

## Protests hit Israel on Palestinian deportations

BY HARRY RING

International protest greeted the Israeli deportation of four Palestinians from their homeland. The four were dumped across the Lebanese border January 13 in a lonely mountain pass and told to walk north. Later that night they were provided shelter in a Lebanese army barracks.

Residents of the Israeli-occupied West Bank, the four were taken by helicopter to a strip of Lebanon occupied by Israel since its 1982 invasion of that country.

The four were banished from their country by military order, with no trial or evidence presented against them.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir asserted they were "incorrigible inciters."

One of the four, Jibril Rajub, is the author of *Cell No. 704*, a prison memoir that is banned but widely read in the West Bank.

The International Red Cross branded the deportation "a grave violation" of international law. The United Nations Security Council, which had earlier protested the deportation order, was slated to meet on the issue.

The deportations came as part of an intensified Israeli drive to crush the Palestinian rebellion. But the brutal new repressive measures serve only to stiffen the resolve of the liberation fighters.

In a move described as "collective punishment," round-the-clock military curfews have turned Palestinian refugee centers into virtual concentration camps.

The practice of preventive detention, under which people can be incarcerated indefinitely without charges, is again being used on a wide scale.

And in an ominous green light to right-wing colonial settlers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, a settler leader who murdered a Palestinian youth was quickly freed by occupation officials. They declared he acted "in self-defense."

Responding to the growing world revulsion against its murderous drive to restore "order," the government is barring the media, particularly camera crews, from many affected areas.

As of January 12, a reported 200,000 Palestinians in 10 West Bank and Gaza refugee camps were hit by the "collective punishment" curfew order.

This means people cannot go to work or to school or obtain medical care.

The army said that every day or so, the curfew is lifted for an hour or two so that people can obtain food. But many of the districts are sealed off by troops, and shopkeepers cannot obtain food or other supplies.

United Nations relief workers complained that soldiers were barring their food and medical supply vehicles from coming into the camps.

In towns and camps where the curfew is not in effect, the military is using a new tactic — rounding up groups of males and making them stand out in the cold all night in the hope that the next day they will be too tired to hurl rocks.

A UN official said that in one town this was done to males between the ages of 10 and 65.

Israeli officials also announced that dozens of people have been imprisoned under its administrative detention decree. The decree permits the military to hold "security" risks for up to six months without specific charges. The six-month term can be renewed indefinitely. The regulation is a

Continued on Page 10

## Boycott builds against Haiti's fake elections

BY SUSAN LaMONT

A broadly supported boycott has emerged as the main response by Haiti's toilers to the moves by that country's military-dominated government to control the outcome of the January 17 presidential elections. The boycott has gained momentum in spite of a new government-decreed election law that calls for stiff fines and even imprisonment for those who "mistakenly" urge people to abstain from voting.

The boycott — called by the four leading opposition presidential candidates — is backed by virtually all the forces in opposition to the government of Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, including trade unions, peasant organizations, religious groups, human rights organizations, political associations, and others.

On December 18 the Autonomous Confederation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the leading trade union organization in Haiti, issued a statement calling "on all patriots in the nine geographical departments of the country to not participate in the January 17 elections and to take all necessary steps to get rid of the last remnants of the Duvalierist dictatorship."

"The CATH calls on all trade unions," the statement continued, "in America, Europe, Asia, and in Oceania to make workers aware, to mobilize themselves so they can take measures to prevent containers and merchandise from being sent to Haiti in order to paralyze the criminal, lying CNG [National Government Council] and force it to abandon power."

Discussion of an organized boycott began soon after the November 29 presidential elections were canceled in mid-stream following a massacre of voters carried out by Tontons Macoutes and government soldiers. The Macoutes, the private thug army of former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier, had been responsible for a series of increasingly violent attacks leading up to the elections, in spite of their formal dissolution by Namphy in 1986. There are reports that large numbers of Tontons Macoutes have also recently been integrated into the army itself.

The presidential elections, the first in Haiti in nearly 30 years, were only reluc-



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Students in Port-au-Prince protest in July 1987 against threat of U.S. intervention. Action was on anniversary of 1915 invasion by U.S. marines. Current proposals for intervention by proimperialist "peacekeeping force" target Haitian people's struggle for democracy and other gains.

tantly scheduled by Namphy — the army chief of staff under Duvalier — in response to massive pressure from the Haitian people, who continued to press for democratic rights and economic justice following their victory in ousting Duvalier in early 1986.

Following the murderous assault on the November elections, which left at least 80 dead and scores wounded, Namphy dissolved the independent electoral council, which was responsible for organizing the elections. He replaced it with a handpicked body, rescheduled the elections for January

17, and enacted a new election law designed to insure military control of the voting.

Following enactment of the new law, a number of Duvalierist cronies whom the original electoral council had disqualified from running announced that they were once again candidates. (Haiti's new constitution, approved in a referendum last March, prohibits key supporters of Duvalier from holding office for 10 years.) On January 9 they were again disqualified, this time by Namphy's election board, in a

Continued on Page 13

## N.Y. antiracist action picks up steam

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — Trade unionists, high school students, and activists from Black, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and other communities are among the many who are coming to the office of the New Yorkers for Racial Justice to pick up leaflets for the January 18 March for Racial Justice.

The march called by the Racial Justice group, a coalition of 70 organizations and prominent individuals, will set off at 1:00 p.m. from the steps of City Hall, wind through the Wall Street and Foley Square areas, and conclude with a rally at City Hall. The action coincides with the observance of Martin Luther King Day.

The coalition, which has its office at the headquarters of Local 1199 Hospital and Health Care Workers, has put out more than 300,000 leaflets for the march, and more than 150,000 had been distributed by press time. Full-page newspaper advertisements have been purchased to help build participation in the march, which is also receiving extensive radio coverage.

Union shop stewards are distributing leaflets at many workplaces in the area, and a labor contingent will be among those marching.

The call for the action was sparked by recent killings of Blacks by cops and the December 25 racist gang assault on two Blacks in Brooklyn. Only two of the white youths involved in this attack on Sylvester and Steven LaMont have been arrested.

These attacks come in the wake of more than a year of highly publicized racist attacks, including the lynch mob murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach a year ago. Three of the Howard Beach attackers were convicted of manslaughter on December 21. Sentencing is slated to begin January 20.

The call for the January 18 protest issued by the coalition explains that the march, held "in memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., and his struggle for dignity and respect," demands passage of legislation barring racist and bias-motivated violence and establishing a permanent special prosecutor to investigate and prosecute such acts.

It calls on participants to "march in recognition of a multi-racial struggle to create a climate in New York City that guarantees racial justice and equality."

At the January 10 news conference announcing the action, State Assemblyman Roger Green supported a call by Manhattan

Borough President David Dinkins for a special commission to investigate racism in the city.

"What we need now," said Green, "is an implementing commission . . . to address the underlying causes of economic and racial polarization in the city."

The Chinese Progressive Association was one of the organizations that distributed a statement at the news conference. Declaring wholehearted endorsement of the march and its demands, the statement explained:

"Asian Americans join with New Yorkers for Racial Justice in expressing our outrage over the city government and judicial system's indifference, and practical endorsement, of racist violence. New Yorkers have seen the killers of Michael Griffith, Eleanor Bumpurs, and Michael Stewart, walk free or given light sentences. We are fed up with this mockery of justice."

"As Asian Americans have learned from the murder of Vincent Chin, beaten to death with baseball bats by two white racists, nothing would have ever been done to bring these murderers to trial if it weren't for a united and mobilized community."

Chin was murdered in Detroit by racists

Continued on Page 4



# Campaign begins for subscription renewals to 'Militant,' 'PM'

BY NORTON SANDLER

This week, our distributors will begin a nine-week campaign to contact readers about renewing their subscriptions to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. They will also be encouraging readers to purchase a copy of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

The campaign, which runs through March 19, comes on the heels of the successful fall 1987 circulation drive during which a combined total of more than 8,600 new subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM* and single copies of *New Internationalist* were sold.

Renewal campaigns are an important part of increasing our long-term readership. They provide distributors in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries with an opportunity to get back in touch with workers, students, and farmers who subscribe to the periodicals. Organizing a systematic effort to talk politics with these readers, including those we first came in contact with during visits to regional areas, will determine the success of the campaign.

*Militant* and *PM* readers get notices alerting them as to when their subscriptions will expire, and they are encouraged to renew promptly so they won't miss a single issue.

Our business office received an average of between 40 and 50 *Militant* subscription renewals every week for the past several months. We receive an average of five *PM* renewals a week.

## Next week's 'Militant' features speech by Fidel Castro

The upcoming *Militant* will include an issue of the *International Socialist Review* containing Cuban President Fidel Castro's speech to the city of Havana provincial meeting of the Communist Party of Cuba. Castro is the first secretary of the party's central committee. The speech was delivered Nov. 29, 1987.

Castro reviews the progress the party has made in the past 18 months in leading Cuba's working people to combat the corruption, demoralization, depoliticization, and growth of bureaucratic and reactionary ideas and practices that afflicted the revolution.

Castro's speech focuses on the "new spirit" and material gains achieved by the incorporation of large numbers of industrial workers, technicians, office workers, doctors, teachers, housewives, and students into volunteer construction brigades, called minibrigades.

Often the renewals are accompanied by a comment about the publications. Some of the comments are run in the *Militant's* weekly letters column.

Recently, this has included a note from a Minnesota subscriber, who said, "I really enjoy your paper, and it provides me with some hope for a better and just world. . . ."

"This is my third renewal of the *Militant*. I wouldn't be without it. Recent coverage of Cuba, China, and the Soviet Union has been excellent. . . ." a Massachusetts subscriber noted.

"I really enjoy reading the *Militant* every week. Please renew my subscription. Continue the great coverage of topics from the working-class point of view," wrote another.

Not everyone is enthusiastic about the *Militant*. For example, we got a note not long ago from someone who said, "Due to our conflicts on major issues, I would like to cancel my subscription to your paper."

We have found in previous renewal efforts that when our distributors begin the process of contacting readers and talking politics with them, the rate of renewals goes up. During this campaign, our distributors will also be encouraging readers to purchase a copy of the current issue of *New Internationalist*. (See ad on page 9.)

During the past two weeks, we processed 92 *Militant* renewals. Seven readers resubscribed for two years, 35 for a year, 25 for half a year, and another 25 for 12 weeks.

Seven of these readers also took advantage of our special offer and purchased a copy of *New Internationalist*. Anyone who purchases a *Militant* subscription of six months or longer can get \$3 off the cover price of the current issue of the magazine.

If *PM* readers renew their subscriptions, they can receive eight weeks of the *Militant* or the Pathfinder pamphlet "¡Cancelar la deuda de América Latina!" (Cancel the Latin American Debt), a speech by Cuban leader Fidel Castro explaining why the foreign debt of Third World countries is unpayable and urging an international campaign for its cancellation.

The renewal inserts that are mailed out with the *Militant* and *PM* include a box where readers can check off a contribution to the *Militant* Prisoner Fund. This complements the appeals for the prisoner fund we often make in the periodicals and the special appeal we made during the holiday period last month. The fund offsets the cost of sending 275 periodicals to our readers behind bars who are unable to pay for a subscription because of their circumstances.

During 1987, our readers contributed \$792 to the fund. This includes nine readers who sent in \$232 in December.



Militant/Halket Allen

Supporter of socialist publications discusses articles in issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* with passerby on Philadelphia street corner. Nine-week drive is opening to renew subscriptions won last fall.

## Messages acclaim Guevara book

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The newly published English-language collection of writings, speeches, and letters of Ernesto Che Guevara, by Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, has won worldwide acclaim. Meetings to celebrate the appearance of the book were held at the end of last year in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and Britain.

The rallies to launch *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* involved a broad array of organizations and individuals, who either spoke, attended, or sent messages. They included political leaders from Cuba and other countries; representatives of national liberation movements; labor leaders; political activists; artists; authors; professors; and representatives from other publishing houses.

The *Militant* gave extensive coverage to these meetings, including reprinting excerpts from some of the greetings. We recently received copies of the texts of four messages sent to the December 2 meeting in London, which was addressed by Oscar Fernández Mell, Cuba's ambassador to Britain.

Jaime López, the representative to Britain of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) wrote: "To commemorate the 20th anniversary of Che Guevara's assassination in Bolivia, the FMLN forces in El Salvador launched in early October a military campaign code named '20 Years of the Latin American Anti-imperialist Struggle: Long Live Che's Guerrillas.'"

"We welcome and wish every success to your new book *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*."

Oct. 9, 1987, marked the 20th anniversary of Che's murder at the hands of the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in Bolivia in 1967. A central leader of the 1959 Cuban revolution, Guevara left Cuba

to participate in the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia in 1966.

Than Nhan Khang, third secretary of the Vietnamese embassy in London, wrote: "Ernesto Che Guevara is a revolutionary hero and a devoted international freedom fighter. His character, his will, his tenacity, and his spirit of work make an extraordinary example for all people fighting for national liberation, freedom, and social progress in the world. We should be grateful to Pathfinder for their great efforts to bring Che's ideas to the consciousness of millions more."

George Louison, a former minister in the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada before its overthrow in October 1983, and now a leading member of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, read a message on behalf of the MBPM.

"Twenty years after the assassination of Che Guevara in the Bolivian mountains, people throughout the world have said with vigor and enthusiasm 'Che lives!'"

"And there is no better expression of that reality than to see in print the immortal words of the legendary fighter." This book, he said, "is a dedication to the future and the impact the words of Che will have on generations to come."

Faisal Aoudha, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to Britain, wrote:

"That a book is published 20 years after a revolutionary's death is testimony enough to the importance of Che Guevara not only in carrying forward the flame of liberation in the Americas but also in inspiring generations of freedom fighters the world over."

"For the Palestinians, Che has a very special significance for he chose to be committed according to principles of internationalism. He lived and died accordingly. We the Palestinians, denied our homeland, at home nowhere but in struggle, have had internationalism thrust upon us and so we can only feel close to Che. . . ."

## The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

"The work being carried out by the *Militant* is admirable and very necessary."

"It brings us clear and accurate information about the most important questions affecting workers and all the oppressed classes."

"I urge you to subscribe to it."

—Yvonne Meléndez

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Yvonne Meléndez, defendant in Hartford frame-up case against 16 supporters of Puerto Rican independence

## The Militant

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# Trial of Ky. coal miner Paul Smith begins

## He is fifth union member framed up on charges stemming from 1984-85 strike

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

LONDON, Ky. — The trial of Paul Smith, a United Mine Workers of America member facing federal charges stemming from a strike against A.T. Massey Coal Co., began here January 11.

Four other union miners — Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland — were convicted last month in Ashland, Kentucky, of conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce and other counts.

They are to be sentenced in early February and face up to 50 years in prison. Paul Smith faces the same charges.

The trials were separated by mutual agreement of the defendants.

The frame-up charges stem from a May

1985 shooting incident on Coeburn Mountain, near Canada, Kentucky, where all the men lived at the time. Scab coal hauler Hayes West was killed.

The trial is being held in this small southern Kentucky town about three hours away from Canada.

This area used to be a coal mining center in the 1950s and '60s. Today most of the mines have been closed and there are few UMWA members here now.

London, where the federal courthouse is located, is also the county seat.

About 25 people were in the courtroom during the second day of the trial. A majority are supporters of Smith, who is brought to the courthouse each day with his hands handcuffed behind his back. The handcuffs

are removed just before he is allowed to enter the courtroom.

The prosecution has painted a picture of mineowners and scabs besieged by violent union members.

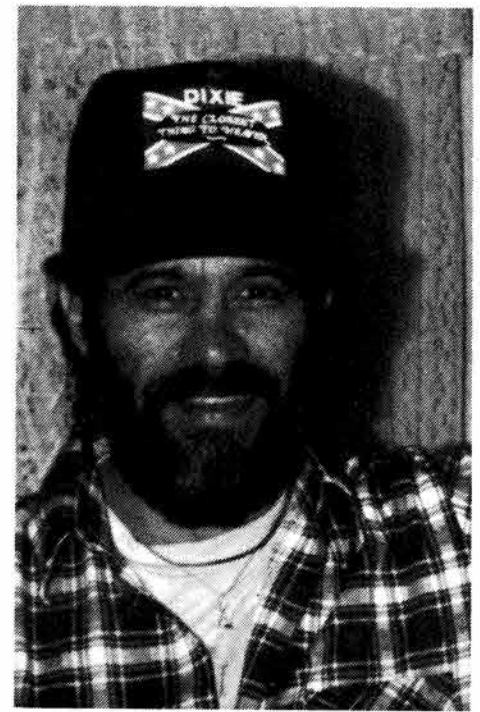
In reality, the 1984-85 strike saw widespread violence by Storm Security and the Kentucky State Police against the union. Members were shot at, teargassed, and run over. Picket shacks were dynamited and torn down. No one has been charged for any of these crimes.

The trial here will feature the same parade of coached and paid witnesses who testified in Ashland. These include the boss at the mine Hayes West was working for; Hayes West's brother; various Storm Security and state cops; former friends of the defendants who have been moved to Florida and received thousands of dollars from the U.S. Department of Justice; and Ervin Smith, a miner indicted with the others who later pleaded guilty and testified against them.

It has been clear for a while that the government has been carefully constructing the frame-up of Paul Smith. Prosecutor Thomas Self told the press after the trial of the other miners that it has always been his contention that Paul Smith was the one who fired a shotgun in the so-called "ambush" that led to West's death.

Self is also the prosecutor in this trial. Sitting next to him during the proceedings are a U.S. Department of Justice attorney on special assignment for these trials and FBI agent Sam Smith.

The trouble is none of the testimony or



Paul Smith

evidence established that any of the men was on the mountain at the time of the shooting or that they fired the guns used, since they haven't been found.

Messages of support can be sent to Paul Smith at Laurel County Jail, 4th and Long Streets, London, Ky. 40741. Donations to help pay for legal expenses can be sent to Citizens for Justice, P.O. Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.

