SAL and its supporters. The report was given by Mike Tucker, editor of *Socialist Action*.

The other main political campaign at the late December conference projected by the league is participation in the early 1989 international circulation drive for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New Internationalist*.

At a rally for Pathfinder, Jonathan Silberman described the political impact the

publishing house has been having around the world.

Malcolm McAllister, who has been helping to paint the Pathfinder mural in New York, presented a slideshow and talk on the mural. He outlined plans to organize and raise funds for a delegation of artists from New Zealand and the South Pacific to go to New York in May. They would paint on the mural figures from the history of labor and national struggles in the Oceania region.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Native Americans meet to save Amazon forest

"The Indian nations of the area, together with many regions of Brazil and of the world, affirm that the natural environment must be respected," read the final declaration of a February 20-24 conference of Brazilian Indians.

The conference, held in the Amazon town of Altamira, focused on organizing the rubber tappers, fishermen, poor townspeople, and diverse Indian peoples living along the forest's rivers, in a common effort to halt the construction of two hydroelectric dams on the Xingu River. The conference was attended by 600 Brazilian Indians, as well as representatives of Native American groups from Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

Chief Payakan of the Kaiapo Indians explained that the dam would destroy vegetation and fish, and the electricity it produced would mainly benefit big corporations. He added that the dam was being built to obtain export income to pay the country's foreign debt — a debt caused by "the incompetence of the government and the greed of foreign banks."

Payakan also said the development resulting from construction of the dam would bring more cattle ranchers to fell and burn the forest, gold diggers to poison the rivers with mercury, and industries to pollute the water. An estimated 220,000 Indians live in Brazil, down from the 5 million inhabiting the area when Portuguese colonialists landed there in 1500.

Pretoria frees 129, won't execute 16

The South African government has released 129 people imprisoned without trial under its state of emergency laws. Pretoria also announced the commutation of the death sentences of 16 persons charged with crimes based on their alleged participation in protests against the regime in 1984 and 1985. In each case the death sentences were commuted to prison terms ranging from 10 years to life in prison.

The apartheid regime's minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok, has said the government expects to release most of an estimated 800 to 1,000 political de-

tainees, some of whom have been jailed since the emergency measures were imposed three years ago. But those released face harsh restriction orders that forbid them from engaging in political activity and place them under virtual house arrest.

"The government is turning the community itself into a bigger prison," said Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front. The UDF is the country's largest anti-apartheid organization.

Those freed were among some 400 detainees who began a hunger strike in several prisons on January 23. Although the state of emergency measures make most public protests illegal, the regime issued an order February 11 banning meetings called to show solidarity with the detainees. Lawyers representing those detained, UDF leader Allan Boesak, student council presidents from five universities, and leaders of the anti-apartheid group Black Sash joined the hunger strike in solidarity with the detainees.

Bhopal settlement with Union Carbide hit

Thousands of people rallied in New Delhi and Bhopal, India, following a February 14 court settlement of charges against Union Carbide of India. The company accepted an Indian court decision ordering it to pay a mere \$470 million in compensation for a Dec. 3, 1984, toxic gas leak at its plant in Bhopal. That leak resulted in more than 3,500 people being killed and 200,000 injured.

Some 500,000 separate claims from survivors and relatives of those killed were made against Union Carbide. The settlement is far below the \$3.3 billion sought by the Indian government in 1986 under pressure from the victims of the disaster. Averaged out, each claimant could receive less than \$1,000. The court also ordered the dismissal of all criminal charges and civil suits in India against the company and its former chairman.

A group calling itself the Association for Socio-Legal Literacy filed a petition in India's Supreme Court urging it to raise the compensation to \$600 million.

Despite evidence of poor management and shoddy maintenance, the company denies responsibility for the disaster. Union Carbide says that the plant was sabotaged by a disgruntled worker whom it has declined to name.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Celebrate International Women's Day: The Struggle for Women's Rights Today. Speaker: Betsy Farley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Cuban Revolution Today: What Has It Accomplished, Where Is It Going? Speaker: Roni McCann, chair, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba in 1988. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Socialist Open House and Showing of Video "Children of the Debt." Discussion with members of the Young Socialist Alliance on need to cancel the Third World debt. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 5 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$1. Sponsor: Young Socialists for Joel Britton for Mayor of Los Angeles. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Defend the Rights of Immigrant Workers. A panel discussion. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Learning About Socialism: The Truth About the Cuban Revolution. A Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance class series held every Thursday night at 7:30 p.m. through March 16. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

The Fight for Women's Rights: Support International Women's Day. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Working People and the Fight for Affordable Housing. Speakers: Sarah Johnston, Socialist Workers Party; representative from Chicago-Gary area homeless groups. Sat., March 11, 6 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Worldwide Fight for Women's Rights. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Police Brutality from Miami to Minneapolis. Speakers: Chris Nisan, spokesperson for Minneapolis Ad Hoc Committee Against Police Brutality; Jackie Floyd, recently returned from Miami. Sun., March 12, 6 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Reconstructing Nicaragua: A Report Back

From a Volunteer. Speaker: Phil Norris, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-6, recently returned from a reconstruction brigade in Nicaragua. Sun., March 19, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Stop Police Brutality From Miami to Minneapolis. Speakers: Keith Ellison, member of African American community; Jackie Floyd, recently returned from Miami; Denise McInerney, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Minneapolis; Kimberly Washington, community activist. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Capitalism in Crisis: A Working-Class Approach to Confront the Growing Economic and Social Crisis. Speakers: Denise McInerney and Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers candidates for mayor in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

How Marx and Engels Became Marxists. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist who recently won 11-year fight for permanent U.S. residency. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

El Salvador: Prospects for Peace. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Protest Israeli Occupation. Weekly vigil to support Palestinian uprising. Every Wed. 5-6 p.m. through March 29 at the Israeli UN mission, 42nd St. and 2nd Ave. Sponsor: Palestine Solidarity Committee. For more information call (212) 964-7299.