## Company negligence cause of vast Pa. oil spill

BY GLENN ORLIC

PITTSBURGH — The worst oil spill to occur on an inland waterway in the United States began January 2, when a storage tank owned by Ashland Oil Co. collapsed while being filled with diesel oil.

The tank, which stood on the banks of the Monongahela River in Jefferson Township, south of Pittsburgh, was holding more than 3 million gallons of diesel fuel oil when the spill happened. While holding dikes built around the tank held back 2.5 million gallons of the oil, 1 million gallons poured into the Monongahela.

The slick, which covered the river from bank to bank, was reported to be inches deep in some parts. The swiftly flowing Monongahela carried the slick down past Pittsburgh and into the Ohio River, which is formed by the merging of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers. Five days later the oil had reached Wheeling, West Virginia. Some of the spill may eventually reach the Mississippi River, several hundred miles west of the spill site.

Communities along the Monongahela and Ohio faced a crisis as water pumping stations were shut down to prevent oil-contaminated river water from entering municipal water lines. The Ohio, Monongahela, and Allegheny rivers are a vital resource for the hundreds of thousands of people who live and work along their banks. Besides being major transportation routes for oil, coal, and industrial products, these rivers provide millions of gallons of water for industrial and home use. For many of the communities along the banks, the rivers are the only source of public water.

While Pittsburgh, which draws its water from the Allegheny, was not directly affected by the spill, the suburban areas on the western banks of the Monongahela and Ohio faced severe cutbacks in water usage. Some areas, like Robinson Township, with a population of 23,000, had no water at all for several days. The state and municipal authorities moved in water trucks, called

"water buffaloes," to provide drinking water. Residents had to stand in line to fill buckets and coolers at firehouses and parking lots.

Subfreezing weather worsened an already critical situation. Some people had to be evacuated from their homes when the water in their boilers dried up, leaving them with no heat. The cold weather also hampered clean up work on the rivers.

Industries were immediately affected by the spill and shutoff. Industries like steel and pharmaceuticals, which use hundreds of thousands of gallons of water a day, laid off workers. Disruption of commerce on the rivers also led to production cuts in some areas.

The Clairton coke batteries, which are owned by USX and supply coke to mills in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio were temporarily shut down because of a halt of coal barges on the Monongahela. Other industries like food processing and soft drink bottling were also forced to scale back or halt production. Hundreds of workers have lost wages as a result.

Ashland Oil Co. has come under fire for not properly applying for permits to put up the tank. It has also given conflicting statements about the structure. Immediately after the accident, Ashland claimed that the tank was new. It turned out, however, that the tank was actually 40 years old.

When asked about permits and inspection of the structure, Ashland claimed that it had obtained permits, a claim that was denied by state and country officials. John Hall, head of Ashland, finally admitted that the company had no written permit to build the tank.

While Ashland has promised to pay for cleaning the spill, the question of liability for the total costs of the accident is wide open. The final bill will total millions of dollars, when lost wages, production revenues, and social costs are figured in. In the meantime only 150,000 gallons of oil have been recovered from the river, and much of the spill may never be recovered.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Monongahela, Allegheny, and Ohio Rivers are vital resource for hundreds of thousands who live and work along their banks.

## British miners will vote for union president on Jan. 22

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

ROTHERHAM, England — On January 22 members of the National Union of Mineworkers will be voting for union president. There are only two candidates, outgoing President Arthur Scargill and John Walsh, a North Yorkshire area official.

Scargill was elected the union's president for life in 1982. Since the mine union's militant 1984-85 strike, the Conservative Party (Tory) government of Margaret Thatcher has been demanding that all union officials be forced to stand for reelection. Forces in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) opposed to Scargill's course of mobilizing the ranks to fight attacks by government-owned British Coal have raised similar demands.

Scargill announced his decision to run for reelection at a meeting of the union's executive committee on November 12. The agenda that day was dominated by a discussion of the union's eight-week refusal to work overtime in protest against British Coal's new code of conduct.

Durham area leaders, with Scargill's support, proposed that a special delegate conference be convened to discuss further action against the code. This was rejected.

Government ministers and British Coal management openly state that the code is designed to victimize mine union officials and union activists.

Despite a 77 percent vote by NUM members in favor of action against the code, the overtime ban decided upon by the mine union's executive council only limited overtime on coal production, not on maintenance or development work.

Management has taken this to be a sign of weakness and is pressing forward with attacks on the union:

- Payment of this year's wage increase, due this month, is being withheld until the overtime ban is lifted.
- Mine closures and job losses have increased.
- British Coal is supporting the recruitment drive of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, a breakaway from the NUM headed by forces that tried to sabotage the 1984-85 strike.
- The promise of investment in new mines is being used to try to get miners to give up the five-day workweek and also agree to longer shifts.

The first week of January, miners at Bentley Colliery in South Yorkshire took strike action in defense of three men disciplined for allegedly not working hard enough. Pickets quickly went to other Yorkshire mines asking for support. By January 8, some 20 mines had stopped work.

Scargill will have held more than 50 meetings in the coalfields by the time of the election.

He has repeatedly explained that every time the NUM has sought a compromise, management has come back demanding further concessions.

"Mr. Scargill's opponents on the executive are decent men whom you could talk to, even if they have a naive belief that if they offer concessions, we will be able to do the same. We cannot," an unnamed coal board official told the *Financial Times* in December.

Walsh calls for negotiations with the coal bosses to secure higher wages and benefits in return for what he sees as inevitable job losses and changes in working conditions.

Officials from Scotland and South Wales have been supporting this same approach in the NUM leadership.

On October 30 Scargill summarized the choice facing miners as being between "New Realism," or the "politics of fear," on one hand and class struggle on the other.

New Realism, Scargill said, was "initially conceived by those in the Communist Party grouped around the magazine *Marxism Today*." He said their response "to the Tories' savage attack on the NUM during the year-long miners' strike of 1984-85 was to suggest that it was our union leadership's uncompromising resistance to pit closures which was to blame."

The conclusion of Scargill's campaign is not on January 22, the day of the ballot. Opinion polls commissioned by the newspaper *Mail on Sunday* and TV Channel 4 predict a landslide victory for Scargill, including in South Wales and Scotland.

The key date is February 2, when the NUM will hold a special delegate conference to discuss action on issues facing miners. This meeting will be an important test of the progress Scargill has made in winning support for his perspectives.



# Record of violent attacks on Blacks in New York

Racist violence is indelibly woven into the fabric of New York life. No Black person, Latino, or Asian is immune from attack. Much of the violence is perpetrated by the police who either go free or get slap-on-the-wrist sentences for their crimes.

The ugly blot spreads throughout the state. For example Tawana Brawley, a 15-year-old high school student in Wappingers Falls was kidnapped and raped last November. Her captors, six white men, told her they were cops. With excrement, they scrawled "KKK" and "nigger" on her body. Authorities said a grand jury is investigating.

In December 1986, in Wallkill, Jimmie Lee Bruce was dragged out of a movie house by two cops moonlighting as security guards. One of them killed Bruce with a chokehold. A grand jury declined to indict the cops.

In New York City the list of victims is long. The following cases are only part of the list.

**May 1981.** Michael Phillips and a friend are bicycling through Ozone Park. A gang of racists descend on them with fists and knives. Phillips is beaten and stabbed to death.

Later one of the participants in the attack comes forward and identifies the ring leaders. Soon after he is murdered. Two indictments are brought then dropped.

**June 1982.** Willie Turks, a city transit worker, and two coworkers drive to a Brooklyn bagel shop. Leaving, they come under fierce attack from about 15 racists armed with pipes and bottles. Turks is beaten to death. Four of the killers are tried. The ringleader drew 5 to 15 years for manslaughter and is released in three years. The others, tried later get even lighter sentences.

**September 1983.** Michael Stewart, 25, is arrested by transit cops on charges of scrawling graffiti on a subway wall. He is beaten and stomped. Hog-tied and thrown in back of a police van, he is in a coma for 13 days and then dies.

Six cops are tried and acquitted.

**October 1984.** Eleanor Bumpurs, 66, lives in a city housing project. She owes a month's rent, \$96.85, and a team of cops break down her apartment door to evict her. She brandishes a kitchen knife at them. Officer Stephen Sullivan takes aim with a shotgun. His blast tears off part of the hand in which she had been holding the knife. He fires a second shot, from which she dies.

In a nonjury trial, the judge rules Sullivan acted properly and acquitted him.

**December 1984.** A subway vigilante, Bernhard Goetz, shoots four Black youths in cold blood, paralyzing one for life. Goetz claims "self defense," asserting the youths intended to rob him. In court, he's convicted on a minor gun possession charge and sentenced to six months.

**May 1986.** Samuel Spencer, riding on a bicycle in Coney Island, has a minor collision with a car. Whites piled out of four cars and beat him to death.

**December 1986.** Michael Griffith, Cedric Sandiford, and Timothy Grimes are attacked by a racist gang in Howard Beach, a white enclave. Sandiford is savagely beaten. Griffith is chased onto a highway and killed by a car. In an initial trial, four of the dozen participants in the lynch attack are tried. Three are convicted on charges of manslaughter, assault, and conspiracy. One is acquitted.

**February 1987.** Wajid Abdul-Salaam, a city transit worker, is arrested as a burglary suspect after knocking on the door of a home and pleading for water, complaining of chest pains. Eight cops descend on him. He is hog-tied and carted away. In a police holding cell he lapses into a coma and dies. Police commissioner announces that hog-tying — the police practice of trussing prisoners' hands and feet behind their backs — is to be barred.

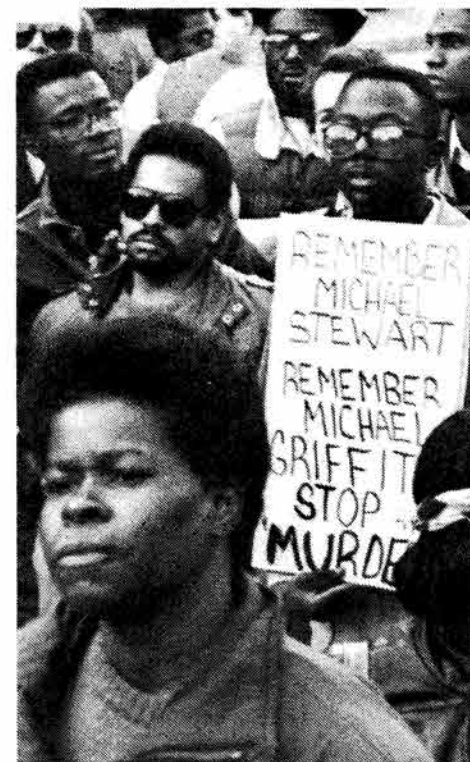
**February 1987.** Nicholas Bartlett is sur-

rounded by eight cops on a Harlem street corner. Claiming that he is threatening them with a pipe, they bring Bartlett down with a volley of shots. A grand jury refuses to indict the cops.

**October 1987.** Kenroy Burke is shot down across the street from his Bronx home by cops responding to a report of a man with a gun. The cops say Burke drew what they thought was a gun from his pocket. There is no gun. A neighbor who witnessed the killing says, "Kenroy raised his hands in the air. He had no gun or anything that looked like a gun." Officials say cops followed guidelines.

**December 1987.** Yvonne Smallwood, a hospital worker, gets into an argument with cops who are giving her companion a ticket. She is "restrained" by cops, jailed, hospitalized, jailed again, hospitalized again. Six days after her arrest she is dead. Her companion says she was beaten almost unconscious when arrested. Her lawyer says she was also beaten and kicked when returned from the hospital to police custody. Hospital officials say her death could have been the result of beatings. The city says it's investigating.

**December 1987.** In Queens, Alfred Sanders is shot dead by two cops who say he was coming at them with a knife. A woman who lives on the block and witnessed the killing, says, "He had his hands in



Militant/Michael Baumann

**November 2 protest outside courthouse where Howard Beach lynchers were tried demands punishment of killers.**

the air and he took four steps toward the police and they opened fire."

**December 1987.** Steven and Sylvester LaMont, unemployed, are collecting deposit bottles in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn. They are set upon by up to 10 hoodlums with sticks, a marble slab, and knives. The mob yells, "This is our Howard Beach!" Cops arrest two of the gang.

## Ill. college is target of witch-hunt

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

CHICAGO — The *Chicago Tribune*, a major big-business daily, has opened a witch-hunt against faculty and students at Northeastern Illinois University, with apparent behind-the-scenes help from the FBI and local cops.

The December 13 *Tribune* article carried the headline: "Campus Cabal: At a Chicago College, Academic Freedom May Have Set a Course for Terrorism."

The campaign particularly targets Black and Puerto Rican students and faculty, and their organizations as potential terrorists. NIU is 25 percent Black, Latino, and Asian, and it has the largest Puerto Rican enrollment of any college in the area.

The December 13 article warned against "potentially deadly effects" of allowing academic freedom at NIU, citing alleged links of campus personnel to defendants in recent "terrorism" show trials.

A former student, current student, and

professor at NIU were among those charged in the recent trial of El Rukns, a Black former gang on Chicago's South Side that recently converted to Islam.

The FBI set up a case charging El Rukns with conspiring to carry out bombings and assassinations in exchange for \$2.5 million from the Libyan government.

Backed by daily media coverage that portrayed all the government's charges as proven facts, the El Rukns members were convicted last month.

The *Tribune* also charged there were links between NIU students and 10 Puerto Rican independence advocates who were arrested in 1981, and subsequently convicted on the basis of testimony by an FBI informer. The article also cited the trial of Jaime Delgado, an academic counselor at NIU, on trumped-up charges of helping Oscar Lopez, a Puerto Rican activist, try to escape from prison in 1986. Delgado and three others, alleged to be members of the Puerto Rican independence group the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), were convicted December 31 of conspiracy. They are to be sentenced February 26.

The FBI is subpoenaing the campus records of student and faculty activists. And off-the-record interviews are being used to further the smear operation.

The *Tribune* also published articles by alleged "experts" on terrorism. "Terrorists often target schools that cater to the underprivileged minorities, some of whom may

be predisposed to sympathize with militant movements," claimed M. Cherif Bassiouni, a professor at DePaul University. "For example, if a school has a high concentration of Puerto Rican students, there is a strong likelihood that you will find some students who are FALN supporters."

Richard Ward, a professor currently conducting a study of "domestic terrorism" for the Justice Department said, "If you have rabid ideologues on your faculty, you have to wonder whether they're teaching or brainwashing. The administration should scrutinize people like that very carefully."

Northeastern Illinois University Provost Barbara Hursh has gone along with the attack on academic freedom, declaring, "The school administration will not tolerate faculty members' association with terrorism."

"If either the Northeastern professor or academic counselor now facing criminal charges are convicted, we will not regard them as the type of individuals who are constructive educators or role models for our students, and we will begin reviewing their employment."

The FBI subpoenas of campus records, she said, "draw to our attention the possibility that agencies outside the university have reason to believe that there are others involved at Northeastern. We're sobered by that and we will not be complacent."

The school administration recently denied tenure to Jose Lopez, brother of Oscar Lopez.

## Support grows for antiracist march

Continued from front page

in 1982. A local prosecution ended with the killers given probation and fines. Broad protests, particularly from Chinese and other Asian American organizations and communities, forced the federal government to try the killers for violating Chin's civil rights. One of them was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

The Chinese Progressive Association statement continued:

"Despite the attempts to pit different minority groups against each other, we must all remember that Blacks, Asians, Latinos, and progressive whites have fought together, side by side, for civil rights, for affirmative action, against English-only legislation, and will continue to fight together for racial justice. We must seize this opportunity to work together. . . ."

The sponsors of the January 18 march

include elected officials such as State Senator David Paterson, a sponsor of the proposed law against racist violence; union officials, including Stanley Hill, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Jim Bell, chairman of the New York Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The list of endorsers made available to the press at the January 10 news conference includes civil rights activists such as Zoilo Torres, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, and Joseph Haslip of the National People of Color Student Coalition. Also listed were the National Conference of Black Lawyers and New York Civil Liberties Union, many antiwar organizations, and such political organizations as the New York District Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

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# Prospects for fighting racist attacks

Possibility for massive, united actions shown in N.Y. antiracist struggle

BY DOUG JENNESS

We received a phone call from a reader about our coverage of the Brooklyn march protesting the December 25 attack on two Blacks, Sylvester and Steven LaMont, by a racist gang. (See "Brooklyn march hits racist violence" in January 15 *Militant*.) She had participated in the January 2 march in the mostly white neighborhood of Bensonhurst in Brooklyn, where the attack had occurred, and thought our article was good. But, she said, it was inaccurate on one point.

Our article had reported that the marchers had responded to racist epithets from scores of white residents lined up along the streets "by chanting 'Bensonhurst, have you heard, this is not Johannesburg.'"

Our reader said that after the Johannesburg chant began, another one was started that was soon picked up by many of the 400-500 marchers. It was "Bensonhurst, have you heard, this is Johannesburg." Others continued chanting the previous chant.

Since the shift in chants generated some discussion among marchers, she said, we should have reported it.

We agree. Good reporting presents the facts accurately and includes all important facts. Normally we'd make this correction without further comment.

But shortly after we received the call from our reader, the latest issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, arrived in the office. In an editorial headlined, "This is Johannesburg!" the paper made the matter of this shift in chants a major theme of its commentary.

The editors wrote, "Acknowledging the reality around us, our chant turned into 'This is Johannesburg,' a feeling reinforced as we crossed under the el tracks and returned to the safety of the 'homeland' — the mostly Black and Latino Marlboro Houses. The police waited outside."

Confronted with the venomous hatred of

white residents who want to keep that part of Brooklyn off limits to Blacks, the chant, along with many others during the demonstration, expressed the marchers' outrage.

But that's very different than giving the impression, as the *Guardian* editorial tends to do by featuring it so prominently, that this chant describes, even metaphorically, the situation in New York City and the United States in 1988.

## Disorienting

This is disorienting and can lead to an underestimation of the possibilities for organizing genuinely mass actions, involving tens of thousands of Blacks, whites, Latinos, and Asians against the attacks in Bensonhurst and elsewhere in New York and other cities.

That the situation in New York is very different than in South Africa is shown by the fact that the city administration was compelled to send 1,000 cops to Bensonhurst to prevent a riot by the racists against the marchers, who were peacefully asserting the right of Blacks to walk the public streets of that mainly white neighborhood. Blacks marching into a white neighborhood in segregated Johannesburg, declaring the "streets are ours," would assuredly be the target of cop violence.

Racist attempts to perpetuate white enclaves like Bensonhurst and Howard Beach in Queens, where a lynch mob attacked three Blacks, killing one, a year ago, runs against the grain of what most people in this country have come to think is acceptable.

The massive civil rights movement — after years of battles and casualties in the 1950s and '60s — smashed the Jim Crow system of legal segregation. This system, based in the South, deeply reinforced racist practices and attitudes throughout the rest of the country. Blacks were everywhere restricted in where they could go and what they could do.

One of the conquests of the civil rights struggle was the development of much greater self-esteem and confidence by Blacks and breaking down the myth of Black inferiority. This opened the minds of millions of whites to an acceptance of the legitimacy of demands for Black rights — the right of Blacks to live in neighborhoods, go to places, and participate in activities that were formerly closed. It led whites to be more receptive to joining with Blacks in struggle.

## Rearguard actions

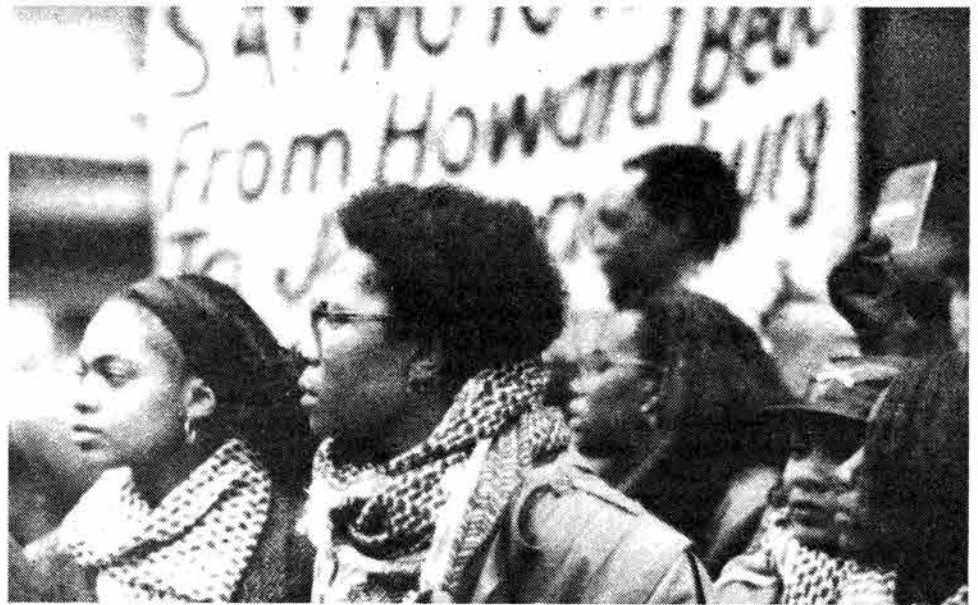
Today, the racists' attempts to keep Howard Beach, Bensonhurst, and other enclaves like them all white are rearguard actions. They are not part of a new rise of racism and are being increasingly met by organized opposition.

This was shown during the past year in a number of ways.

When hundreds of thugs led by the Ku Klux Klan attacked a peaceful antiracist march of 75 people in Forsyth County, Georgia, a year ago, it stirred widespread outrage. Just one week later, 30,000 marchers, mostly Blacks and whites from the South, poured into the county protesting Klan violence and the racists' demand that the county remain off limits to Blacks.

In New York, many protests were held in response to the Howard Beach lynch mob attack. The largest was Jan. 21, 1987, when 4,000 protesters marched through Manhattan to Mayor Edward Koch's home in Greenwich Village demanding that he act against racist violence. They pressed him to use his authority to make sure that the lynchers would be prosecuted and jailed.

At a preliminary court hearing a few weeks before, a Queens judge had dismissed murder, manslaughter, and assault charges against all the Howard Beach thugs. But protests were strong enough to compel Gov. Mario Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor and eventually led to the conviction of three of the lynch gang last month for manslaughter and assault. Even though the conviction should have been murder — that's what they were guilty of — the fact that a guilty verdict was rendered at all broke a pattern of virtually no convictions in such cases. It reflected the



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg

Jan. 21, 1987, antiracist protest at New York Mayor Edward Koch's home. Some 4,000 demonstrators demanded he act against Howard Beach lynchers.

pressure of the antiracist offensive. More protests are now needed to see that they get the maximum sentence of 15 years.

The defeat of President Reagan's nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court a few months ago also showed the difficulties of getting a major assault off the ground against the gains won by the civil rights movement. There was strong opposition throughout the country to Bork, a longtime foe of the court rulings and body of law that codify such conquests as the right to privacy, affirmative action, and equal rights.

The capitalist rulers have been unable to significantly erode these civil rights gains.

## Klan weaker than ever

Nor have the racist forces been able to get an offensive off the ground. In fact, such a notoriously racist, antilabor, and anti-Semitic outfit as the Ku Klux Klan is weaker today than at any time in its history. Its performance in Forsyth County was not a show of strength, but a demoralizing experience and a demonstration of its weakness.

Yet, while the racists are politically on the defensive, another part of the reality in this country is the devastating effects of the unfolding capitalist economic crisis on Blacks.

The working and living conditions of the majority of workers and farmers is worsening, and a section of the working class is being pauperized. In a capitalist society where racism is deeply embedded and institutionalized, Blacks are disproportionately afflicted by the economic crisis. Segregated patterns in housing, education, and job opportunities are reinforced and extended. There are disproportionately more Blacks who have been driven into permanent unemployment, forced out of their homes, victimized by drugs, and afflicted with AIDS.

A growing layer are no longer protected by social benefits — unemployment compensation, food stamps, social security, or welfare payments. According to Webster's Dictionary, "A person excluded from the benefit or protection of the law" is an "outlaw." Capitalism is creating more and more such outlaws.

Under these conditions, the normal racist and brutal conduct of cops becomes even worse. As "outlaws" this layer of workers is even more likely to be harassed, brutalized, and killed by cops — especially if the color of their skin is black.

## Cops do what they are told

This behavior is not the result of cops out of control, as is sometimes said. It is not an aberration or a breakdown of the system. This is how they are trained to deal with human beings who are considered outside the protection of the law. This is what the ruling rich and big property owners expect them to do. And most of the time the cops get away with it. It's precious few times that cops are indicted for murder and even fewer that they serve time for it.

Mayor Koch, as chief executive officer

of the city, doesn't lift a finger to put an end to it. Instead, he aims his fire at protests against racist violence and police killings, branding them as "counterproductive."

But in New York City — and other cities too — anger is mounting at these police killings. Increasingly a spotlight is being shone on them. The protests are attempting to bring greater public scrutiny of police conduct and convictions of cops guilty of murder.

The outrage against racist violence and cop killings comes in a political context where the prospects of waging an effective fight are very good.

What are the elements that make this the case?

## Unity

First are the opportunities for uniting large numbers of people in action. As shown by the preparations for the January 18 March for Racial Justice on City Hall, unionists, community activists, students, religious groups, and many others will respond to a call for action.

There is increasing recognition that this is not a "Black" issue, but a matter of the gravest importance for all working people and supporters of democratic rights. The more that vigilantes and killer cops can get away with violent assaults on Blacks, the easier it is for hooligan violence to be used against strikes, demonstrations, and meetings of all working people — Black, white, Latino, and Asian.

Second is clarity on who is responsible for permitting racist attacks to continue and where the fire should be aimed in demanding justice for the victims. The January 18 action has appropriately targeted City Hall.

Mayor Koch appoints the police commissioner and has the official authority to take punitive action against killer cops and vigilante violence. The protest campaign should continue to keep the pressure on the city administration.

Third, most people who want justice for the victims and a deterrent against further attacks know that this can only be achieved by giving the maximum jail sentences to those who are guilty. This means enforcing the criminal laws and civil rights legislation that are on the books and arresting, prosecuting, convicting, and sentencing the racist vigilantes and killer cops.

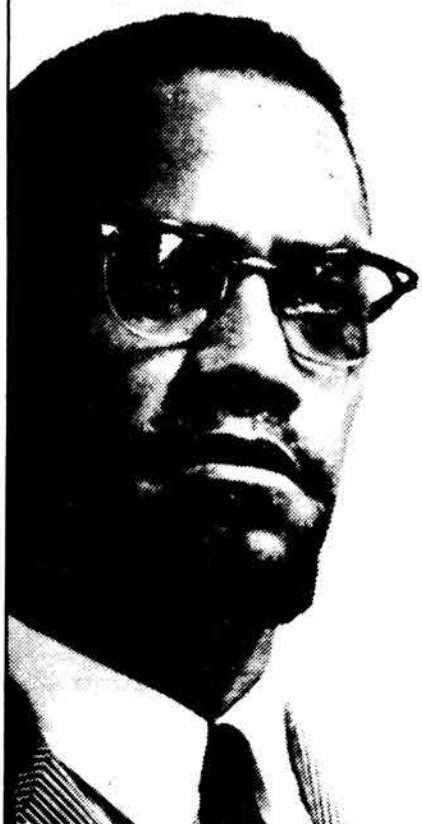
The Howard Beach lynchers should be given the maximum sentences.

All the Bensonhurst thugs should be rounded up for trial and penalized to the fullest extent of the law. If this requires a special prosecutor, one should be appointed.

A truly massive offensive to fight around this perspective is possible. That is what is needed now!

To argue that New York is Johannesburg or that the United States is South Africa misreads the reality. The fighters against racism in this country are in a better position to fight back than their embattled South African counterparts and are in a position to wage a broad, united fight. Understanding that reality is key to advancing the struggle.

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# Airlines profit drive threat to safety in the skies

## Companies also demand union givebacks

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

Today, few experienced air travelers leave for the airport without first calling to see if their flight has been canceled or delayed. Many travel with only carry-on baggage to avoid losing their luggage or lengthy waits for it. Others bring food to supplement the meager or nonexistent meals on planes.

These inconveniences are symptomatic of the problems the flying public faces every day. Of even greater concern is the airline industry and federal government's callous disregard for air safety.

Almost 200 people lost their lives in 1987 crashes of Continental and Northwest jetliners. In December, 65 people aboard a USAir flight over New Jersey were panicked when one of the plane's engines fell to the ground. Fortunately, the pilot was able to guide the swaying aircraft in for a safe landing.

Major airlines in the United States have had their highest number of accidents in 13 years during 1987. The large carriers had 31 accidents last year and more people were killed in them than in any year since 1982.

Concern over potential air catastrophes is particularly acute among pilots, flight attendants, mechanics, and ground service workers. Eastern Airlines mechanics, flight attendants, and pilots have protested the company's use of unsafe planes.

In a recent survey of 600 airline pilots, one in five reported being in a near collision over the past two years. A near collision is when two planes pass within 500 feet of each other or when a pilot must take evasive action.

More than 1,000 near misses were reported to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) in the first 11 months of 1987. Many pilots said they don't report near misses. Over half said fatigue is a problem for them. And 40 percent said flying is less safe than it was two years ago.

In another survey conducted in 1986 by the Air Line Pilots Association, more than half the pilots interviewed noticed a decline in maintenance or airworthiness of planes, and half said management tries to pressure them into accepting planes on which maintenance on one or more items has been put off.

### Air traffic controllers

The number of air passengers has gone up since deregulation. It is estimated that 450 million people flew in 1987 compared to 275 million in 1978. But there are 4,000 fewer fully qualified air traffic controllers now than there were in 1981, the year the Reagan administration fired more than 11,000 striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

Rapid expansion of major airlines has led to changes in plane routing that also compromises air safety.

Instead of flying directly from one city to another, the large carriers more often funnel passengers into a "hub" city. There they are forced to switch planes en route to their final destinations. This causes massive congestion.

The FAA, which is designed to oversee air safety, works closely with carriers and overlooks many air safety problems. Along with management, FAA officials often blame human error and weather for most accidents. That was the case in the August 16 Northwest Airlines crash near Detroit where 157 were killed.

### Deregulation

The administration of U.S. President James Carter deregulated air fares and routes in 1978. Government spokespeople promised deregulation would lead to the formation of new companies and cheaper fares. At the same time, the government disbanded the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB).

After deregulation, some new airlines were started and airfares did drop significantly. Today, however, the trend is in the opposite direction. With the recent Department of Transportation decision to allow USAir and Piedmont airlines to merge, 94 percent of domestic air travel will be controlled by eight carriers. They are expected to report high 1987 profits.

Many airports are monopolized by one or two airlines. Northwest controls 83 percent of the air traffic in and out of Minneapolis-St. Paul, 87 percent in Memphis, and 65 percent in Detroit; USAir controls 83 percent of the traffic in Pittsburgh; TWA controls 82 percent in St. Louis.

This monopoly grip on many routes has allowed the airlines' bosses to raise fares again. Former CAB member Michael Levine has shown that flying out of a hub city controlled by one or two airlines costs twice as much per mile as it does in cities serviced by more airlines.

### Attacks on airline workers

Many airline workers point to the 1978 deregulation as the beginning of the attacks not only on air safety, but also on their wages, working conditions, and union rights.

It is true that management, some of whom opposed deregulation in 1978, later embraced it after seeing how it could be used to weaken the airline unions.

But it is more important to see attacks on airline workers in the context of the general employer and government offensive against all working people over the past decade.

For more than 30 years, starting with the beginning of World War II, the employers granted modest wage and benefit hikes at contract time in exchange for labor peace. This was possible because the ruling billionaire families in the United States dominated the world capitalist economy, large parts of which had been decimated by the war.

During this period, instead of using union power, union officials told workers to rely on grievances, arbitration, and the courts to settle disputes. The result was a serious weakening of the unions.

But by the end of the 1960s a shift was taking place in what had been an upward curve of capitalist development.

The motor forces that fed the quarter-century capitalist boom became increas-

## Contract fight brewing at Eastern

A fight is under way at Eastern Airlines that has important ramifications for all airline workers. The contract for 12,000 mechanics, baggage handlers, and aircraft cleaners represented by the machinists' union expired December 31 with Eastern demanding sweeping concessions.

Officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) have asked that a federal mediator help negotiate the dispute. Under the terms of the Railway Labor Act, when the two sides cannot agree on a settlement, a 30-day countdown begins. After that, the union has the legal right to strike. But on that same day, the company can impose its takeback demands.

This would mean massive cuts for all IAM members. For ramp service workers, whose top pay is now \$15.60 an hour, would have their pay lowered to \$8 an hour within two years. Newly hired workers would be paid \$5 an hour and reach top scale of \$5.75 an hour after two years. Aircraft servicers and stock clerks face similar cuts.

Eastern is also demanding that union members work across classifications. And the company wants to hire part-time employees and cut medical benefits.

The company is also trying to pit me-



Workers at Minneapolis airport in 1987 protest Northwest's attacks on their unions. Airline workers have also been protesting breakdown of air safety.

ingly exhausted. These included, for instance, the reconstruction of European and Japanese industry, the massive growth of the automobile and related industries in the 1950s and 1960s, and the mechanization, automation, and computerization of whole new branches of industry.

### Shift since 1974-5 recession

This shift was registered by the 1974-75 economic recession — the most severe and the first worldwide one since 1937-38, and intensified price competition between the major capitalist countries.

The employers stepped up their attacks on U.S. working people as a way of trying to reverse the decline in the rate of profits they were able to make on their capital investments.

In 1979 the auto bosses and the government successfully teamed up to pull off the Chrysler bankruptcy scam. Through this plan to bail out the "bankrupt" auto giant, major concessions were wrested from auto workers. Officials of the United Auto Workers union went along with the bailout trying to convince auto workers that granting givebacks was the only way to preserve their jobs.

The federal government's 1981 attack on PATCO was like a trumpet signal to employers that they could step up their assaults on working people.

Workers in virtually every industry from meat-packing to paperworkers to garment workers have since faced repeated demands for givebacks.

In a recent interview, Frank Lorenzo — the head of Texas Air, which also owns Continental Airlines and Eastern explained

how this played itself out in the airlines industry.

"When Congress deregulated the industry, all they did was deregulate the revenue side [air fares]," Lorenzo said. "Once they adjusted that very nicely, Congress said to us, 'Look fellows, the expense side, that's political. That's labor unions. You all go out and worry about that.' They left it to us to do the dirty work."

### Defeat at Continental

Lorenzo's dirty work included having Continental declared bankrupt in 1983. The courts approved the tearing up of union contracts and the airline cut wages by 50 percent and gutted many benefits.

Continental workers tried to fight back with a strike by pilots, flight attendants, and others. But officials of the airline unions, including officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), blocked the organization of effective solidarity. This was a factor in the strike being defeated. The end result was that a major airline began operating nonunion.

Other airlines said they needed similar concessions so they could compete with Continental.

American Airlines pushed through the industry's first two-tier wage system in 1983. Other airlines soon followed suit. The 1987 contract between IAM and United Airlines includes provisions for a four-tier setup. The pilots union has signed 20 two-tier contracts.

Flight attendants have been particularly hard hit by the offensive. TWA head Carl Icahn told the Independent Federation of

Continued on Page 13

icity, and the introduction of new work rules as a pretext for firing 400 IAM members.

The latest takeback demands have also been accompanied by a threat to sell the airline. IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan said the threats were part of a campaign to put pressure on the unions. Pilots and flight attendants have also spoken out against the threatened sale.