The Rushdie Affair: Views from the Left. Speakers: Ellen Willis, writer *Village Voice*; Val Moghadam, Iranian socialist-feminist; Sheila Ryan, staffperson for the Middle East Peace Network; Chuck Yerkes, pastor of international church in Chelsea; Joyce Chediac, managing editor *Workers World*; Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., March 12, 2 p.m. New York Marxist School, 79 Leonard St. For more information call (212) 941-0322.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Stop the U.S. War in El Salvador. Panel discussion. Sun., March 19, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

"South Africa Belongs to Us." A video on Black women and the fight against apartheid. Speakers: Grace Jones, Cleveland chapter of TransAfrica, American Friends Service Committee; Margi Husk, Young Socialist Alliance, member United Auto Workers Local 2000.

Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

El Salvador: The Struggle for Peace. Speakers: Sheldon Liss, professor of Latin American history and government, University of Akron; David Marshall, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 1157. Sun., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Woodworkers Fight Company Attacks: Hear Strikers Speak. Participants: Gene Lawhorn, on strike against Roseburg Forest Products, member public relations committee Western Council of Industrial Workers — Lumber and Sawmill Workers Local 2949; Matthew Johnson, on strike against Morgan-Nicolai, public relations coordinator WCIW-LSW Local 3035. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The U.S.-Canada "Free Trade" Debate — A Trap for Workers. Speaker: Margaret Manwaring, recent candidate of Revolutionary Workers League for Canadian Parliament, member United Steelworkers of America. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

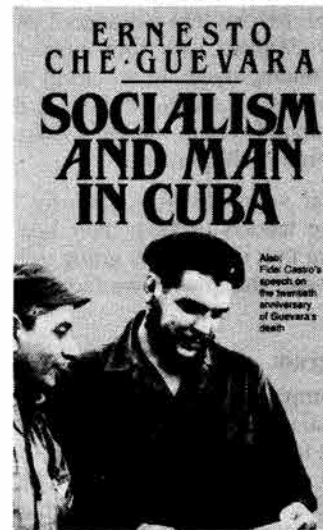
TEXAS

Houston

Lessons of Grenada. Speaker: Stephen Gittens, member of Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement; others. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Defending Women's Rights. Speaker: Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367; others. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

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El Salvador: Give Peace a Chance. Speaker: Dave Hurst, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 12, 5 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON

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Maurice. Cuban documentary on Maurice Bishop, prime minister in Grenada's revolutionary government 1979-83. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

Cuba and the Liberation Struggle in Africa. Speaker: David Gakunzi, secretary Thomas Sankara International Association; Mac Hengari, South West Africa People's Organisation. Wed., March 15, 7:30 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Loudon Sq., Butetown. Sponsor: New International Forum; Cultural Education Training Center, Butetown; Britain-Cuba Resource Center.

London

Cuba and the Liberation Struggle in Africa. Speaker: David Gakunzi, secretary Thomas Sankara International Association. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum. For more information call 01-401-2293.

Manchester

Cuba and the Liberation Struggle in Africa. Speaker: David Gakunzi, secretary Thomas Sankara International Association. Mon., March 13, 7:30 p.m. West Indian Sports and Social Club, Westwood St., Moss Side. Sponsor: New International Forum.

CANADA

Toronto

Rebellion in the Caribbean: Eyewitness Report from Haiti. Speaker: Al Cappe, *Militant* reporter just returned from Haiti. Sat., March 11, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

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ICELAND

Reykjavík: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal address: P.O. Box 8730. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

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

Safety measure — In the wake of Boeing jetliner disasters over England, the Azores, and the



Harry Ring

Pacific, the company has taken decisive action. It retained Hill & Knowlton, a top-dollar public relations firm, to brush up its image.

Nothing's perfect — Perhaps one of Hill & Knowlton's chores

will be to handle the Federal Aviation Administration disclosure that over the past four years Boeing was fined some 15 times for failing to properly test the quality of parts purchased for its planes.

Musn't be too fussy — The government is investigating a subcontractor who supplied Boeing with substandard nuts and bolts for the B-2 Stealth bomber. They were stamped as approved by a nonexistent "Inspector 11." The fasteners got by because Boeing had limited inspection of incoming parts to those deemed "suspect."

The homeless problem — The Utah legislature rejected a proposal to amend a fair-employment stat-

ute to cover the homeless. They felt it would create problems if employers could not reject a homeless jobseeker. Like, how could a boss contact a worker who has no residence?

Everything but the moo — With concern in Britain about the marketing of brain-diseased cattle, one paper notes that for such products as hamburger, the entire animal, including the brain, is used.

See? Leave it to nature — Depletion of the earth's ozone layer means an increase in dangerous ultraviolet radiation. But studies in eight U.S. cities did not show the anticipated increase. Some scientists speculate that air pollution is

acting as a shield against the ultraviolet rays.

Obviously sick — "I think contraception is disgusting, people using each other for pleasure." — Antiabortion organizer Joe Scheidler, quoted in a Planned Parenthood ad.

Pretty shifty — An ad for a British bank features a photo of Oliver North. The ad declares, "With a few notable exceptions, no one can transfer your money around the world more efficiently than us."

Silly — Folks in New York's Mohawk Valley area are in an up-

roar over plans to locate a low-level radioactive waste dump there. Responded an official: "People have this image of the state dumping this stuff in the ground and walking away from it."

Thought for the week — "Imagine a nuclear weapons plant that over the course of four decades has released an estimated 530,000 pounds of uranium dust into the air, discharged 167,000 pounds of waste into a nearby river, and had material from a World War II Manhattan atomic bomb project stored in leaking concrete silos." — *New York Newsday* writer after visiting the government's Fernald plant in Ohio.

Witch-hunt victim sues to overturn '59 conviction



Militant/Della Rossa

Frank Wilkinson

BY ELIZABETH STONE

LOS ANGELES — In 1961 Frank Wilkinson went to jail for nine months because he refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). This committee was set up by Congress in 1938 and was used as a major tool of the

Che Guevara pamphlet published in Swedish

A Swedish-language edition of the Marxist classic *Socialism and Man in Cuba* has just been published by Pathfinder. The pamphlet, which has recently been published in English- and Spanish-language editions by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia of Sydney, Australia, includes the 1965 article "Socialism and Man in Cuba," by Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution. Most of Guevara's works have been out of print and unavailable for many years to Swedish-language readers.

Also included is a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro marking the 20th anniversary of the murder of Guevara at the hands of the U.S.-backed Bolivian military dictatorship. The Oct. 8, 1987, speech by Castro puts Guevara's political contributions at the heart of the rectification process under way in Cuba today.

Pathfinder has also announced plans to publish this pamphlet in Farsi- and French-language editions in the coming months. The pamphlet is available from Pathfinder, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014 for \$1.95 plus \$.75 for postage, or Pathfinder, P.O. Box 5024, S-12505 Älvsjö, Stockholm, Sweden, for 20 kronor.

anticommunist witch-hunters in the late 1940s and 1950s. They used it to investigate, smear, and victimize unionists, socialists, civil rights fighters, and others they opposed.

Now, 28 years after he was jailed, Wilkinson is filing a lawsuit that can help educate a new generation about the abuses of HUAC and the witch-hunt. With the help of the American Civil Liberties Union and the legal firm of Loeb & Loeb, Wilkinson is petitioning the courts to overturn his 1959 conviction on the grounds that the government suppressed evidence that the only witness against him in the case was unreliable.

Hauled before committee

Wilkinson was hauled before a HUAC subcommittee in 1958 in Atlanta on the word of one woman, Anita Bell Schneider, an FBI informer who claimed that Wilkinson was a member of the Communist Party.

Wilkinson now has in his hands an internal FBI memo stating that the federal spy agency and the Justice Department knew at the time of the Atlanta hearing that Schneider had "exhibited emotional instability" and was not a credible witness.

"I had only met this woman once in my life," Wilkinson explained. "She came up to the podium after a meeting where I spoke, told me what a good speech I'd given, and asked me to speak before her group in San Diego."

"Since I got someone else to do the speech in San Diego," he said, "I never laid eyes on this woman again until she was at the HUAC hearing claiming she knew me."

Wilkinson says the fact that this woman was not a credible witness, even in the government's eyes, was hidden from him, his attorneys, and even from the courts — including the Supreme Court.

Leader in anti-HUAC fight

From the 1950s to 1975 when HUAC was finally disbanded, Wilkinson was a leader of the fight against the committee. At the time of the Atlanta hearing he was a field organizer for the National Committee to Abolish HUAC. He came to Atlanta in 1958 to help mobilize opposition to HUAC, which was holding hearings in the South in an attempt to discredit the civil rights movement.

"This was four years after the *Brown* desegregation decision," Wilkinson explains, "and there was resistance to the decision by racists all over the South." HUAC played a role by calling civil rights activists to testify before it, seeking to intimidate them and smear their activities.

Wilkinson teamed up with civil rights activists Carl and Anne Braden who had become known for their courageous stand against the violence of opponents of integrated housing.

Carl Braden was called before HUAC and he and Wilkinson both refused to answer questions about their activities on the grounds that HUAC's very existence violated the First Amendment right to free speech and association.

The House of Representatives then found Braden and Wilkinson in contempt

of Congress. Both were convicted and their appeal went to the U.S. Supreme Court and became test cases on the legitimacy of HUAC activities.

Doug Mirell, one of the lead attorneys for the petition Wilkinson is filing now, points out that if the truth about Schneider had been publicly known at the time the case was before the Supreme Court, the outcome might have been different. Schneider's testimony before HUAC was crucial to the decision handed down by a 5-4 majority of the Supreme Court upholding Wilkinson's conviction and HUAC's right to carry out its investigations.

Braden and Wilkinson were the last of 36 people who served prison terms for refusing to cooperate with HUAC.

Wilkinson's case was an example of the lengths to which HUAC, the FBI, and other government agencies went to discredit and victimize their opponents.

Paid informer

Schneider, as it turns out, was not only an FBI informer, but was paid by the FBI to join the Communist Party and to become a leading figure in the San Diego Democratic Party, where she organized events against HUAC and then turned over to the FBI the names of activists she met.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
Mar. 16, 1979

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — "Solidarity Forever" played over the Hampton Coliseum loudspeakers as 3,500 unionists gathered here March 2 in support of striking steelworkers in their battle against the Tenneco-owned Newport News shipyard.

The rally and march that followed were called by the AFL-CIO.

The events marked the 31st day of the strike for United Steelworkers of America Local 8888, which seeks union recognition for the 17,500 production and maintenance workers at the yard.

USWA President Lloyd McBride declared amid cheers that "we're going to win this strike." His remarks were intended to counter the company's claim that 60 percent of the workers at the shipyard were crossing picket lines and that the Steelworkers were losing.

"We are going to meet Tenneco at the bargaining table," McBride emphasized. "And one of the influences that will bring this about is the full and unqualified support of the USWA and all its resources — let there be no question about that."

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People
Mar. 16, 1964 Price 10¢

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, whose reported split with the Muslims was headlined across the country, today told the *Militant* he will remain a Muslim minister

but will also engage in independent activity to develop black nationalism as a political force and that he will actively support the civil rights struggle.

He said he would become minister of a new mosque in Harlem "to have a religious base within the community and to be free of outside dictation."

Regarding the report that he was launching a "black nationalist party," he said, "I will try to establish an organizational structure whose nature yet remains to be defined."

From the viewpoint of religion," he explained, "I remain a Muslim."

"But," he added, "my personal political, social, and economic philosophy is that of black nationalism."

While he has no concrete political plans as yet, he said, "No Negro can be politically blind. It will be our intention to make all politicians — white and black — well aware that we are present."

Indicating his concept of black nationalism, Malcolm X said he considered it to mean political, social, and economic control by Negroes within their communities. "Politically," he said, "I mean the Negro must take political control of his community."

"I am prepared," he was reported as saying, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere . . . every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

"Good education, housing, and jobs are imperatives for Negroes," he said, "and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives. But I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

Defend immigrant workers

Governments in Western Europe are seizing on the campaign against Salman Rushdie and his book *The Satanic Verses* as a pretext for further restricting the democratic rights of working people, especially immigrants.