Though IAM officials have criticized management's union-busting demands, much more is needed. A series of demonstrations and broad union meetings that also include pilots and flight attendants would help put the company on notice about the fight ahead if it continues to press its demands.

Outreach should also begin to other unionists in the airlines industry as well as coal miners, paperworkers, farm workers, meat-packers, and other unionists who have been fighting against givebacks.

Many IAM members also believe that a campaign should be launched to try to reorganize mechanics and ground workers at Continental. The Air Line Pilots Association has already initiated a campaign to organize Continental's pilots. This type of effort would help cut across management's threat to merge unionized Eastern with nonunion Continental.

— E.M.



# Strike teaches need for solidarity

## Interview with Maine paperworkers' local president on battle with Int'l Paper

BY JON HILLSON

JAY, Maine — What began here in the wooded hills of central Maine June 16, 1987, as a strike against concessions has now become something more, according to Bill Meserve, president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 14.

Along with Firemen and Oilers Local 246, Local 14 represents the 1,250 paperworkers on strike at International Paper Co.'s (IP) Androscoggin mill here.

"The labor movement," explained Meserve in an interview that took place in late December, should "see this not as an IP-UPIU fight, but as a fight of greedy, corporate giants against labor unions, period."

The roots of the Jay strike — the first since IP's mills were organized in 1937 — reach back for years.

Until the 1970s, the paperworkers' union negotiated national contracts with IP in two geographic regions, the northern Book and Bond Division and the southern Kraft Division, Meserve explained. These divisions were referred to as "multiples."

In the late 1960s, IP — the world's largest paper products manufacturer — began an effort to break up these multiples. The company completed a new, ultramodern mill in Jay in 1967, replacing its older facility, which was sold to another paper company. The Jay mill, Meserve said, was "a brand new mill, the world's biggest, the world's fastest." The company told workers that by negotiating a separate contract with IP, they'd do better, that the "older plants would bring them [Jay workers] down," Meserve continued. When the new mill opened in 1970, workers were given a choice of whether or not to join the multiple. They decided not to join.

IP started "shutting plants down, selling plants, or offering them extended contracts if they would withdraw from the northern division," Meserve said. A similar process, which served to pit mills against each other, went on in the South.

Corporate officials would hold "separate meetings with individual plants," the local president said, guaranteeing "millions in capital improvements" if locals left the multiples, and promising not to shut a particular plant down.

The result was the breakup of the multiples; each local's contract now expired on a different date. This made it easier for IP — and other paper companies that were undergoing similar restructuring — to push for and get concessions: wage reductions, changes in work rules, speedup, and more

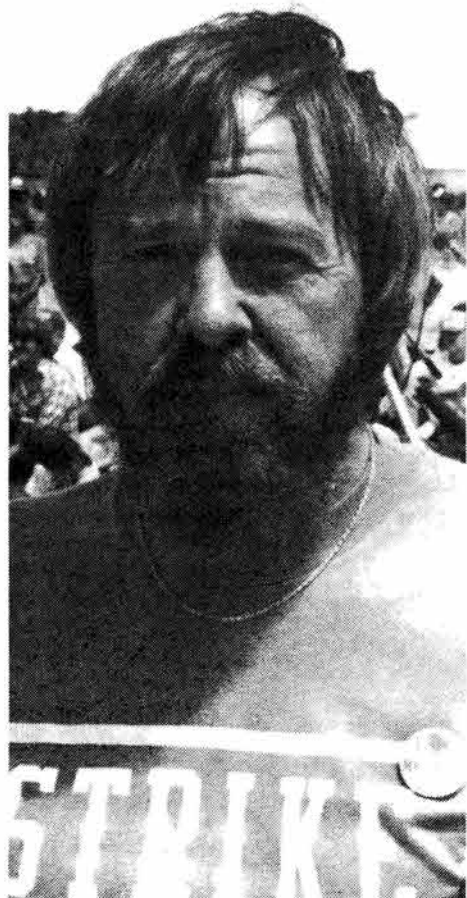
dangerous work conditions.

Although IP's profits rose to \$305 million in 1986, there was no letup in the company's squeeze of the workers.

### 1987: strikes and lock-out

Faced with a new round of concession demands from the company in 1987, workers at IP mills in four locations, Mobile, Alabama; Lock Haven, Pennsylvania; De Pere, Wisconsin; and Jay, Maine, decided to work together. The union locals at these mills constituted themselves as a "coordinated bargaining pool," which, Meserve explained, "is an attempt to try to regain some strength and protection for one another, by trying to fight the best way we can."

The Mobile workers were locked out by the company in March. Workers at the



Militant

### UPIU Local 14 President Meserve

other three mills went on strike last June after rejecting IP's final contract offer.

At the Jay mill, Meserve said, accepting that offer could have meant "losing 500 members" — nearly half of the local. The company wanted the "right to subcontract all of maintenance, and some production," he continued. Other demands included elimination of premium pay (double time) for Sunday work, which would mean the loss of thousands of dollars of wages for every worker each year; imposition of straight-time pay for holiday work; running the mill on Christmas, until now a shut-down holiday; and implementation of a productivity scheme that would cause speedup, erode seniority, and weaken work rules. The other locals faced similar demands.

### IP hires scabs

All four mills are currently being run by scabs hired by IP to replace union members. Of the 1,000 working in the Jay mill, only 59 are former union members who crossed the picket line.

As serious as the concessions demanded by IP are, the bottom line in negotiations at this point, Meserve explained, is IP's insistence that the scabs are permanent replacements. According to the company, there are only 50 jobs left in the Jay mill for union members.

The paperworkers at all four sites are "very firm" on this point, Meserve said. The unions won't give up their members' jobs to the strikebreakers, who, said Meserve, "must be behind us [in any return to work]." This is "the one nut that is hardest to crack," he went on, describing the source of the current impasse in negotiations.

The Local 14 president, a working papermaker for 28 years before going on

staff for the union in 1986, is also president of the UPIU's IP council, which involves locals at all of IP's primary mills.

This body will convene at the union's international headquarters in Nashville January 20-21 to discuss, among other topics, the important struggles now being waged by the striking and locked-out locals.

Contracts at IP mills in Camden, Arkansas, and Natchez, Mississippi, expire February 1, Meserve said, and in June, the contract at IP's huge mill in Ticonderoga, New York, is up. Workers there have already been to Jay to show their solidarity with the current strike, and have held public union/community events to discuss what's ahead.

In addition, added Meserve, "five, perhaps six, Georgia Pacific locals have negotiated to the point of [contract] rejection," being faced with concession demands similar to those made by IP.

### Boise Cascade strike

The bitter 1985 strike by workers at the Boise Cascade mill in neighboring Rumford, Maine, had a big effect on the thinking of paperworkers in Jay, as they headed toward the expiration of their contract last June.

The Rumford unionists, members of UPIU Local 900, were forced to settle their strike by taking major concessions and returning to work with 300 scabs still working in the mill. (Many scabs have since left the plant, and at this point only 83 union members are left to be recalled.)

In deciding to strike, the Jay unionists understood that unity of the membership was essential. When the strike vote came, nearly 98 percent of the members voted to go out. This meant, Meserve said, "we all go out together, and we all come back together."

Although the Rumford strike ended in defeat for the union, many Local 900 members believe their experience has helped them strengthen their local. They are among the most active supporters of the Jay strike, pitching in from the beginning on strike activities and donating close to \$70,000.

### Strike becomes a cause

Because IP's final contract offer was "downright slaughter," Meserve said, the contract fight was transformed into "a cause."

When the strike started, help came from various sources. Union members and supporters came forward to organize the food bank, jobs bank, and media committee, staff the strike headquarters, and take on other strike activities. The SOS group —

the Rumford workers' food bank — helped out with its experience. The Maine AFL-CIO assigned field organizer Pete Kellman to work with the Jay locals on the strike.

All these efforts, Meserve explained, were strengthened by the Wednesday night union/family meetings, which draw an average of 1,200 strikers, spouses, and supporters each week. At these gatherings, he continued, "the truth is told" and people "get together, see each other, and support each other." They are especially important in involving the wives and husbands of strikers. "You can have 1,200 [union members] support something," he said, but if "1,200 [spouses] are against it, you can't do anything; it isn't going to work."

### Solidarity outreach grows

Unionists across the country have a big stake in the Jay battle, says Meserve, because "they are next."

The strikers' efforts to reach out and win support for their struggle, which were concentrated initially in Maine and New England, are continuing to expand to other parts of the country. Meserve himself is an active "labor ambassador," as the locals' outreach speakers are known. The UPIU recently took the step of hiring Ray Rogers' Corporate Campaign to help coordinate and expand the national strike support work on behalf of the striking and locked-out workers at all four mills.

With unemployment benefits running out in early February, Meserve cited the urgency of financial contributions to the locals.

He also urged union members across the country to "openly show their support" by writing letters to Jay and by inviting "one of our ambassadors of solidarity" to speak, emphasizing that they are ready to go anywhere, to speak to any audience, large or small.

Meserve also issued an invitation to unionists throughout the country "to come up here" to Jay and get an eyewitness view of the strike.

The paperworkers are striving to "educate and get the word out. It's obvious to us that we as a local union cannot take on IP as a single unit and defeat them and make them come to their senses," said Meserve. That fight is one "we have to carry out with as big a group as we possibly can."

The biggest lesson of the Jay strike, Meserve concluded, is that "everybody, including citizens in the area, now realizes and has learned what the word 'union' means. The membership talked about the union as being their executive board or stewards. Now our members here know just who the hell the union is. It's them."

## British gov't releases nuclear accident report—30 years later

BY HARRY RING

Before the 1986 Chernobyl disaster in the Soviet Union, it was the worst accident at a nuclear plant in history.

It occurred at the Windscale reactor in the northwest part of England. Only sketchy information was made public at the time and a full report was disclosed only this past January 1. British regulations provide for the release of secret documents after 30 years.

The Windscale reactor burned out of control for 16 hours. The amount of radiation release into the air was less than at Chernobyl, but more than at the 1979 Three Mile Island disaster in the United States.

Reportedly, no one died at the time of the accident. Since then, according to official figures, up to 33 people have died of cancer. Others are still dying.

A study about to be published indicates that the incidence of leukemia in the region is three times higher than Britain's national average.

According to the documents now released, the accident was the product of staff misjudgments, poor organization, and

faulty safety equipment.

Contaminated with radioactive debris and tons of melted and partially used fuel, the reactor has been sealed for 30 years. A cleanup is expected to begin this year and will take at least a decade.

Windscale processed uranium for nuclear weapons and the sealed debris is now part of a larger installation called Sellafield.

The Thatcher government explains the suppression of the report with the assertion that the government at the time feared that full disclosure would threaten Britain's nuclear relations with Washington.

Flatly contradicting this is the disclosure that a detailed report was given to a team of U.S. atomic scientists. The target of the cover-up was the British people.

In the 1950s there was a big antinuclear movement in Britain, with huge numbers joining in annual ban-the-bomb marches.

Commenting on the current disclosures, Tony Benn, a British Labour Party leader and member of Parliament, said, "The main lesson of all of this is that in the field of atomic power and atomic weapons, the British people have never been told the truth."

## Gov't funds for social programs cut to bone

Federal spending for education, transportation, health research, housing, and social programs other than Medicare and Social Security has declined by 17 percent, when inflation is taken into account, since 1980.

"These areas have already been slashed so sharply," Donald Straszheim, an economist for the investment bank of Merrill Lynch & Co. told *Business Week*, "that it's hard to see where further cuts could be made."

The drop has taken place, according to a report by Merrill Lynch staff economists, while federal spending jumped 70 percent — twice as fast as inflation — and passed the \$1 trillion mark.

The Pentagon and the holders of federal bonds, sold to finance the government deficit, were big gainers. They now account for more than 40 percent of all federal spending.

Military spending doubled. It now accounts for 28 percent of federal outlays compared to 23 percent in 1980. Interest payments on the government debt jumped by 150 percent and now account for 14 percent of expenditure.

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# Indonesia's rulers step up genocidal war in East Timor

BY ERLING SANNES

U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger and a bipartisan group of 39 senators have written to Secretary of State George Schultz expressing their concern over conditions in the Southeast Asian country of East Timor, and particularly about "a renewed Indonesian military offensive against Timorese insurgents."

In their letter the senators noted that past Indonesian military offensives in East Timor "have been characterized by grave human rights violations, including summary executions, forced marches, relocations, torture, political imprisonment—including a catastrophic famine in 1979-80."

The new offensive, launched in November 1986, has been code-named *Operasi Kikis*, or Operation Eradicate, according to *Timor Link* published in London. From 30 to 50 Indonesian battalions involving 27,000 to 45,000 troops are reported to be involved. Twelve of these battalions have been directed to locate and capture Xanana Gusmao, guerrilla leader of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (Fretilin). Indonesian military chief Beni Murdani has announced there will be no "mercy this time."

Since 1981 there have been a number of Indonesian military offensives, supported by heavy artillery and aerial bombardment. In previous operations the local population has been conscripted and driven ahead of armed Indonesian units towards surrounded Fretilin guerrillas—who are left with no alternative but to shoot at the civilians or surrender.

Many of the founding leaders of Fretilin have either been captured or killed. However, documents that have been smuggled to Portugal describe how five members of the Fretilin leadership evaded the Indonesian dragnet and rebuilt the organization in 1982. Today it is an effective popularly supported liberation movement in control of large parts of the country.

The failure of the Indonesians to destroy Fretilin has had a demoralizing effect on

Indonesian troops. During one offensive it was reported two units of Indonesian troops refused to advance in battle. In another report, Indonesian soldiers are described as being "fed up with the war" and Indonesian officers "are already aware that Indonesia is militarily and politically unable to dominate the situation."

## Independence in 1975

When Portugal's Salazar dictatorship fell in 1974, the new government in Lisbon began the process of decolonization in East Timor, which had been a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years. Fretilin assumed control of the country in September 1975, after crushing a coup attempt by the right-wing Timorese Democratic Union. The Independent Democratic Republic of East Timor was proclaimed on Nov. 28, 1975.

The Indonesian and U.S. governments were opposed to an independent East Timor, particularly under a left-wing government. On Dec. 7, 1975, Indonesia, using U.S. supplied military equipment, invaded East Timor and initiated a mass slaughter.

The government was overthrown and East Timor was annexed as Indonesia's 27th state. Twelve years later the East Timorese are still fighting the invaders for their independence.

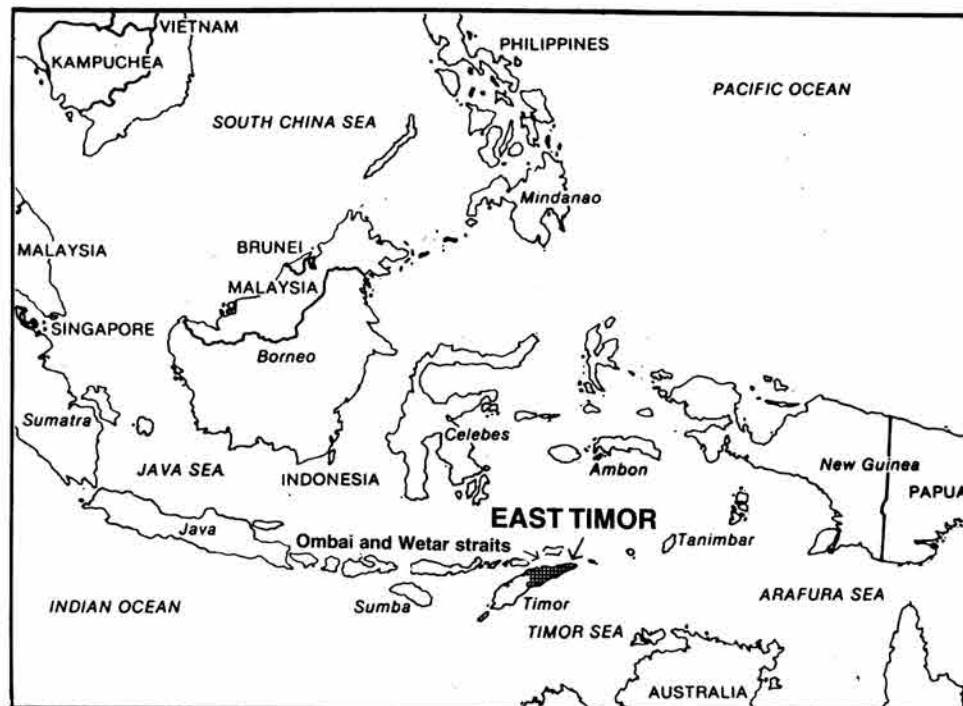
Warfare, executions, "disappearances," and starvation have decimated the population, which numbered about 650,000 in 1975. Writing in the April 30, 1986, *Boston Globe*, Martinhoda Costa Lopes, Catholic apostolic administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983 said, "It is possible that more than 200,000 persons in East Timor—as many as one-third of the population—have died because of Indonesian military action."

## Sealed off

Since the 1975 invasion, Indonesian forces have virtually sealed the country off from the outside world. Only a few journalists have been allowed to enter, and official visitors are subject to total control. But some news has trickled out, mainly through religious underground channels.

In a four-page document smuggled from East Timor to Portugal, the present apostolic administrator, Carlos Ximenes Belo, accused Indonesian military authorities of carrying out summary executions and mass arrests.

In 1985 Amnesty International published a report, *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, listing the names of 550



people who were reported to have been victims of extrajudicial execution, torture, or who had "disappeared." The report concluded that Indonesian forces in the territory have engaged in cruel and brutal conduct constituting serious violations of human rights.

A recently issued update to the original report documents some 40 more cases of "disappearances."

The Indonesian government retaliated against the London-based human rights organization by issuing a blacklist of Amnesty members with instructions to its embassies around the world to refuse visas to Amnesty International members should they apply to enter Indonesia.

Jose Ramos-Horta, a founding member of Fretilin and its representative at the United Nations for the past dozen years has written an account of the shameful silence, complicity, and hypocrisy surrounding East Timor. In a remarkable book, *Funo: the Unfinished Saga of East Timor* (Trenton, N.J., The Red Sea Press, 1987), Ramos-Horta reveals that the UN has behaved like an ostrich when confronted by the human tragedy that has been occurring in East Timor. ("Funo" means liberation war in Tetun, the indigenous language of East Timor.)

In the days following the 1975 invasion both the UN General Assembly and the Security Council formally deplored Indonesia's invasion and called for the immediate withdrawal of troops. The U.S., Canadian, and several West European representatives were among the 43 to abstain. Similar resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly each year until 1982 but with declining support.

Ramos-Horta establishes that one of the major problems in rallying support for East Timor in the UN is Indonesia's importance in the area for Washington, one of its main arms suppliers.

Ramos-Horta quotes Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. ambassador to the UN in 1975, as saying, "the Department of State desired the UN prove entirely ineffective in what-

ever measures it took. The task was given to me and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

The present U.S. ambassador to the UN, Vernon Walters, was bombarded by questions on East Timor by Portuguese journalists during a visit to Portugal early last year. Walters said, "It should be recognized that East Timor is under effective Indonesian control" and that East Timor is an issue which should be solved between Portugal and Indonesia without outside interference."

## Pentagon's strategic interests

But, Washington also has strategic interests in East Timor. Pentagon observers believe there is a secret agreement between the U.S. and Indonesian governments to allow U.S. nuclear-powered submarines to pass through certain Indonesian waters without surfacing. These waters, known as the Ombai and Wetar straits run north of Dili, East Timor's capital, and provide deep-water passage from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. These straits are regarded, after Gibraltar, as the second most crucial straits in the world to Washington's military interests.

Ramos-Horta documents one nation after another pursuing similar courses to preserve what they perceive as their strategic, economic, or national interests when dealing with East Timor, while Indonesia applies pressure to reject discussion in the UN as interference in its internal affairs.

In an April 25, 1987, document that recently reached Portugal, 55 representatives of the National Resistance of East Timorese Students, made repeated emphasis to the uncivilized character of Indonesia's government. In the report the students say: "The blood of more than 200,000 martyrs and heroes is the guarantee and seed of independence at all costs in East Timor. We say that neither millions of rupiahs, nor the brutal progress made in East Timor will console us into becoming Indonesians, as [Indonesian president] Suharto, Murdani, and others affirm."

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## Too Many Babies?

The myth of the population explosion



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# Foes of coup arrested in Burkina

BY SAM MANUEL

At least a dozen and a half prominent individuals have been arrested in the West African country of Burkina Faso. They are all former ministers, diplomats, and military leaders of the government of slain president Thomas Sankara.

Sankara and 12 of his aides were killed during a military coup Oct. 15, 1987, carried out by soldiers loyal to then minister of state and justice, Capt. Blaise Compaoré. The new regime calls itself the Popular Front.

Fourteen were arrested in connection with the Nov. 15, 1987, clandestine distribution of a declaration by a group calling itself the People's Democratic Regroupment-Thomas Sankara. The declaration called the October coup a "severe blow" to the Burkinabe revolution.

The 14 former officials are: Talata Eugene Dondassé, minister of financial resources; Alain Koeffé, minister of planning; Lt. Moussa Traore, head of Sankara's personal office; Maj. Abdoul Salam Kabore, minister of youth and sports; Laye Guire, head of the Fifth Military Region; Moussa Bila Sankara, ambassador to

Libya; Capt. Pierre Ouédraogo, secretary-general of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution; Ousseini Compaoré, head of the police; Ernest Nongma Ouédraogo, minister of security; Alain Zoungana, a former diplomat; Lt. Etienne Zongo of the presidential security; and lieutenants Blaise Sanou, Daouda Traore, and Bernard Sanou.

The People's Democratic Regroupment (RDP)-Thomas Sankara declared that it aimed to organize the "popular resistance that has not ceased to grow throughout the country," and the convocation of a conference of "all political forces who want to continue the experiment" started by Sankara.

The RDP-Thomas Sankara also demands that the new regime publish a full list of those killed during and after the October coup, a trial of those responsible for Sankara's murder, and release of those who have been arrested.

No announcement has been made concerning the arrests in the official press in the capital, Ouagadougou. The names of the 14 were made public by the RDP-Thomas Sankara. However, a larger

number of people have been arrested.

According to a Dec. 15, 1987, report from Agence France-Presse, the leaders of the RDP-Thomas Sankara include Vincent Ouédraogo, former Burkinabe ambassador to Cuba. Ouédraogo has been dismissed from his post by the Popular Front regime.

Valère Somé, former minister of higher education and scientific research under Sankara, has also been arrested along with Osmarou Idani, director of the national electric company; Basile Guissou, former minister of foreign affairs; and two others—Gilbert Kambire and Firmin Diallo. They are all leaders and members of the Union of Communist Struggle-Reconstructed (ULCR).

Another ULCR leader, Train Raymond Poda, former minister of justice, is being sought by the Popular Front authorities. The ULCR is one of the left parties that participated in the Sankara-led government.

The government headed by Sankara came to power as the result of a popular democratic revolution in 1983. It won widespread support within the population for carrying out social programs in the interests of peasants and workers.



# Aquino solidifies repressive Philippine rule

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Philippines was shaken last August 28 by an attempted rightist military coup against the government of President Corazon Aquino — the most serious of five attempted coups since Aquino came to office when dictator Ferdinand Marcos was ousted in February 1986. More than 50 people were killed in the takeover attempt.

Col. Gregorio Honasan, the leader of the coup, remained at large, with wide support for his goals being expressed in the armed forces.

His calls for a harsher crackdown on the labor movement and an escalated war against the peasant base of the New People's Army guerrilla movement in the countryside were widely publicized. He was interviewed by newspapers and broadcasting stations.

Vice-president Salvador Laurel went into opposition to Aquino, identifying himself with her critics in the army officer caste and hinting that he was available to replace Aquino should the military force her out.

The U.S. government voiced strong support for Aquino, although "confidence in Aquino's survival in office had been shaken more than at any time since she took power," reported the September 11 *Washington Post*.

In the days before the coup, the deep polarization in the Philippines was highlighted by the first massive protest from the left against Aquino government policies — an August 26 strike of 4 million people against a 20 percent increase in oil prices.

"Rocked by bombings and assassinations, this jittery capital is awaiting the final blow to Corazon Aquino's presidency," declared the October 29 *Wall Street Journal*. "The momentum against her appears irreversible."

## Events take different course

Four months after the Honasan coup, however, events have taken a different course. Instead of being overthrown by a rightist coup, the Aquino government has stabilized itself. It has become increasingly institutionalized as a repressive regime representing the interests of the Philippine capitalists and landlords against those of the workers and peasants.

Unlike the martial-law rule of Marcos, the Aquino government operates in the framework of a new constitution and parliamentary institutions.

The institutionalization process has included the adoption of the constitution by a plebiscite last February, the election of a Senate and lower house of Congress in May, and the convening of the first session



Vigilante unit being trained by Philippine military. President Corazon Aquino has backed formation of units, which terrorize villages, working-class barrios.

of the new Congress in July 1987. The process will take another step with provincial and municipal elections set for early this year.

But the massive workers' and peasants' struggles that spurred the fall of the Marcos tyranny have been pushed back. Moreover, the democratic opening that the popular upsurge was beginning to utilize to fight for their rights and social needs has grown ever more narrow.

The decreased threat of a military coup was underlined December 9 when Honasan was captured by Philippine police in Manila. "The top leadership of the rebel movement under Honasan has been effectively neutralized," declared armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fidel Ramos.

Unlike many previous military rebels, who were permitted to remain in the officer corps, Honasan was dropped from the armed forces, imprisoned on a naval ship, and faces trial for his role in the attempted coup.

Aquino responded to the August takeover attempt by accelerating the rightward shift in her government that had been under way at least since government forces opened fire on peasant demonstrators near the presidential palace on Jan. 22, 1987, killing 19.

The massacre effectively torpedoed a cease-fire between the government and the New People's Army guerrilla fighters.

In the wake of the August coup attempt, Aquino's entire cabinet submitted their resignations. The subsequent revamping included dumping the most prominent liberals from her cabinet, including her closest

adviser and executive secretary, Joker Arroyo.

## Crackdown on labor actions

On October 20 Aquino spoke to a joint meeting in Manila of 13 business organizations. Challenging the view that she was a weak leader, Aquino proclaimed, "I have blocked all doors to power except election in 1992."

The centerpiece of her speech was a promise to crack down on strikes and other labor protests. "The way to power is the ballot, not the strike," she said.

"I therefore order the police and other peacekeeping authorities to give full assistance to the Labor Department to remove all illegal blockades at the factory gates," she declared, as the capitalists jumped to their feet, shouting approval.

The land reform measure Aquino announced July 22, 1987, remains buried in the Congress, which is dominated by political representatives of the big landholding families. The measure, which provides for modest distribution of landlords' holdings at high rates of compensation, called for Congress to act within 90 days of the July 27 opening of the legislative session. Aquino had threatened to implement land reform by decree if Congress stalled. More than 160 days have now passed without adoption of the program.

Meanwhile, in the name of cracking down on the guerrilla movement, the Aquino government has authorized the army to pursue a broadening crackdown on peasant organizations in the countryside as well as on workers and left-wing critics of the regime in the cities.

## Support to vigilantes

Aquino is now identifying her administration with army efforts to forge a network of vigilante organizations across the country. The president recently went to the city of Davao on the island of Mindanao, where the NPA rebels have wide support. She praised the activity of Alsa Masa, one of the main vigilante organizations, which

has carried out a reign of terror there.

The army has also forged vigilante outfits that are now operating in the barrios of the Manila region.

As a guideline to the vigilante terrorists, the army has published a list of 23 "subversive" but officially legal organizations.

These range from mass organizations like the May 1 Movement union federation and the Peasant Movement of the Philippines to human rights organizations and the United Church of Christ.

Brig. Gen Ramon Montano, deputy chief of staff of the armed forces, declared in November that the Manila area vigilantes would target "above-ground front organizations in the labor, student, urban poor, religious, and other cause-oriented sectors."

The September 19 murder of Leandro Alejandro, secretary general of the Bayan mass-action coalition, remains unsolved. "Salvaging" — the abduction and murder of peasant and worker activists by military-linked gangs — is continuing.

As violence has risen in the countryside, a growing number of peasants have fled to the cities.

## Leyte refugees

About 100 peasant families from Leyte island found shelter at Manila's Polytechnic University of the Philippines, after fleeing the military-backed terror of the Alsa Masa vigilantes in their villages. "In tales that echoed other accounts from around the country," reported Seth Mydans in the November 6 *New York Times*, "the Leyte villagers told of killings, kidnappings, and other acts that have caused almost the entire population of some villages south of Tacloban, Leyte's main city, to flee their homes."

Soon after their arrival in Manila, 200 soldiers raided the campus and arrested all male villagers over the age of 15. "Those with moles on their faces were treated particularly harshly," Mydans reported, "victims of a bizarre new notion among the police that rebel gunmen bear real or artificial facial marks which denote rank."

They were released briefly, and then rearrested. The military announced they would be turned over to the authorities — and the vigilantes — on Leyte.

At the same time soldiers rounded up 500 people in a Manila barrio.

Presidential spokesperson Teodoro Benigno announced that Aquino had given prior approval to the police raids. Benigno said the president regarded the actions of the military as "very effective in preventing the commission of future crimes."

Nemensio Prudente, president of the Polytechnic University, survived an ambush of his car by unidentified gunmen November 10. Prudente was wounded and his attorney was killed.

At a funeral of a police officer killed November 4, contingents of cops had reportedly chanted, "Kill Prudente," "Kill Tadeo" (Peasant Movement of the Philippines leader Jaime Tadeo), and "Kill Beltran" (Crispin Beltran, chairman of the May 1 Movement).

## Eyewitness says Philippine soldier murdered Marcos foe

An eyewitness to the 1983 assassination of Benigno Aquino, a prominent leader of the opposition to then-dictator Ferdinand Marcos, testified in a Manila courtroom January 4 that Aquino was gunned down by a Philippine soldier as he stepped off a plane at Manila International.

Aquino was killed Aug. 21, 1983, minutes after arriving in the Philippines after three years in exile. The Marcos regime claimed that the assassin, dressed as an airline maintenance worker, was immediately killed by soldiers.

Outrage at the murder of Aquino contributed to spurring the massive protests that brought down Marcos in 1986 and installed Corazon Aquino, his widow, in the presidency.

"I saw the soldier point at the nape of the man in white [Aquino]. The gun went off. The man in white toppled forward," stated airport worker Jessie Barcelona at the murder trial of 36 soldiers and four civilians,

including two of Marcos' cabinet members.

Barcelona was the second witness to identify a soldier as the assassin. A fellow passenger had testified to having seen a soldier point a gun at Aquino's head.

The prosecution states that the assassin was Constable Rogelio Moreno. Moreno was also a defendant in the 1985 trial, staged by Marcos in response to growing unrest, in which 26 defendants were acquitted. The most prominent of the defendants was Gen. Fabian Ver, army chief of staff under Marcos, who fled the Philippines with the fallen dictator.

After Corazon Aquino became president, the country's Supreme Court ruled that the earlier trial had been rigged.

Barcelona remained silent for four years because, he testified, "I felt my life was in danger. My perception was that everything was under the control of President Marcos."



## New International "Revolution is the Birth of Light"

Interview with  
Tomás Borge

This interview with Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge was conducted in Cuba in 1985. In it Borge talks about the "deep interrelation between art and revolution," Nicaraguan culture, and the achievements of the revolution.

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# Protests in N.Y. and Chicago back freedom fight of Palestinians

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — Some 175 people demonstrated at the Israeli mission to the United Nations on January 7 to voice their opposition to the Israeli killings of Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This action was part of a nationally coordinated day of protest organized by the Palestine Solidarity Committee at Israeli consulates throughout the United States.

Demonstrators demanded the release of all Palestinians recently detained, a halt to the deportations of Palestinians from their homeland, and an end to the imposition of curfews and other means of collective punishment on the refugee camps.

The most popular chants included, "South Africa, Palestine: same fight" and "Self-determination for Palestine."

The demonstrators then marched to the U.S. mission to the UN where Vivian Stromberg from MADRE, a Nicaraguan solidarity organization, condemned U.S. policy in Central America and expressed solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Following this action, 100 people attended a forum sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Committee on the meaning of recent events on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Featured speakers included Naseer Aruri, a professor of political science from Southeastern Massachusetts University; and Sheila Ryan, director of the Mideast Peace Network.

The uprising that erupted in December 1987 has been brewing for several years, Aruri explained. "More and more Palestinians are willing to sacrifice their lives in confronting the Israeli soldiers." The popu-

lation in the occupied territories is very young — the majority are less than 20 years old. In Gaza, 77 percent are below the age of 29.

The New York chapter of the Palestine Solidarity Committee has produced an attractive poster protesting the killings of Palestinian youth and demanding an end to the \$4.5 billion annual U.S. aid to Israel. To obtain copies or for more information write to the PSC at Peck Slip Station, P.O. Box 372, New York, N.Y. 10272.

BY JEANNE LAWRENCE

CHICAGO — Some 300 people picketed in front of the Israeli consulate office here on December 30 to protest Israeli repression against Palestinians. The picket line was called by the Palestine Solidarity Committee and sponsored by more than 40 organizations.

Many of those protesting were from Chicago's Arab community.

Greek Americans also participated, as well as members of anti-apartheid organizations, Central America solidarity groups, a Filipino group, and an immigration rights organization. Seven people were arrested when they attempted to enter the Israeli consulate to discuss the 20-year military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip by Israeli armed forces.

Following the picketing, the Palestine Solidarity Committee announced that an ad hoc committee was being organized in Chicago to plan an emergency meeting there to discuss future protest actions against Israeli repression.

## N.Y. meeting hails life of Dominican workers' leader

BY MIKE TABER

NEW YORK — The life of Dominican Republic workers' leader Julio de Peña Valdez was celebrated at a meeting here December 13. Peña, who died in October at the age of 50, was general secretary of the General Federation of Workers (CGT) and a member of the political committee of the Socialist Bloc.

The memorial meeting was sponsored by the Socialist Bloc and the Committee to Pay Tribute to Peña Valdez, and co-sponsored by the Dominican Workers Party, Dominican Women's Collective, Frontline, Human Rights Commission of Chile, Socialist Workers Party, and other organizations.

Speakers at the meeting, which drew 100 people, recounted Peña's long history

in the struggle of the Dominican working class. A worker and trade union member, he became politically active in 1960 as part of the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. Peña also helped lead numerous strikes and other working-class battles of the early 1960s.

Following Trujillo's assassination in 1961, elections were held, and Juan Bosch became president. However, Bosch was ousted in a September 1963 coup, and a military dictatorship was established. In April 1965 the Dominican people rose up in insurrection to demand a return to constitutional government. In response, more than 20,000 U.S. marines invaded the island to "restore order" and "prevent another Cuba."

During the uprising Peña helped organize an armed column calling itself the "Workers' Commune" — named after the Paris Commune of 1871.

As a result of his trade union and political activities, the Dominican government jailed Peña for four years in the early 1970s. In 1981 Peña was elected general secretary of the CGT and in 1984 became a founding member of the Socialist Bloc, serving on its political committee until his death.

A special theme of the meeting was Peña's internationalism. A video documentary on his life was presented, giving prominence to his participation in the 1985 Trade Union Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Workers on the Foreign Debt, held in Havana, Cuba.

In a message read to the meeting, Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes recalled Peña's participation in the worldwide campaign demanding cancellation of Latin America's foreign debt and against the International Monetary Fund. The message stated, "We will continue explaining what Compañero Julio always pointed out, that the workers of the world have a common enemy: imperialism."