The estimated 6 million Muslims in Western Europe have been special targets. The tone of the big-business media toward immigrants who are Muslims was indicated in the headline on an article in the March 5 *New York Times*: "The Muslim presence in Western Europe is suddenly starker."

The rulers justify their actions by portraying Muslim immigrants as barbarians threatening democratic rights in the "civilized" West.

In fact, these workers are among the main victims of the employing class' attacks on democratic rights — attacks that have been given impetus by the calls to ban Rushdie's book as "blasphemy."

The government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has stepped up police surveillance of Iranian students in Britain. Home Secretary Douglas Hurd threatened a backlash against the more than 1 million Muslim immigrants in the event of violent protests against Rushdie's book. Some politicians have called for deporting Muslims alleged to be involved in such actions.

The threats to immigrants who are Muslim are part of a broader pattern of moves to tighten controls on all immigrants in Britain — whether from India, Pakistan, the Caribbean, Africa, or elsewhere.

On January 18, for example, more than 100 cops smashed their way into a church in Manchester, England, in order to carry out the deportation to Sri Lanka of Viraj Mendis. Mendis, whose life is in danger in Sri Lanka as a result of his stand in defense of the rights of the Tamil people, had become a thorn in the side of the British government because of his activity in defense of other immigrant workers.

In France, Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac called for deporting immigrants who were alleged to have chanted threats against Rushdie at a demonstration. Prime Minister Michel Rocard promised to crack down on immigrants accused of uttering death threats in future demonstrations.

The British daily *Guardian* reported February 22 that the European Economic Community, which includes

Britain and other European countries, was "drawing up a plan for a common system of tight controls against people who wish to enter the EEC."

The aim of the wide-ranging attacks on immigrants is to force them to accept lower wages, longer hours, and lack of union rights; to reinforce racial, religious, and cultural discrimination against them; and to hem in their democratic rights to think, read, discuss, and organize politically.

Government and employer attacks on immigrants have given ammunition to right-wing anti-immigrant organizations, which are growing in many countries.

It isn't the religious beliefs of many of these millions of workers that the capitalist rulers fear.

What the rulers fear — and seek to restrict or suppress — is the capacity of these workers to fight back against discrimination and oppression and to join with other workers in the fight against capitalist exploitation.

Big-business spokespeople sow prejudice against the Muslim religion in order to reinforce divisions among working people.

The labor movement in Britain, France, and other countries need to respond by fighting to unite the working class to defend democratic rights and other interests of working people.

That means mobilizing in support of the democratic rights of the immigrant workers, who form a growing part of the work force and union movement. Working people need to oppose all measures to deport or exclude immigrants.

We must fight for measures to uproot every manifestation of racial, religious, or other discrimination against them in jobs, housing, education, and other areas.

We need to organize to demand decent housing for immigrants — who are now often forced into homelessness or the most dilapidated dwellings — as well as for all other working people.

We should support the struggles of immigrants for public education, including the right to be taught in their own language; and for decent medical care and other social services.

We should fight for measures to provide jobs, including measures taking account of the fact that immigrant workers are disproportionately subjected to layoffs and dismissals.

Does religion play a progressive role in colonial world?

BY DOUG JENNESS

In writing about the controversy surrounding Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses*, prominent British novelist and art critic John Berger contends "the affair is about two books." One is Rushdie's; the other the *Koran*, "a book which has helped, and still helps, many millions of people to make sense of their lives and their mortality."

Berger argues in a column in the *Guardian*, a London daily, that Rushdie's novel is sacred to the "European

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

world because it represents the artist's right to freedom of expression."

Islam, which is a good thing for millions of oppressed people in the colonial world, he writes, has come into conflict with the right of artistic expression in the imperialist countries. Berger asserts that many people may not listen to his point of view, however. "The colonial prejudices are still too ingrained," he says.

His conclusion is that Rushdie should exercise self-censorship and ask his publishers to stop producing more or new editions of *The Satanic Verses*.

Berger, who is so keen on not fueling the fires of racial insults against colonial peoples and immigrant workers — flames that are continually stoked by big-business politicians and journalists — is, ironically, guilty of condescension himself.

Religion is a good thing for the poor and oppressed who need it to establish some purpose to their lives, he says; but democratic rights such as the right to artistic expression, are "European" concepts, neither understood nor needed by the most oppressed in the world.

The fact is, however, that there is nothing progressive about religion whether it is Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, animism, or ancestor worship. Far from helping workers and oppressed peoples make sense out of their lives, religion obfuscates the true social relations of class-divided society. It serves to keep the oppressed and exploited subservient and ignorant of their own class interests.

Religion is not an empty vessel that can have either progressive or reactionary content depending on whether it is the banner of the oppressed fighting for emancipation or an instrument of the oppressors' domination.

Some radical clergy have attempted to develop a "liberation theology." This is an illusion, however. Revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed are sometimes cloaked in religious forms, but that doesn't mean the cloak is a help to the revolutionary struggle.

To the contrary it remains a roadblock to workers seeing themselves as part of an exploited class with interests that are sharply opposed to those of the imperialist oppressors and capitalist exploiters.

Religion, including all the variants of "liberation theology," does not and cannot offer a revolutionary theory that can successfully guide the struggle against class exploitation and oppression.

Workers and farmers entering into struggle with the employers and the landlords often bring with them their religious beliefs, which are part of the culture imposed on them by the ruling class or caste. But they advance the revolutionary fight in spite of these religious views, not because of them. And during their class-struggle experience they begin to shake off all kinds of misconceptions and illusions — among them the various forms of mysticism, including religion, that are widespread in class society.

This process had begun to take place in Iran in the first period of the revolution that overthrew the Shah in 1979. The unprecedented wave of mass mobilizations drew tens of millions into struggle, not because of their belief in Islam, but because of their hatred for political tyranny, imperialist oppression, landlord domination, and the capitalist bosses.

Class consciousness began to develop among working people, and there was a wide-ranging political discussion in Iran on how workers and peasants could move the revolution forward. The consolidation of capitalist rule, under the leadership of the Islamic clergy, however, has reinforced reactionary views, rather than chart a revolutionary perspective for working people.

It would be insulting to suggest that workers and farmers currently holding Muslim beliefs are less capable of understanding or accepting scientific socialism, which clearly expresses the road to winning political power and ending class exploitation and national oppression, than toilers who adhere to any other religion. Socialism is no more "European" or "Western" than are the conquests working people have won toward establishing democratic rights and creating elbowroom to organize politically.

Berger notwithstanding, they are not specific to particular cultures, but come from the experience of the struggles waged by working people.

Workers' stake in Eastern fight

Continued from front page

promise that if workers agree to givebacks the companies will do better and the worker's wages, benefits, and work conditions will be restored.

Widespread support for the Eastern strikers is fueled by the anger that has been accumulating over the last decade as working people have accepted this swindle only to have our standard of living continue to deteriorate. Today the bosses don't even promise that things will get better — only that the plant may stay open and fewer of us can keep working for less pay, under worsening conditions.

The Eastern strikers are following the example of the packinghouse workers and paperworkers in saying, "No more!"

They deserve, and need, the support of all working people. A victory by the determined strikers at Eastern will strengthen the capacity of all working people to fight against the bosses' economic offensive.

The profit-hungry drive of the airline bosses has made air travel increasingly dangerous. The reduction of mechanics has meant less maintenance for the airlines' aging fleets. Engines fall off or malfunction on take off. On at least two occasions the skins of jets have ripped open in flight and their passengers have been sucked out to their deaths. Routine ground checks are often not completed. Safety regulations have been weakened in general.

If Eastern Airlines wins, the airlines bosses will be encouraged to push for more concessions, which will further undermine air safety. Safe air travel means having strong airline unions.

In its fight against the union, Eastern has been aided by the courts, and by both the White House and Congress. A government-imposed mediation board presided over 16 months of negotiations between the company and the union. Eastern took advantage of that period to victimize union members and to prepare for the strike. The militant mobilization of the union's members and solidarity from the pilots and flight attendants has broken through the deadlock of the mediation.

Eastern received further help going into the strike when a federal judge and a government arbitrator handed down rulings in mid-February against the union. The decisions allowed the company to contract out more work and to step up unjust firings of union members.

Then right on the eve of the strike, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt the entire labor movement a blow when it ruled that workers who cross their own picket lines dur-

ing a strike have a priority claim on jobs over workers who remain on strike. The decision was made in a case against flight attendants at Trans World Airlines.

And just a few days into the strike federal judges in Philadelphia and the New York-New Jersey area handed down temporary injunctions against railworkers honoring picket lines the machinists had intended to set up at rail terminals. The decision flew in the face of a 1987 Supreme Court ruling that upheld the right of airline and rail unions, which are governed by the Railway Labor Act, to honor each others' picket lines.

President George Bush has said that if the courts lift the injunction, and the machinists set up pickets at rail terminals, he will submit legislation to Congress asking that the Railway Act be amended to prevent the two unions from honoring each others' picket lines.

Many railworkers said they'd have honored the picket lines. They too have had concession after concession forced down their throats.

Eastern's effort to get Black, Latino, and immigrant workers, who face racial discrimination and have lower-paying jobs, to act as strikebreakers has also failed to achieve its expected results. Workers from apartheid South Africa, from El Salvador, and other parts of the world, who have been driven to this country to escape economic hardships and political repression, can be won to support the strike.

The strike also presents an opportunity for opponents of the South African apartheid regime and U.S. intervention in Central America, defenders of women's rights, and activists in other social struggles to show their solidarity. They will find that the Eastern strikers, like other workers who decide to fight to advance their interests, are open to learning more about the struggles of working people in other countries and situations as well.

Working people should build upon the example of labor solidarity with the machinists shown by the airline unions, both flight attendants and pilots. The decision of Eastern's pilots to honor the machinists' picket lines has dealt an unexpected blow to the company's attempt to break the strike.

All working people, members of unions, and working farmers should work to get delegations from their organizations to join the Eastern strikers on the picket line. We should invite the strikers to meetings of our unions or community organizations to explain the issues in the strike and appeal for solidarity. In this way working people can help put up as effective a fight as possible.

'I defend spotted owl against timber monopolies'

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

The pristine waters, rare wildlife, wilderness, and hiking trails of Washington state's Olympic Peninsula are an inspiring source of natural beauty. But a visitor can't help noticing the solid acres of burnt-out tree stumps that splash the edges of the national forest here. These are wooden cemeteries created by the logging industry's greed for profits.

The use of the nation's forests is one of the items on the agenda of the 101st Congress. The preservation of the

PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

forests is central to the efforts of environmentalists to save endangered species and protect our natural environment.

Currently the national forest system includes 191 million acres, more than 10 percent of the land in the United States.

On February 23 the 250,000-member Wilderness Society called for a moratorium on logging old-growth trees in the national forests of the Pacific Northwest. The society sounded an alarm about logging industry practices that threaten the existence of ancient forests and the animals that live in them.

LETTERS

Abortion

This is in response to Karen Treloar's letter in the February 24 *Militant*.

I'm a third-generation United Mine Workers member so I've seen and heard so much of companies and their cops. Job accidents that could have been prevented are normal.

I started to read the *Militant* four years ago after fire killed 27 people in a mine. They died because the law that requires escapeways to be open was waived by the feds. The company would have had to abandon some coal to comply. It was obviously cheaper to buy the feds some groceries, as we used to put it.

Only part of this made it into the national media, but the *Militant* had the whole story. They are doing the same thing with abortion.

To be sure, the question is choice. But how can you have freedom of choice when some choices are blocked?

Consider the following: Here in the United States there isn't an accurate program of sex education apart from Planned Parenthood, and you have to hunt them up.

Abortion is a hard choice. I can't think of anything harder, and believe me when I say I'm glad I've never had to make it.

All the "right to life" are doing is to physically and politically repress the use of abortion as one of the choices, not building any sort of social structure to make it a less attractive choice.

Frank Pavelho
Price, Utah

Nicaragua and Cuba

Your coverage of Nicaragua is thorough and informative. Together with Cuba, a socialist Nicaragua could be a leading force in Latin America, not only of the drive to break free of Yankee imperialism but of a nationwide movement toward socialism.