Soldier fires tear gas at Palestinians protesting occupation in the West Bank. Palestinian revolt, in face of Israel's murder of dozens of protesters and deportation of others, has won new support for Palestinian struggle and deepened isolation of Israel.

## Israel deports fighters

Continued from front page

hand-me-down from the days of British colonial rule.

Meanwhile, on January 12 the military exonerated Pincas Wallerstein and his bodyguard. They killed one Palestinian youth and wounded another.

Wallerstein is a leader of Gush Emunim, an ultraright vigilante outfit that claims the right to grab land anywhere in the occupied territories and establish Israeli settlements.

Wallerstein's story was that he and his bodyguard were mobbed by stone-throwing youths near the West Bank village of Beitin and that they shot at the youths in self-defense.

But witnesses reported that the two men, both with automatic weapons, had chased the youths into the village and then fired.

The Israeli press reported that the victims were 150 yards from Wallerstein's car when they were gunned down.

In violation of international law, Israel began moving settlers into the occupied territories soon after it grabbed the areas in its 1967 war against neighboring Arab countries.

Today an estimated 2,000 colonial settlers live in the Gaza Strip. In the West Bank, there are now 120 colonial settlements, with a total population of 60,000. They now control 50 percent of the land. Some 800,000 Palestinians occupy the remaining half.

Perhaps a third of the settlers, a *Washington Post* dispatch noted, live "in attractively priced suburban housing clusters" near the city of Jerusalem.

Others operate prosperous farming communities, with enough water for their swimming pools, while neighboring Palestinians scratch out an existence on parched land.

Many of the settlers are armed with military rifles and have made vigilante raids on Palestinian communities. Last November, a Gaza settler shot a Palestinian girl dead.

As of January 13, Israeli troops had killed at least 35 Palestinians, wounded hundreds, and jailed more than 2,000. A dispatch to the January 13 *New York Times* noted the estimate of a prominent Israeli military analyst that despite these harsh measures, "the disturbances have only gained in intensity."

The report cited the remarks of a top army officer in Gaza: "The residents control the main roads. There is not a car that goes into the strip without getting a stone."

He said the army cannot assure the safety of travelers there, adding, "The strip today is a place of wildness."

Confronted with this deep crisis, the Likud and Labor parties, which currently administer the government jointly, have responded with united agreement.

The *New York Times* correspondent in Israel reported January 10, "A majority of the Labor Party seems, for now, to be supporting the 'iron fist' position taken by Labor Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. His views on how to deal with the Palestinians are virtually identical with those of the Likud."

The report adds that all the decisions on the response to the uprising "were reached by agreement" between the Likud prime minister and the Labor ministers of defense and foreign affairs.

## Palestinians' key role in Israeli work force

Discussing the "collective punishment" curfew, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that if the rebellion continued, the government was ready to consider barring West Bank and Gaza residents from working in Israel.

About 55,000 people from the West Bank, a third of its work force, commute to work in Israel. From the Gaza Strip, it's roughly 45,000, about half the Strip's work force.

Together, they comprise 7 percent of the Israeli work force. But, as a Dec. 6, 1987, *New York Times* report said, they "form the backbone of the manual labor force" in Israel.

The report found that these workers "dominate whole sectors of the Israeli economy, namely construction and agricultural field work and low-level municipal services, along with the occupations of waiters, cooks, and cleaners."

According to the Israeli government, these workers take home an average of about \$16 a day — about 40 percent less than the average for Israeli Jews.

About a third of Palestinians' pay goes for transportation.

Some 60 percent get work by the day on street labor markets. They get no unemployment or retirement benefits.

Those hired through government employment offices are hit with 30 percent deductions. About half goes toward benefits that the workers are not entitled to. This is pocketed by the government.

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# Freedom school's role in liberating S. Africa

## African National Congress' Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania

BY SAM MANUEL

MOROGORO, Tanzania — On April 6, 1979, South African freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu was hanged by the racist regime in Pretoria. Mahlangu, a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), was convicted of conspiracy to overthrow apartheid rule by force of arms.

Mahlangu was captured during an armed clash with South African security forces in 1977. Two South African soldiers were killed in the encounter. Mahlangu was executed despite evidence showing that he did not actually fire the weapon that killed the two men. A massive campaign was launched to save his life, resulting in appeals for clemency from Britain, France, the United Nations, World Council of Churches, and other international organizations.

Mahlangu's last words were, "Tell my people that I love them. They must continue the struggle. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom."

Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo), established by the ANC in 1979, is the first fruit of the courage and dedication of Mahlangu. It is also a monument to the worldwide solidarity and support enjoyed by the ANC. It has been made possible by aid from various countries, particularly Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, and by solidarity organizations around the world.

Militant reporters Kathy Mickells and I visited Somafo following our participation in the international conference against apartheid organized by the ANC in Arusha, Tanzania, in December.

### School and training center

Somafo is a training center of the ANC. Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, said of the school during a visit in 1985, "From here we have sent out young people who are now returning as highly trained specialists committed to advancing the interests of our people now and in the future."

But Somafo is also designed to meet the educational needs of the large number of young South Africans who left the country following the Soweto uprising in 1976. Mahlangu was among those who fled. The land for the project, near the city of Morogoro, was donated by the government of Tanzania.

The college consists of five educational units — an orientation center, a nursery, primary and secondary schools, and an adult education facility.

All students arriving at Somafo to enter secondary school are first sent to the orientation center. The inferior education received by Black students in South Africa, known as Bantu education, leaves many ill-equipped. At the center their skills are upgraded. They are also given an exam in order to determine at what level they should be placed upon entering secondary school. As a result the ages of students in any given class can vary greatly.

The nursery school is part of the Charlotte Maxeke Children's Centre, which also houses a day-care facility. Together they accommodate more than 200 students, ages 3-7.

There are nearly 400 students in the primary school, ranging in age from 6 to 16. The language of instruction is English, but few of the students speak English as their first language. A great effort is made to train all teachers at Somafo in English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching skills.

In addition to general classrooms, the secondary school also contains several impressive laboratories, including biology, chemistry, and one for the study of reptiles, most of which were gathered in the surrounding area by the students. The school has an extensive library. It was compiled through contributions of books from individuals, solidarity groups, educational institutions, and others. Contributions to the library are still needed.

There are also resident dormitories for those students who are unable to be with their parents, either because they have been

killed, are still in South Africa, or are away on projects for the ANC.

The curriculum provides students with a general education, including history, science, mathematics, and a history of the struggle for freedom in South Africa. The school is fully accredited. Exams are conducted by representatives of the University of London. In addition, students are given an internal ANC exam, moderated by a panel of its education experts.

Several small production industries have been established to meet the needs of the students, teachers, staff, and other residents of Somafo. They include crop farming, animal husbandry, and shoe and garment factories. A small lumber mill provides wood for the construction and repair of buildings, and for the carpentry shop, which makes furniture.

In South Africa Blacks are denied equal access to the land. They have little experience with modern farming except as agricultural laborers. The goal of the farm at Somafo is to be self-sufficient and to train Blacks in the use of capital-intensive methods of farming. The nearly 2,000 acres of land is farmed with modern equipment. Much of the equipment is donated by Scandinavian governments.

A pig farm provides the residents with pork. It has a constant breeding population of around 1,000 pigs. Our guide explained that the strain of pigs has been noticeably improved with the introduction of Danish breeding stocks. In this way the farmers were able to combine the ability of the local pigs to survive in the environment and the larger meat yield of the Danish stock.

As a matter of policy, manual labor is incorporated into the school program at Somafo. Students contribute volunteer labor to help in the harvesting of crops, in the slaughter and preparation of meat from the animals, and in other projects. The school day begins with all students participating in general maintenance and cleanup.

### ANC hospital

On May 1, 1984, Somafo opened the ANC Holland Solidarity Hospital. It has an out-patient polyclinic, a delivery room, X-ray facilities, a pathological laboratory, and a pharmacy. An operating theater has been constructed but still needs some equipment. Dental surgery is performed.

Last year the hospital saw nearly 5,000 patients. About half of them were Tanzanian workers and peasants from surrounding villages. The hospital treats all patients free of charge.

A similar center is being constructed in the nearby town of Dakawa. Upon completion it will house some 5,000 people.

The ANC is particularly proud of the Dakawa project. The construction of the physical site is being done completely by young South Africans. All of the basic structures, water purification and supply systems, sewage disposal, electrical power station, and buildings are being set up by South Africans. Many of them are products of Somafo.

Timothy Maseko, chief administrator of Somafo, explained, "It's not that we don't value the international aid that we have gotten in order to build Somafo. But at Dakawa we are demonstrating the capacity to help ourselves."

While Somafo and Dakawa give a glimpse of what the future South Africa will look like, it was impressed upon us by many individuals that this is not an attempt to build a little utopia in Tanzania. It is a vital part of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime inside South Africa. As one youth put it, "When we liberate our homeland, we will leave, and this will be our first gift of solidarity to the people of Tanzania."

Despite its impressive accomplishments, Somafo remains in constant need of material aid and skilled volunteers.

For more information about Somafo contact: Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, Material Aid Coordinating Committee, P.O. Box 680, Morogoro, United Republic of Tanzania, or African National Congress Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations, 801 Second Ave., Room 405, New York, N.Y. 10017.



Eli Weinberg Photolab, Somafo

Class at Somafo. Curriculum provides students with general education, including history, science, math, and history of South African freedom struggle.

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Pentagon steps up pressure on Panama

Pentagon official Richard Armitage, assistant secretary of defense for international security, made a secret trip to Panama during the last week of December 1987. According to the January 8 *New York Times* the purpose of Armitage's visit was to "urge" Panamanian head of state Gen. Manuel Noriega to "withdraw from politics."

The *Times* quotes an unidentified diplomat as saying, "Noriega listened very carefully, and he said he got the message very clearly." The Pentagon official reportedly gave Noriega until April to comply.

This transparent threat is another step by Washington to destabilize the government of Panama. The campaign has included the cutting of military and economic aid, and support to rightists who hope to overthrow the current Panamanian government.

Washington's hostility toward Noriega stems from his government's declared aim of enforcing the 1977 Panama Canal treaties. The Canal Zone serves as the headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, which directs the contra war against Nicaragua and the activities of all U.S. military forces throughout Central America.

The treaties provide that Washington will restore the Canal Zone to Panamanian control at the end of 1999. Noriega has vowed that no U.S. troops will be allowed to remain after that date.

### Brazil resumes air service to Cuba

The Brazilian Sao Paulo Airlines (VASP) has resumed commercial flights to Havana. Service began on Dec. 11, 1987. Sixteen flights were initially scheduled between Sao Paulo and Havana.

The flights are being resumed under an agreement signed between the Brazilian travel agency Unic Travel and the Cuban agency Cubatour. It is estimated that 2 million Brazilian passengers traveled to Cuba in 1986 on other international airlines.

VASP will be the first Brazilian airline to land in Havana since diplomatic relations between Brazil and Cuba were broken off in 1964 following a right-wing military coup in Brazil. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were resumed in June 1986.

Brazilian and Cuban airline representatives expect that with the normalization of diplomatic relations between the two countries, commercial exchanges and tourism will improve.

### Japan to pay more for workers at U.S. bases

Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has proposed to pay a greater share of the costs of maintaining U.S. bases in that country. Takeshita hoped to push the proposal through the Japanese parliament before his mid-January trip to Washington to meet with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The U.S. government employs some 21,000 Japanese who work on its bases. The costs in salaries and wages has doubled in the last two years as the value of the dollar has dropped in relation to the yen.

In the past the Japanese government has absorbed 50 percent of the costs of benefit payments, including retirement, travel, and housing allowances. If Takeshita's proposal is approved, Japan would pay the full cost of benefits, amounting to an estimated \$330 million a year.

The move is being made in large part in response to continued pressure from Washington for Japan to take measures to stimulate economic growth at home and shrink trade surpluses. Despite concessions already made by Japan, the U.S. trade deficit for 1987 is expected to remain at about \$60 billion.

In addition to picking up the tab for benefits paid to Japanese workers employed by the U.S. military, the Japanese government is also considering yielding to U.S. government pressure to accept increased imports of U.S. agricultural products, including beef. The government is also considering permitting U.S. construction companies to take part in Japanese public works projects.



## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Miners and Oil Workers Fight Back: Issues Facing the United Mine Workers and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in 1988.** Speakers: Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party, member OCAW Local 4-227; Alyson Kennedy, coal miner, SWP. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**Who Pays the Price? The Impact of the Stock Market Crash on Working People.** Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Palestinians Rebel Against Israeli Occupation.** Panel of speakers. Sat., Jan. 16. Dinner, 5:30 p.m.; forum 7 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**The First Anniversary Commemoration of the Los Angeles Eight.** Speakers: Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; master of ceremonies, Casey Kasem, broadcaster; featuring the seven Palestinian and one Kenyan defendants in the deportation case. Translation to Spanish. Tue., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. Park Plaza Hotel, 607 S Park View St. Donation: \$10 per person, \$5 for students and low income. Sponsor: Committee for Justice. For more information call (213) 413-2935.

### Oakland

**The FBI vs. the Fight to End the War in Central America.** Speakers: Scott Rutherford, Veterans Peace Action Committee; spokesperson, Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

**Palestine: Growing Resistance to Israeli Occupation.** Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### San Francisco

**The Wall Street Crash: What Does It Mean for Working People?** Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Fight for Black Liberation Today.** Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Open House Following Martin Luther King Parade.** Discussion on the fight against racism from South Africa to Atlanta. Mon., Jan. 18, 4-6 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**Zionist Oppression and the Fight for a Democratic, Secular Palestine.** Speakers: Ayub Talhami, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination

Committee; representative of Palestine Solidarity Committee; Cathleen Gutekanst, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322 or 363-7136.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Nicaragua's Struggle For Peace.** Speaker: Sandra Nelson, Socialist Workers Party, visited Nicaragua in 1983. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Solidarity with the Palestinian People: No to the Israeli Aggression.** Speakers: Najat Khelil, Union of Palestinian American Women; Ali Zaghaf, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Jesse McDade, professor, Morgan State University; Julia Steinberg, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 23. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Palestine: a People in Revolt.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### Austin

**The Meaning of the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Talks.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union; others. Sun., Jan. 17, 5 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

### St. Paul

**Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution.** Ten classes on the writings and speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara. Mondays at 10 a.m. or 7 p.m. from Jan. 11 through March 14. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Whatever It Takes in '88: Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and Miners Unions Face the Energy Bosses.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**The Fight For Women's Equality.** Speakers: Caroline Fowlkes, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union; others. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### Kansas City

**Palestinian Freedom Fighters Rock Israeli Occupation.** Speakers: Rita Shukair, Palestinian Human Rights Campaign; Paco Sanchez, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 4 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0224.

## NEBRASKA

### Omaha

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

**INDIANA: Muncie:** YSA, c/o Brian Johnson, 619 1/2 N. Dill St. Zip: 47303. Tel: (317) 747-8543.

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

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

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

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o David Warshawsky, P.O. Box 1383, Hampshire College. Zip: 01002. Tel: (413) 549-4843.

**Boston:** SWP, YSA, 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48201. Tel: (313) 961-0395.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** SWP, YSA, 407 1/2 N. Main St. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

**Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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

**A Tribute to Martin Luther King and Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement.** Speaker: Miesa Patterson, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

**Abortion: a Woman's Right to Choose.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Haiti's Revolutionary Process.** Speakers: Ben Dupuy, *Haiti Progrès* newspaper; Radhamés Pérez, Dominican Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**African National Congress Maps World Campaign Against Apartheid.** A report from the ANC conference in Tanzania. Speakers: Sam Manuel, *Militant* reporter at the conference; representative of the ANC. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Kampuchea Update: Celebrate the 9th Anniversary of the Overthrow of Pol Pot.** An educational activity about recent developments in Kampuchea and the region. Slideshow presentation by Elise Spivac, Association Amitié Franco Cambogienne; report back on Kampuchea trip by Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean activist, Khmer Association in the U.S. Sat., Jan. 16, 2 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Khmer Association in the U.S.; Committee in Solidarity With Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos.

**Palestine — Upsurge in the Freedom Struggle.** Speakers: Rabab Hadi, National Executive Committee, Palestine Solidarity Committee; Julie Nalibov, East Coast coordinator, Palestine Solidarity Committee; Brian Williams, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Rally to Celebrate the 15th Anniversary of Legalized Abortion.** Speakers: Bella Abzug, Women's Foreign Policy Council; rabbis Shira Stern and Donald Webber; Joyce Miller, Coalition of Labor Union Women. Fri., Jan. 22, 12 noon to 2 p.m., Union Square Park (14th St., south end). Sponsor: New York Pro-Choice Coalition. For more information call (718) 275-6020.

**Benefit Dance for N.Y. Nica Construction Brigade.** Food, music, cash bar, refreshments. Sat., Jan. 23, 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. (between 1st and 2nd avenues). Donation: \$7. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Defend Abortion Rights.** Speaker: Sherrie Love, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sun., Jan. 17. Dinner, 5:30; forum, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Cuba Today: the Revolution Advances.** A class series.

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

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

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**New Brunswick:** YSA, c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Lisa Sandberg, 120 Lark St. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 463-8001.

**Mid-Hudson:** YSA, Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408.

**New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

**Pathfinder Books,** 226-8445. **Stony Brook:** YSA, P.O. Box 1384, Patchogue, N.Y. Zip: 11772.

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

**OHIO: Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

**Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

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

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

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**On the 20th Anniversary of the Tet Offensive—Veterans Speak Out For Peace and Justice.** Rally to call for reconciliation with Vietnam and to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America. Speakers: Norma Becker, longtime peace and justice activist; David Dellinger, author *Vietnam Revisited*; Charlie Liteky, Veterans Fast for Life; Brian Willson, via specially filmed message; others. Sat., Jan. 30, 4:30 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place (at E 17th St.) Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Vietnam Veterans Against the War. For more information call (718) 499-1101.

"A Brief History of the Cuban Revolution." Sat., Jan. 23, 4 p.m.