Now, however, that it appears Nicaragua may be leaning more toward social democracy than socialism, it is important to analyze the reasons why and to take a stance on the issue.

My thoughts are as follows: First, demographics may be a factor. As an island nation it may have been easier for Cuba to go it alone as the only socialist system in Latin America than it would be for Nicaragua, even with Cuba's existence and help.

Second, since Nicaragua seems not to have been receiving as much

aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as did Cuba, it will have to rely more on trade with its neighbors, including the United States. This dependence creates a pressure to conform with its neighbors' political and economic approaches.

Third, while the Nicaraguans have scored a great victory over the contras, the cost of the war seems to have wreaked havoc with the economy, thereby strengthening the position of the capitalist class by giving credence to criticisms of the 'Sandinistas' ability to manage the economy.

Thomas Kleven
Houston, Texas

Corporate mergers

I am baffled by John Steele's contention (*Militant*, February 24) that corporate mergers should be of no concern to working people.

Steele says the "real threat to workers and farmers" is "the worldwide crisis of capitalism." But he acknowledges that "the stepped-up rate of buyouts and mergers reflects a deepening economic crisis ... of the world capitalist economy."

Surely working people do not gain — and stand to lose — from the increasing centralization and concentration of capital represented by corporate mergers. This perception lies behind the widespread opposition by workers in Canada to the free trade agreement with the United States, which will promote capitalist concentration and profits on both sides of the border.

Steele argues that "corporate concentration ... and the deepening crisis of world capitalism cannot be stopped." But the debate in the labor movement is really over how these developments should be resisted.

The New Democratic Party and the trade unions have put forward a number of proposals to fight plant shutdowns, layoffs, union decertifications, regional disparities, decapitalizations, and many other negative consequences associated with corporate mergers and the trade agreement. Some proposals are misdirected, such as the Solidarity Fund proposed by some leaders of the Ontario Federation of Labour.

Others are progressive, such as the shorter workweek (many unions call for a 32-hour week at 40 hours' pay), substantial increases in legislated minimum wages, extended unemployment benefits, government-funded retraining programs, and greater sol-

The call for a moratorium came as the government's General Accounting Office was investigating charges that officials of the Fish and Wildlife Service ordered a scientific report to be modified, in deference to the logging industry, so as to exclude the spotted owl from the list of endangered species.

The report, signed by Rolf Wallenstrom of Portland, Oregon, initially said that the bird faced extinction if changes in forestry procedures were not ordered.

Wallenstrom said he was pressured into dropping this assertion. "There were people who had the owls' best interest in mind, and there were people with politics in mind," Wallenstrom said. "There wasn't an atmosphere ... to accept a decision to list the owl."

The spotted owl lives only in the old-growth forests of Washington, Oregon, and Northern California. One-third of the old growth that was standing in the Olympic Peninsula in 1974 has now been cut down.

Groups such as the Wilderness and Audubon societies say that a "logging first" philosophy has characterized government forestry policy for the last 30 years.

In 1980 Congress voted to make available 450 million board feet of timber annually to loggers in the Tongass National Forest in Alaska. In 1984 Congress voted to preserve more than 1.9 million acres of the national forests of Washington and Oregon, but drew the boundaries to exclude marketable old-growth timber.

Environmentalists say the moratorium should include all tracts larger than 80 acres until the forest service can

do an inventory. They want annual logging in national forests reduced from 11 billion board feet to a "biologically sustainable" 5 to 6.5 billion.

The demands have enraged the timber industry, as well as politicians such as Democratic Gov. Booth Gardner of Washington, who claims that "extreme economic hardship" would result. Representative Al Swift (D.-Wash.) says the proposals would severely damage the economies of the towns in the foothills of the Cascade and Olympic mountain ranges.

One way to protect loggers, woodworkers, paperworkers, and others who might lose jobs as a result of a decline in the industrial use of national forests would be to reduce the workweek without cutting pay, spreading the available work among more workers.

A substantial public works program is needed to refurbish the forests, restore damaged growth, and build more wildlife refuges. Such public works would also provide new jobs, helping to meet the needs of woodworkers both for steady work and a healthy, enjoyable environment. This could be a boost for small logging towns now weighed down by high unemployment, poverty, and pollution.

Even in the not-so-long run, humanity can't afford to choose between protecting the environment and creating jobs. Economic decisions need to be in harmony with preservation of the environment.

Against the timber monopolies, capitalist politicians, and government agencies, I defend the spotted owl.



"We've had some wiring problems with these Boeing jets. Excuse me a minute while I put down the landing gear..."

idity with Third World liberation struggles.

The *Militant* ignores the latter positions. Instead, it labels all opposition to corporate concentration as "utopian" and trivializes workers' concerns by presenting the discussion in Canada as a debate over "the size of corporations."

I don't think the workers are as stupid as you make them out to be.

Richard Fidler
Ottawa, Canada

Dolores Huerta

After an interval of four months, I started to receive the *Militant* once again.

I compliment you for your coverage of the Mark Curtis case.

I condemn you for your limited coverage of the Dolores Huerta case. As you recall, Huerta, who is the vice-president of the United Farm Workers, was innocently practicing her constitutional right by simply distributing boycott literature to a group of demonstrators in San Francisco. She was maliciously attacked by an officer who battered her with a riot club. Huerta, who is 58, was hospitalized with broken ribs.

Like Curtis, she was later slapped in the face by the rusty old gauntlet of an already disgraceful criminal justice system. Both decisions handed down by both juries signal

a grim omen for the working class and its unions.

Victor Alvarado
Fallsburg, New York

Palestinian state

The *Militant* of Dec. 30, 1988, has an article on the December 17 speech of Abdullah Abdullah, Palestine Liberation Organization representative in Canada, at a Lutte ouvrière Forum in Montréal.

In this article, Abdullah encourages people to read the declaration of an independent Palestinian state as drafted at the Nov. 15, 1988, meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

Militant readers can find an official Palestine News Agency (Wafa) translation of the declaration in the Winter 1989 issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, pages 213-216. (Available for \$5.50 from Journal of Palestine Studies, Georgetown Station, P.O. Box 25301, Washington, D.C. 20077-3043.)

Denis Hoppe
East Lansing, Michigan

Baseball for Peace

Enclosed is an article, titled "Nicaragua update," that appeared in the February 13 edition of *Sporting News*:

"Baseball players who signed up for last November's scheduled Baseball for Peace goodwill mission to Nicaragua (*The Sporting*

News, October 24) are advised to get their arms and batting eyes in shape. The tour was postponed because of severe damage caused by Hurricane Joan, but now has been rescheduled for April 1-11.

"The new dates coincide with the German Pomares Championships, the Nicaraguan version of the World Series. The Americans who make the tour will see the championship games and will play exhibition games with teams in rural Nicaragua. One trip will be to the town of Boaco, where donations of labor and money from Baseball for Peace are helping renovate a stadium.

"Jay Feldman, who directs Baseball for Peace in Woodland, California, is looking for a few good (well ...) men to complete his lineup for the goodwill games. For information, call Feldman at (916) 661-1659, or write Baseball for Peace, Box 8282, Woodland, Calif. 95695."

Mike Fitzsimmons
Greensboro, North Carolina

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

Protest shuts down Trinidad

Thousands hit gov't austerity policy in one-day action

BY DON ROJAS

A one-day protest action — the first general strike in Trinidad and Tobago in 51 years — brought this Caribbean country of 1.2 million persons to a virtual halt on March 6. Tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and students stayed at home in a peaceful protest against the government's economic policies and the austerity program of the International Monetary Fund.

Estimating that up to 80 percent of working people responded positively to their call for a "national day of resistance," strike organizers hailed the action as a "tremendous success" that surpassed their most optimistic expectations.

Every trade union in the country had backed the strike in an unprecedented show of labor solidarity, in spite of a government-orchestrated antiunion campaign of intimidation.

Reports from Trinidad say that the two main cities, Port of Spain and San Fernando, were like ghost towns on what would normally have been a busy Monday. All schools were closed. There was no public transport. Private taxis were not running. The markets were empty. There were no self-employed vendors on the sidewalks. Government offices, although open, went unattended.

In a press conference on Monday evening in Port of Spain, strike organizers called on the proimperialist government of Prime Minister H.N.R. Robinson to "take note of the powerful signal sent by the people."

In response, the government sought to downplay the effectiveness of the strike, labeling it as illegal and politically motivated. The government was supported by the local chamber of commerce and by the two capitalist daily newspapers, the *Trinidad Guardian* and the *Express*, both of which have been waging a concerted antiunion propaganda campaign in recent days.

'If Venezuelans protest, why can't we?'

David Abdulah, a leader of the militant Oilfield Workers' Trade Union and one of the strike organizers, reported in a telephone interview that Trinidadians are beginning to make a link between the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its policies around the world. "They are saying, if Venezuelans can protest, why can't we?" he said.

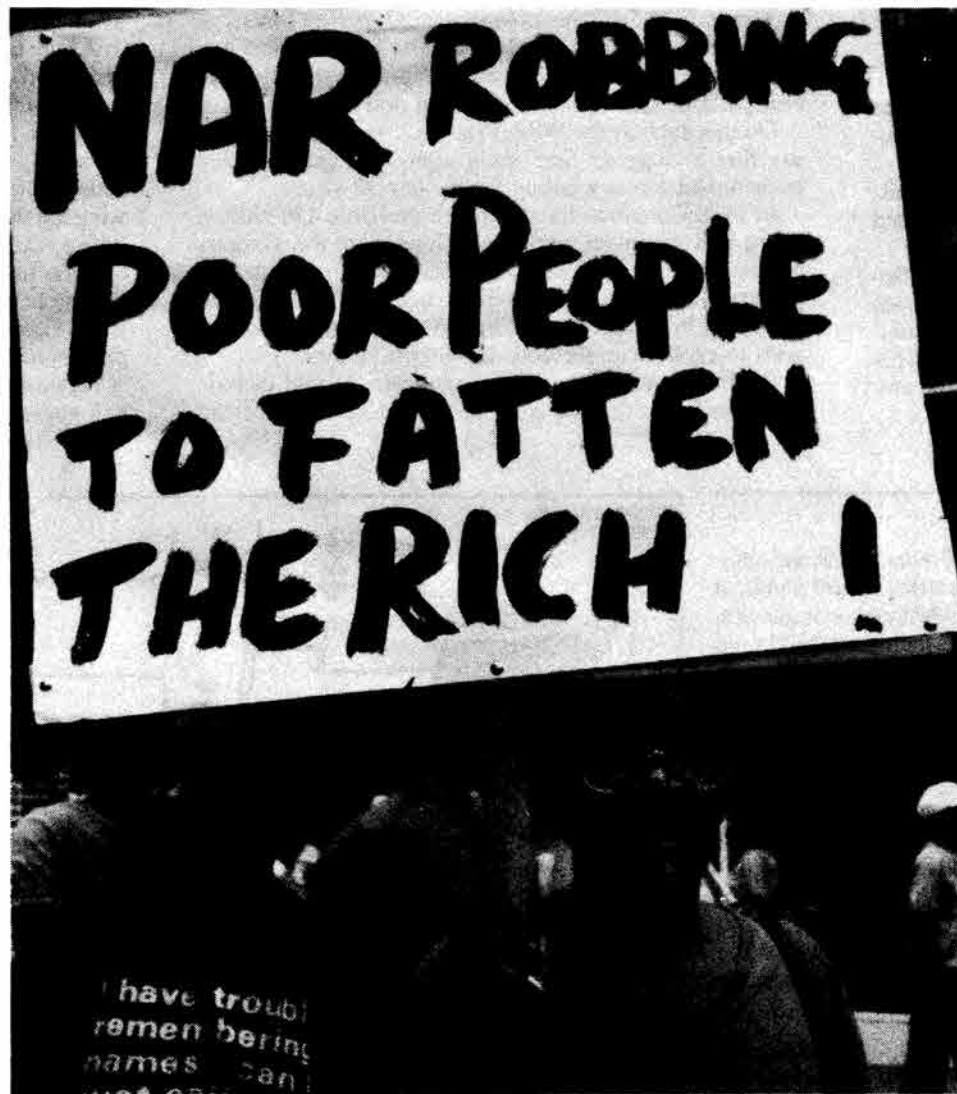
"We are hoping to preempt the situation here from deteriorating to the point it reached in Venezuela where people had to die in hundreds in defense of their rights," said Abdulah. "We are saying to the government, let's act now before it's too late."