"Role of Women and Blacks in Cuba." Sat., Jan. 30, 4 p.m.

"Current Stage of the Revolution." Sat., Feb. 6, 4 p.m.

"Che Guevara: How His Ideas Live on Today." Sat., Feb. 13, 4 p.m.

All classes held at 2732 NE Union. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Black and Indian Rights in Nicaragua. The Autonomy Plan.** Speakers: James Winfield, participant in Martin Luther King Brigade to Nicaragua, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Thomas Morton, participant in all-Black delegation on Witness for Peace brigade to Bluefields. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

### Pittsburgh

**Confrontation in the Coal Industry.** Eyewitness report on frame-up trial of A.T. Massey strikers. Speakers: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1197; Jim Little, reporter for the *Militant* at the Massey trial. Sat., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Paperworkers Lead Fight Against Concessions and Union-Busting.** Speakers: spokesperson from United Paperworkers International Union Local 1787 on strike against International Paper at Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Sat., Jan. 23. Reception, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**1988 Socialist Campaign Conference.** Two talks: "World Politics Today: In the Shadow of the Stock Market Crash." Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; "1988 Elections: A Socialist Perspective." Speaker: Roberta Scherr, campaign manager, 1988 Washington State campaign. Sat., Jan. 23, 1 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**Frame-up of Kentucky United Mine Workers Union Members.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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**New York**



**With a union label, no doubt** — The kibbutz — cooperative farms or other enterprises — are a long-time favorite of those who argue Israel is "progressive."



**Harry Ring**

Like, maybe, the Beit Alpha kibbutz. The *New York Times* reports it produces an advanced antiriot vehicle, including water cannon, for export to South Africa.

**Rules are rules** — Stefania Ludwika Babinski, 95, has applied for amnesty under the immigration law. She came from Poland 75 years ago but lacks papers. Her family coughed up the \$185 amnesty fee, plus the cost of a physical and an AIDS test. Meanwhile, since she's "illegal," California may cut off her medical benefits.

**News that's fit to print** — Jimmy Shelton, 13, of Providence, Rhode Island, delivers the *Providence Journal* and has signed up a dozen coworkers into a union. They want a raise, paid vacations, and a scholarship program. They recently demonstrated at the paper and have talked strike,

but intend to beef up the membership first.

**A nice conversation piece** — A painting by Adolf Hitler was sold at an auction to a Louisville doctor for \$36,000. He said he wanted it for its artistic and historical value.

**'Practical' approach** — The Kansas State University Cooperative Extension Service has long advised farmers on such matters as crop production. But with up to a quarter of the farms in the state expected to go bankrupt, the service is venturing into a new field — advising farmers on how to find other jobs.

**Sit back and enjoy your flight**

— WASHINGTON (AP) — Pilots should inspect engine mounts closely for possible cracks on hundreds of Boeing 737 aircraft, say federal aviation officials who investigated an incident in which an engine fell off a USAir jet during flight.

**Shop early for Xmas** — Elance offers a custom-blended lipstick at \$100. And, to properly house it, a gold case, from \$8,000, or a custom-designed jeweled version, \$36,000.

**Showered with blessings** — We sort of shrugged at the IRS finding that the PTL had overcompensated Jim and Tammy Bakker by \$9.36 million. But we were in-

trigued by one cited petty cash item. Where did they find that \$570 shower curtain for their daughter?

**Togetherness** — John Molloy, who reportedly persuaded corporate execs to wear dark, conservative suits, now feels it was a mistake that feeds "the 'us vs. them' attitude that exists in blue-collar America." He now favors a Japanese idea — identical uniforms for worker and boss to "pull together" in.

**A question** — With workers and bosses "pulling together" in identical uniforms, would that mean they'd be pulling down identical pay?

## Airlines' profit drive threatens air safety

Continued from Page 6

Flight Attendants that its members, most of whom are female, had to accept greater takebacks than other airline unions because they were not "breadwinners."

After the flight attendants went on strike in 1986, Icahn fired them en masse. Following a lengthy court case, a federal court has ordered the reinstatement of 1,500 attendants.

American Airlines unilaterally imposed

a takeback contract on flight attendants in June. The attendants have been fighting to get rid of the two-tier structure. The dispute was settled in December after a threatened Christmas strike. The new, five-year contract settlement calls for flight attendants reaching full pay after nine years on the job.

After years of givebacks at the airlines, many new attendants now have a base pay of only \$800-\$900 a month. On top of this, they are forced to pay for their train-

ing and for their uniforms. At Eastern Airlines, uniforms cost \$1,200. TWA charges its flight attendants \$2,200.

### Mergers

Airline mergers have also been used as a tool to wrest concessions. After it merged with Republic Airlines, Northwest has tried to prevent IAM members at Republic from receiving the same wages and benefits as its other employees.

Eastern management threatened to sell

its airline to Texas Air unless the unions took a 20 percent cut in pay. The pilots and the flight attendants took the cuts. The Machinists union refused, but the airline was sold anyway. A whole series of attacks have transpired at Eastern since. (See accompanying article.)

After a merger with TWA, 700 former Ozark Airline flight attendants were forced to take a 50 percent cut in pay to keep their jobs.

Many unions have accepted concessions as a way of trying to keep the airlines from being sold. In the past few weeks, pilots and flight engineers at Pan Am have accepted pay cuts and work-rule changes hoping to forestall sale or takeover of the airline.

### Resistance

Resistance to the employer-government offensive is stiffening. In 1986 air traffic controllers, fed up with years of long hours and work overloads that endanger sky safety, voted to form the National Air Traffic Controllers Association.

Workers at Eastern, Northwest, and other airlines have staged job actions over the past year protesting attacks on their union.

More and more people are beginning to see the relationship between deteriorating travel conditions, decline in air safety, and the takeback drive of the airlines.

By taking the lead in protesting deteriorating safety in the skies, airline and airport workers will also win increased support for their own demands.

*Ernest Mailhot is a laid-off ramp service worker at Eastern Airlines in Miami and a member of IAM Local Lodge 702.*

## Haiti's fake election faces boycott

Continued from front page

move to undercut the boycott by giving the elections a figleaf of legitimacy. An appeal by the disqualified candidates to the Supreme Court, made up of judges picked by Duvalier and Namphy, is expected. Eleven other candidates had been certified as of January 12.

### Seaga comes to Namphy's aid

Prime Minister of Jamaica Edward Seaga worked overtime in early January to block any action against the Namphy government by the Caribbean Community and Common Market, which met in Barbados January 6. The Caricom meeting, attended by the governments of 13 Caribbean countries, rejected a proposal made by Chairman John Compton, prime minister of St. Lucia, calling for a postponement of the Haitian elections and nonrecognition of the results should the voting proceed as currently planned.

The meeting also rejected proposals to impose diplomatic or economic sanctions on the Namphy regime. A delegation of government opponents from Haiti had attended the meeting to urge adoption of

such sanctions. Instead, the Caricom gathering limited itself to issuing a statement criticizing the Namphy government for replacing the independent election council and adopting the new undemocratic election law.

Seaga then gave his seal of approval to the Haitian elections after a visit of less than one hour to Port-au-Prince following the Barbados meeting. The election, he said, "seems to be on course."

### Arrests of boycott supporters

In the days leading up to the election, Radio Métropole in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, reported that boycott supporters were being rounded up by government patrols in the southern town of Jérémie. Arrests of "many people" for political activity were also reported by the station to have taken place in Cayes-de-Jacmel, a town about 50 miles south of the capital.

Hundreds of people, fearing for their safety, were reported by the *New York Times* to be temporarily leaving the capital, where most of the election day violence occurred.



**General Namphy**

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢  
Jan. 20, 1978

The courts, cops and big-business news media have teamed up once again with industry to do a job on this nation's coal miners. What strikebreaking they can't accomplish with court orders and brute force, they hope to do through headline-grabbing reports of "senseless violence and destruction" by striking miners.

But the cold-blooded killing of Mack Lewis, a retired miner gunned down by a company guard, tragically exposes where the real violence lies.

It lies with the coal operators, whose drive for production kills and maims thousands of miners each year.

The statistics tell the story. One hundred thousand coal miners killed since the turn of the century. One million permanently disabled. Four thousand dead each year from black lung. Even before the first week of 1978 had ended, a 22-year-old miner was killed in an accident at a nonunion Kentucky strip mine.

This is what is at stake in the national coal strike — health, safety, and the right to strike to ensure miners enjoy these basic rights.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
Jan. 21, 1963 Price 10¢

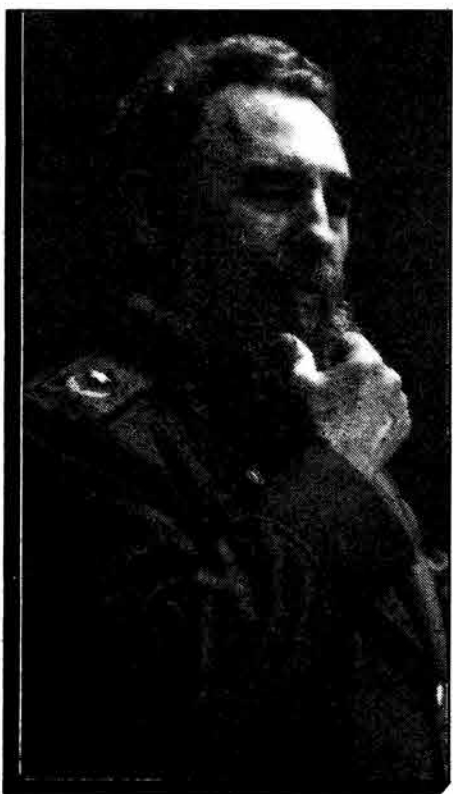
Opposition to the Kennedy administration's persecution of newsman William Worthy was strongly urged by James Baldwin. The distinguished novelist called for support to a picket-line protest against the Anti-Defamation League's "democratic legacy" award to President Kennedy.

The protest action springs from the federal conviction of Worthy for "illegal entry" into the United States, of which he is a citizen by birth. The trial resulted from a trip Worthy made to Cuba and came after he toured the United States reporting on the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution.

Baldwin, declared, "It isn't conceivable that a native-born citizen can reenter his own country illegally. We must not allow the persecution of William Worthy to become a precedent."

"Worthy is a journalist whom I respect," Baldwin said. "He happens to be a colored journalist, and that certainly has something to do with his indictment. But the main point is that no government on earth has a right to tell any writer what he can and what he cannot go to see. If it happens to Bill Worthy it can happen to me."

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# Five Ky. miners need support!

The federal government, working with the coal bosses and Kentucky State cops, are in the process of railroading five Kentucky coal miners to jail.

A defense campaign for the miners and their families led by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is urgently needed. This campaign should be backed by other unions and defenders of democratic rights.

Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, Arnold Heightland, and James Darryl Smith were convicted in a federal frame-up trial in December. They will be sentenced in February and could face up to 50 years in jail. Paul Smith is now on trial in London, Kentucky.

They were participants in the 1984-85 selective strike at A.T. Massey Coal Co. affiliates in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. During that strike, UMWA members had to stand up to scab-herding, company gun thugs, sweeping court injunctions, and harassment by local and state cops.

Scab coal hauler Hayes West was killed in May 1985. Lawyers for the miners explained to the jury at the December trial that company gun thugs staged the shooting.

The strike ended in a defeat after the miners returned to work at the end of 1985 without a contract.

In August 1987, more than two years after West's death, four of the defendants were roused from their beds by the FBI and Kentucky police swat teams. Family members were held at gunpoint. Paul Smith was arrested in similar fashion in October.

The jailed miners were denied bail under provisions of the 1984 federal Bail Reform Act. This is the same law that has been used against Puerto Rican independence activists facing another federal frame-up in Hartford, Connecticut.

A scam about violations of interstate commerce was cooked up so the federal government would have jurisdiction in the miners' case.

At the first trial, prosecutor Thomas Self repeatedly tarred the UMWA as being "violent."

E. Morgan Massey, president of A.T. Massey Coal, gave public speeches calling for convictions.

This outlandish process, which has been rolling under a head of steam for several months, is a continuation of the course set by the coal bosses and the government during the Massey strike. It is designed to intimidate the UMWA ranks in the heart of the Appalachian coalfields.

The miners' union has stood firm against the bosses in three national strikes since 1974 and beaten back the concessions most unions have had imposed on them. The union is currently involved in another round of contract negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

So far, the UMWA national leadership has not mounted a campaign in defense of the miners. Most noticeable is the lack of coverage in the *United Mine Workers Journal*, which did not mention the case from the time of the arrests in August through its final issue of 1987.

There has been virtually no coverage of the case in any other union paper or in the left press.

A UMWA-led campaign can turn the situation around. With the facts in front of them, miners across the coalfields would quickly rally to the defense of the victimized union members. This would have a big impact on inspiring members of other unions to join the campaign.

What should the axis of the campaign be?

- Funds are urgently needed to support the legal appeals of the four convicted miners and to aid Paul Smith's defense. Fund-raising efforts by union locals and individuals should also be directed to making sure that family members are taken care of for as long as the miners are prevented from working. Contributions should be sent to Citizens for Justice, P.O. Box 8, Canada, Ky. 41519.

- Statements protesting the convictions and demanding that the convicted miners be released on bail while appeals are pending should be sent to District Judge Henry Wilhoit at the federal courthouse in Ashland, Kentucky.

- Cards and messages of support can be sent to Donnie Thornsby, David Thornsby, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland at Montgomery County Regional Jail, 751 Chenault Lane, Mt. Sterling, Ky. 40353. Paul Smith can be written to at Laurel County Jail, 4th and Long Streets, London, Ky. 40741.

- Copies of protests to the judge and support messages should be sent to UMWA President Richard Trumka at 900 15th St. N.W., Wash., D.C. 20005.

This type of effort will not only help to defend the Kentucky miners and their families, but it will also be a boost to the defense of the rights of all working people.

# Blow to black lung victims

The U.S. Supreme Court has made it easier for coal mineowners to get away with blocking compensation they are required by law to pay to miners disabled by black lung disease.

The 6-2 ruling issued in the closing days of 1987 upheld a Labor Department policy that denies miners' right to a presumption that they have been disabled by black lung when an X-ray or other piece of medical evidence indicates they have the condition.

Instead, miners suffering from black lung must come up with a "preponderance of evidence" to disprove company claims that the disability had other causes.

The ruling is a green light to the companies to trump up challenges to claims by miners suffering from black lung, forcing them to resort to prolonged Labor Department hearings and court litigation. There are currently 25,000 black lung claims pending before the department.

Because of the growing difficulty of collecting federal black lung benefits, many disabled miners apply only for state funds. This decision also gives the coal operators a green light to challenge state-operated black lung programs.

As Justice Thurgood Marshall pointed out in a dissenting opinion, this confronts disabled miners with "a needlessly complex regulatory scheme" and "a mesmerizing swirl of evidentiary rules" that favor employer stonewalling.

"My reaction is somewhat close to jubilant," a company lawyer said.

Black lung, or pneumoconiosis, is a debilitating disease caused by breathing in coal dust or other particles. More than 18,000 working coal miners were estimated to have the disease in 1975, and thousands of others had been forced out of the mines by it.

Black lung is not part of the overhead of mining coal. The conditions that create it stem from the refusal of the mine bosses to provide safer, cleaner, and better-ventilated workplaces.

The miners won state and federal laws providing for compensation to victims of black lung coverage in big struggles in the late 1960s and '70s. Strikes, rallies, and the formation of organizations such as the West Virginia Black Lung Association pushed the battle forward.

The struggle was a driving force behind the coal miners' successful fight to gain greater control of their union and make it a more effective instrument for defending their interests.

The battle for safe and healthy workplaces, guaranteed medical care, and adequate compensation for job-related injuries and illnesses is vital for every worker. All working people should support the United Mine Workers of America in opposing the reactionary court ruling and other moves against the victims of black lung disease.

# 'Hurricane' Carter: free at last!

After 21 years, 19 of them in prison, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter is free. On January 11 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear a motion by Acting Passaic County Prosecutor John Goceljak to reinstate triple-murder convictions against Carter and his codefendant John Artis. The decision deals an important blow to racist police frame-ups.

The long road to freedom for Carter and Artis has been filled with deliberate injustices. They were convicted twice, once in 1967 and in a retrial in 1976, for the murder of three whites in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar.

In both trials the prosecution shamelessly appealed to racism. The fatal shootings took place in the midst of the 1966 mass rebellion by Blacks in Paterson against cop violence and racist oppression. The prosecution argued that Carter and Artis had killed the whites out of racial revenge for the murder of a Black bar owner by a white earlier that day.

The prosecution also relied heavily on the testimony of two whites who were caught by police committing a burglary near the bar at the time of the fatal shootings. The "witnesses," Arthur Bradley and Alfred Bello later recanted their testimony and stated that police had pressured them to falsely incriminate the defendants in return for favors in their own criminal cases.

The recantations led to the 1976 trial. Bello, however, reversed his recantation and testified for the prosecution. Carter and Artis were again convicted.

A federal district judge threw out the 1976 convictions when evidence emerged showing that the prosecutor had misrepresented the results of a lie detector test given to Bello before the trial.

In a spiteful move, the prosecution appealed several times, finally ending in the Supreme Court denial. Their victory strikes a blow for those who face similar frame-ups today.

# 'Black Monday' and capitalism's long-term crisis

BY DOUG JENNESS

President Reagan's task force set up to look into the reasons for the October 19 stock market crash issued its report last week. It concluded that key mechanisms expected to protect the market instead contributed to its near disintegration. "The financial system came close to gridlock," the report said.

To avoid repetition of this kind of breakdown, the commission proposed some new regulatory measures.

When asked about the report following a speech in Cleveland, the president said it was correct in concluding that the collapse had been "induced within the market place," not by outside forces.

There are "outside forces" operating on the stock market, however. The stock exchange is not separate from, but an integral part of, the entire capitalist economy. And

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

for that reason, evaluating the October crash — its origins, significance, and effects — cannot be divorced from where it is situated in the long-run development of capitalism.