Like Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago, which is only nine miles away from its Latin American neighbor, has been in the throes of a severe economic crisis since 1984.

Living standards have fallen steadily, economic growth rates have contracted, and the country's foreign debt has risen consistently. Like Venezuela, it has been hard hit by a combination of weak international prices for its oil exports and widespread government corruption and economic mismanagement in both the public and private sectors of the national economy.

For decades Trinidad and Tobago enjoyed the highest per capita income in the entire Caribbean and the third-highest (after the United States and Canada) in the Western Hemisphere. Today some economists describe it as a "basket case country."

On December 29 last year the entire labor movement, including members of the Congress of Progressive Trade Unions, the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress, and independent unions not affiliated to



October 1988 demonstration in Port of Spain. Workers, farmers, students protested National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government's plan to restructure country's foreign debt with an International Monetary Fund loan.

Militant/Susan Berman

either of the two federations, met in a historic session of joint general councils.

They agreed that the government be called upon to recall its 1989 budget, which had included a 10 percent wage cut for all public-sector workers. They also demanded a referendum on the government's dealings with the IMF.

The December 29 meeting decided that if the government did not accede to these demands, the trade union movement would proceed to organize a protest strike.

Over the past three years, real wages in

Trinidad and Tobago have fallen by 30 percent. It's the largest employer in the country; the government's wage bill covers 100,000 workers, or about one-third of the employed labor force.

The last wage increase for these government-paid workers was in early 1983, yet inflation has risen every year since then by an average of 10 percent.

Adding salt to the wound, the Robinson government in its 1987 budget removed the cost-of-living adjustment, the only remaining cushion against inflation, and in the

1989 budget government food subsidies were abolished in compliance with IMF demands.

Citing the "unilateral action" of the government in cutting public-sector wages by 10 percent as a "fundamental issue," Abdulah described it as highly undemocratic and at the root of the efforts by the Trinidad ruling class to destroy the trade union movement.

He said it violated the process of collective bargaining, which over the past 51 years guaranteed that trade unions and employers would negotiate for terms and conditions of work collectively. This government action, which is in accordance with IMF "conditionality," now sets the precedent for employers to unilaterally alter the terms and conditions of employment.

It is widely expected that the Trinidadian government will fail an upcoming IMF conditionality test in early April and will then be forced by the fund to devalue the currency to TT\$7 to the U.S. dollar. The rate currently stands at TT\$4.25 to the dollar.

Eliminating jobs

In the coming weeks and months, the government will also move toward retrenchment of thousands of public sector workers. Devaluation plus retrenchment could spark more mass protests as the contradictions between labor on the one hand and the IMF and its local allies and clients on the other hand become more acute in the course of the deepening crisis.

In a recent cabinet reshuffle seen by many as a largely cosmetic attempt to boost the government's public image as a crisis-management team, Robinson announced that the new division of labor would enhance government efficiency.

Widely interpreted as an indication of the government's steady drift to the right, he announced the appointment of former attorney general Selwyn Richardson to the newly created cabinet post of minister of justice and national security.

To Trinidad's trade union leadership this is a contradiction since according to political tradition the same minister cannot be responsible for both the security forces and the judicial system. It is viewed, therefore, as a new mechanism to justify "future lock-ups and violent repressions" of activist workers and militant union leaders.

Protests hit kidnapping in Mexico

BY SELVA NEBBIA

More than 500 prominent individuals and organizations from around the world have signed a letter to Mexican authorities demanding that José Ramón García Gómez be immediately produced alive and consequently set free. García was kidnapped in Cuautla in the state of Morelos on Dec. 16, 1988.

Also, some 80 organizations have called for a day of national protests to demand García's release and freedom for many political prisoners.

At the time of his kidnapping, García had been active in the Cardenista Democratic Front, a committee to protest and investigate electoral fraud. The front was formed after a widely disputed presidential race last July resulted in the election of Carlos Salinas de Gortari of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

In those elections, García had run as the Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cuautla.

Since his kidnapping a number of actions have taken place in Cuautla and in Mexico City to demand his release. An international campaign was also initiated to

pressure the Mexican government to produce García.

As a result of these efforts, the Mexican government, earlier this year, formed a broad commission to investigate the case. This body, which includes high government officials as well as members of García's family and of the PRT, has been stalled, said a member of the political committee of the PRT in a telephone interview on March 6.

"The government's investigation has not made any progress because its premise is that this was a self-kidnapping. The investigation therefore is focusing on the activities of the PRT and of José Ramón's family," she explained.

"Since this premise is incorrect, they have not been able to make any headway," she added.

Among the signers of the letter to the Mexican president are: eight deputies of the Social Democratic Party of West Germany; eight members of the Australian parliament; Luisa Irundina de Sousa, the mayor of São Paulo, Brazil; members of the Workers Party of Brazil; and several members of Parliament from the New

Democratic Party of Canada. Signers also include the teachers' union in Montréal and the president of the central committee of the Québécois Workers Federation; the head of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Man in Ecuador; the League of the Rights of Man in France; and peasant leader Hugo Blanco from Peru. The largest number of signers are from the United States, including many trade unionists.

A forum held on February 27 in Cuautla, Morelos, drew 2,000. The meeting was titled, "Forum for life and against repression in Morelos," and took up the case of García as well as the growing problem of repression in the state of Morelos.

Those present at the forum, representing more than 80 organizations, approved a resolution calling for the April 15 protest.

Telegrams and messages demanding García's immediate release should be sent to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Palacio Nacional, Mexico D.F., Mexico.

Copies of messages and telegrams should be sent to the National Front Against Repression, Medellín 366, Col. Roma Sur, 06760 Mexico D.F., Mexico.