If we were in a period of major economic expansion, where the curve of capitalist development was steadily ascending, a crash of this magnitude would be highly unlikely. But even if one happened, its impact and what it signaled about the economy's direction would not be as severe. The negative effects would be absorbed by the overall expansion.

But that's not the situation today. The long period of boom beginning in World War II continued until the late 1960s when it began to slow down. A shift took place in the world capitalist economy as the effects of the long-term declining rate of profit began to erode the growth of the overall mass of profits by the ruling families in the United States and other major capitalist powers. These effects included intensified international competition between capitalists, reduced growth rates, and stagnation in entire industrial sectors.

As part of attempting to place the stock market crash in the proper context, it's useful to go back and look at the 1970s, when it became clear that a turn had occurred in capitalism's course. I've found *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* (Pathfinder, New York, 1981, edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark) helpful in this regard. This book is a selection of reports and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party between 1975 and 1980.

A 1975 resolution, "Prospects for Socialism in America," noted that the prolonged post-World War II period of "relative prosperity has definitely come to an end. . . .

"We face a period," the document continued, "in which stagnation will predominate over boom and in which the employers will seek to tighten their control over job conditions, speed of the line, health and safety conditions, and the organization of the work."

"Combinations of breakdowns and shortages, slumps and inflation, speedup and degradation of labor, new wars — that is what American capitalism promises for the future."

This is what has happened in the past 13 years. In order to try to overcome falling profit rates, the employers have conducted a concerted drive to squeeze as much out of working people as they can get away with. They have driven down real wages, speeded up the lines, and reorganized the work processes in manufacturing.

The 1974-75 recession, the first worldwide slump since 1937-38, was occurring when this resolution was written. It was followed by double-digit inflation, long lines at gas stations in 1979 as a result of an oil shortage, and the 1981-82 recession, which was deeper in the United States than the previous one.

The upturn in the capitalist business cycle that began in 1983, has been relatively long, but in general hasn't been based on substantial investment in new plants, machinery, or technology.

Moreover, Washington has been involved in plenty of wars in which it has committed U.S. forces, financed mercenaries, or supplied arms.

*Changing Faces* describes how capitalism's economic turn is interconnected with key political developments. It shows that the options available to the capitalists in coping with the crisis are framed by the class struggle.

The gains won by working people, both at home and abroad, have placed limits on the pace and character of the measures the employing class can use to force more out of labor without risking a growing revolt. It can't easily send huge numbers of U.S. ground troops into war after the Vietnam experience or launch a wholesale assault to bust the industrial unions or reverse the conquests of the civil rights movement.

The October stock market crash confirmed that a shift has taken place in capitalism's course, and it announced that the crisis is deepening. What this leads to politically will be shaped by the view workers have of themselves, what they will accept, and their expectations, as these intersect with the conclusions workers are drawing from worsening economic and social conditions.



# California oil workers protest company firings

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

Contracts for oil and chemical unionists across the country expire January 31. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union has adopted a national bargaining position that is a modest effort at taking back from the companies some of what the companies have taken from us over the last few contracts. This would include a "substantial" pay hike, an additional holiday — Martin Luther King's birthday — and a demand that the companies pay 100 percent of medical and dental insurance costs.

At many refineries companies are flexing their muscles, testing our strength and determination by firing or

contract and of "unlawful interference with the operations of our business," threatened union members with firing, and threatened to sue the union.

The union issued a terse reply, referring to the threats as "a reprehensible intimidation tactic . . . designed to deny employees their basic human rights."

This protest followed several months of Tosco unit meetings in which many of the problems we face on the job — suspensions, firings, contracting out of union jobs, and unsafe working conditions were discussed at length.

There has also been a campaign to make the union more visible in the plant. Dozens of workers wear union buttons, more people come to union and unit meetings, and the union's initials, OCAW, have been spray-painted on vessels and tanks around the refinery.

This show of solidarity also greatly bothers management, which has threatened to fire anyone in the maintenance department caught writing the union's name on anything in the plant, according to a newsletter published by the in-plant workmen's committee.

This newsletter, which has appeared twice so far, plays an important role in alerting union members to company maneuvers, many of which would slip by unnoticed by most of us.

Another important step many workers have taken to protect themselves from unjust company disciplinary action is to join the Flower Disaster and Relief Fund, a voluntary mutual aid organization. About half the union members belong.

The fund began last year after the company fired a long-time employee with an excellent work record because of an upset for which he was not responsible. The fund's purpose is to pay fired workers what they would have gotten if they had been working. So great was the

response last year that the fired brother got his job back a month later, the penalty being changed to a 30-day suspension. The penalty was later downgraded again to a three-day suspension. In its one year of existence, the fund has paid out more than \$36,000 in benefits.

One of the biggest problems we face is the contracting out of work to nonunion contractors. The practice is attractive to the oil companies because nonunion contractors pay lower wages, and nonunion workers have much weaker safety protections. And of course employees of nonunion contractors will have to give up their jobs in order to honor a picket line.

Workers and union leaders have floated various ways to deal with the problem, ranging from refusing to work with nonunion contractor employees to insisting that Tosco hire them and thereby bring them into the union.

One of the biggest contractors, however, Plant Maintenance (PM), is a union contractor, and its employees are members of our local. These brothers and sisters got a bad deal a few years ago when the oil companies announced they were cutting the amount they would pay PM for labor costs. This allowed PM management to cut wages, which once were equal to wages of oil company employees. Now PMers do the same work for a third less.

Many PM workers are bitter about the union because the officials at that time failed to put up any serious fight in their defense. What we need to do for the PM workers is make it clear that they are part of the union, too, and that we are willing to fight for them. Otherwise, PM workers might be broken away from the union, especially in case of a strike.

Arnold Weissberg is a member of OCAW Local 1-5 at the Tosco refinery in Martinez, California.

## UNION TALK

suspending union members. At the Tosco Corp. refinery in Martinez, California, where I work, the company has fired or suspended (in one case fired and suspended) about a dozen union members. This, along with the general concern over the new contract, has sparked both protest actions and wide-ranging discussions among Local 1-5 members.

The latest in the round of suspensions came in mid-November. A fire and safety inspector, widely known for his unwillingness to write work permits for any job even slightly unsafe, and a young machinist were each suspended for three days on flimsy grounds.

The union called for a protest rally outside a refinery gate after work, and about 40 people, mostly from the maintenance department, showed up. In addition, operators sounded their unit horns at the same time. This show of solidarity caused apoplexy in management. Company officials accused the union of violating the

## LETTERS

### Haiti

On December 19 I marched through Brooklyn with hundreds of Haitians and others. Called by the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, the demonstration protested the murderous violence of the Haitian government and its supporters. The action also opposed the threats of a U.S.-sponsored military intervention there.

Ben Dupuy, coordinator of the committee and editor of the newspaper *Haiti Progrès*, denounced those who claim that an invasion is needed to "save" the Haitian people. "We think it is the Haitian people who can solve their problems. The process of mobilization of the Haitian people continues."

Speakers at the rally also warned of increasing interference by police against the right of Haitians in the United States to protest. This demonstration had been denied a permit for Grand Army Plaza, the center of Brooklyn's Haitian community.

Martin Boyers  
New York, New York

It is a half-truth to say that Israel is a religious state. Ninety percent of Israeli Jews are secular, and Israel would be a fully secular state if it were not for the religious parties in the Knesset, which under the Israeli parliamentary system, wield tremendous power over the secular majority.

I will not be renewing my subscription.

Jim Asher  
Springfield, Oregon

### All over world

I have been sharing every issue of the *Militant* among the other prisoners here to my fullest reach, and I shall continue doing it as long as I am getting it.

The *Militant* has been my directory, and it has indeed enabled me to view every minuscule of a version of incidents that occur all over the world, which I find a blessing.

A prisoner  
Tennessee Colony, Texas

### Ranks of the poor

A large portion of the poor in the United States will remain poor. This is not accidental. This is an intentional ploy by the "poverty industry." These bureaucrats are safely ensconced in their offices, "administering" aid to the poor. They, not those in need, are receiving the bulk of an estimated \$130 billion in federal money designated for poverty programs.

The disparity between the federal government's expenditures on arms and the amount it spends on social programs has grown from a 1 percent gap in 1980 (with arms in the lead) to a difference of more than 3 percent in 1987.

An estimated one-third of the homeless today are families. How can these people be expected to stagger to their feet against the odds they face? Reaganomics "can't afford" current housing legislation.

Can anyone believe this is unintentional?

Consider these statistics: nationwide, the poor are now spending 20 percent more on health care than those in upper income brackets.

According to the Census Bureau, the share of income for the nation's poorest one-fifth fell from 4.1 percent to 3.8 percent between



Lowe

1970 and 1986. The share for the richest one-fifth of the population rose from 43.3 percent to 46.1 percent during the same time period. The percentage for the "middle class" fell from 52.7 percent to 50.2 percent. Who is kidding whom here?

We are under attack. No matter how much we give up, the haves will only grab more. Under the current system, the poor will not only always be with us — the ranks of the poor will grow to include us.

Lacy Hansen  
Omaha, Nebraska

### Portrait of Lenin

A letter from Betsy McDonald appearing in the January 1 *Militant* expresses dismay at the decision to all but remove Lenin's portrait from the six-story mural being painted on the wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York City.

Though Lenin will still appear in the mural, he will now be standing in a crowd, unidentified and smaller in stature than many of the anonymous plebian "extras" at the bottom of the picture. Giving Lenin such an insignificant place in this pantheon of revolutionary leaders seriously distorts the role he played in the history of the world working-class movement.

In the *Militant's* response to

McDonald, Lenin's role as a member of the leadership team of the Communist International is cited as the reason for his inclusion in a group portrait, rather than separately as originally planned.

It is true that Lenin was part of this collective leadership. But this was not his only, or even his most important, contribution to the world revolutionary movement. Lenin's greatest contribution was as the main strategist, central organizer, and most outstanding leader of the first proletarian socialist revolution in history — the Russian revolution, the most important event in modern history and to this day, the most significant fact in the world relation of class forces.

Lenin has been almost universally recognized as the most important Marxist revolutionary leader of this century. I would submit that he was the greatest revolutionary leader of all time. Certainly his contributions, considered in their own right, merit a portrait on the same order as those of Dobbs, Bishop, Martí, Mother Jones, and other relatively minor figures in the history of the working-class and revolutionary movements.

Bill Breihan  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

### 'Business opportunity'

The U.S.-Soviet arms agreement is being seen by some capitalist corporations as an invitation for increased armaments production. As nuclear-missile production is curtailed, "conventional" weapons and war matériel manufacturing may take an upswing.

One such indication came from management at the Freightliner Truck Manufacturing Corp. The *Washington Post* recently quoted the chairman of Freightliner (and Mercedes-Benz Trucks), Peter Rupp, as saying:

"For God's sakes, I don't want to sound like the only reason I care about that treaty is because it gives us a chance to sell our products."

But, "Like it or not," Rupp added, the arms-control treaty "is a business opportunity. We're going to pursue that military business with a lot more vigor than we have in the past."

Janet Post  
Portland, Oregon

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.



## Paperworkers begin solidarity caravan

Maine strikers seek support 'regionally, nationally, internationally'

BY MARK EMANATION

JAY, Maine — "Starting tonight with this caravan in Maine, we're going to take this fight out regionally, nationally, and internationally. Together with the paperworkers' locals in De Pere, Lock Haven, and Mobile we're going to turn up the heat on International Paper and its friends until we all win," Ray Rogers, director of Corporate Campaign, Inc., told a cheering audience of striking paperworkers, their families, and supporters at a January 6 rally here. United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 has been on strike against the giant paper company since June 16, 1987. More than 1,200 people attended the send-off rally to launch a solidarity caravan that will cover 1,000 miles and visit 30 cities and towns in the state of Maine this month.

Rogers explained that the Maine caravan is part of a much larger effort involving the other three embattled locals. A second caravan will be launched in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, January 19 that will tour that state. Participants in the caravans are distributing new brochures explaining the strike and International Paper's connection to other companies and banks that have been targeted for public pressure campaigns by the union.

The two targets in New England are the Bank of Boston and Coca-Cola. Both are large stockholders in IP and share common members on their respective boards of directors. The strategy is to force these companies to make IP resolve the strike. Other companies targeted nationally are Avon Products, Anheuser-Busch, and Hershey's.

Rogers said that there are plans under way to take these campaigns to the labor movements in Britain and Australia and to the National Union of Miners in South Africa. "The miners in South Africa are fighting some of the same corporate giants that are stockholders in IP," he said.

At the meeting, Local 14 President Bill Meserve reported on the two-hour negotiating session the union held with IP January 5. The company offered a settlement package that would permanently replace the strikers with the 1,000 scabs that are currently working at the mill. The company's offer included the creation of a job assistance center that would find the strikers new jobs in the Jay area or out of state and would possibly provide up to \$500 per striker for assistance in retraining, tuition, or relocation.

The union rejected the proposal. Meserve labeled the IP offer as "mainly welfare." He said that the union already has a job assistance program for its members. The company's offer was only good for six months, he explained, and then the program would be over. Moreover, the relocation money would only be provided to strikers who moved more than 100 miles away from Jay. "They want to break us up," he said. "They don't like what they see. They don't believe that we've stuck together so long and are still fighting. IP is waiting for us to agree that we have all been terminated. It will be a cold day in hell before we agree to that," said Meserve.

While speaking to the press after the negotiations, IP spokesperson Keith Lavoie claimed the mill was running at 90 percent capacity and promised that it would soon be up to 100 percent. Local 14 Executive Vice-president Felix Jacques challenged this, saying the true figure is around 50 percent.

An indication of the problems IP is having with scab production is paper industry expert Nicholas Tetrick's recommendation to investors that they avoid buying IP stock. Tetrick is a Wall Street stock analyst employed by Standard and Poor. He said the new union campaign and the national attention gained by Rogers' Corporate

Campaign may cause many analysts to reconsider their views on IP.

Another recent indication is an internal corporate mailing from the James River Paper Co. advising against continued contracting with the Androscoggin mill. The mailing reported a "continuous shortage of stock" and said that what's been received by the papermaker is "very inconsistent and poor in quality."

In addition, a letter from *Time* magazine in response to a Local 14 writing campaign noted that for reasons "unrelated to the strike," *Time* would no longer be purchasing IP paper.

After the Maine caravan is completed, the union plans to take it to the rest of New England, starting in Massachusetts February 1. The tour will build on the solidarity already received from Massachusetts unions. An example of this support was seen at the union/family meeting held December 30 in Jay when Massachusetts State AFL-CIO President Arthur Osborne pledged to take the solidarity he'd witnessed in Jay "back with me where unionists will rally behind you and stick with you."

Osborne said he will raise strike solidarity at the upcoming meeting of the Northeast Council of the AFL-CIO, which represents state federations in New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

The caravan is scheduled to conclude in Boston at a mass rally at the Bank of Boston's headquarters February 28.

## Caravan '88 draws 400 in Madawaska

BY MIKE SHUR

WOODLAND, Maine — More than 400 people braved temperatures of 29°F below zero to attend a January 7 rally in support of striking paperworkers from the Jay, Maine, International Paper mill. The rally, held in Madawaska on Maine's northern border with Canada was the first leg of Caravan '88 organized by United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) Local 14 and International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Local 246.

More than 50 members of the two unions, which have been on strike for seven months, are traveling around the state of Maine explaining their struggle to other workers. The caravan plans to go to dozens of mill towns in the month of January, leafleting shift changes at plant gates and holding rallies.

The rally at Madawaska was hosted by UPIU Local 365, the union that represents the majority of workers at the Frazier Paper Co. mill. More than 40 Canadian workers from nearby Edmundston, New Brunswick, joined the hundreds of paperworkers. Most of them were strikers from the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Edmundston who have been walking the picket lines for several months.

James Dinardo, vice-president and Area 1 director of the UPIU, chaired the event. He explained, "There are some real heroes in Jay, Maine. They have the guts to do what needs to be done, and that is why they will succeed for all of us."

Edward Gorham, secretary-treasurer of the Maine AFL-CIO, told the rally, "The union cause is a cause dealing with justice."

Also speaking were State Senator Ed McHenry, Democrat from Madawaska; Ken Allen, assistant to the Maine speaker of the House; Lucien Deschaine, UPIU representative; and Town Manager Art Foucher. Frank LeClare and Andre Oullette represented the Jay strikers. More than \$1,000 was collected at the event.

On January 8 the caravan moved on to Presque Isle, where they met with several



Militant/Jon Hillson

Striking International Paper workers and families hold meeting in Jay, Maine.

union officials from the nearby International Paper container mill. Caravan road captain Gary Desjardines and Willie Hodgkins spoke to more than 200 high school students in four classes at Presque Isle High School.

The next day the striking paperworkers drove to Princeton, where they were met by UPIU Local 27 President Fred Newman and four carloads of workers from the Georgia Pacific Paper mill in Woodland. The 20-car caravan then proceeded to Calais for a luncheon sponsored by Local 27. After leafleting shopping centers in Calais and the Georgia Pacific mill, the strikers were joined by 60 area residents for a rally at Woodland High School.

Along with members of Local 27, there were representatives of Firemen and Oilers Local 330, Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 295, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1057, and International Associa-

tion of Machinists Local 1490 who came to the event.

A local farmer who attended the rally explained to the strikers that even though he was not a union member, he had to struggle for a living and felt it was important to support their struggle.

Frank LeClare, representing the Jay strikers, told the crowd, "I'm wearing a button from the strikers in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. I wear it because there are paperworkers on strike there; in De Pere, Wisconsin; and locked out in Mobile, Alabama. But it's not just our struggle. It's the struggle of all working men and of all working women."

After the meeting, the caravan was taken to a dinner and dance at the American Legion Hall sponsored by the local paperworkers' union. More than \$300 was raised for the strikers. In the first three days of the caravan more than 15,000 leaflets have been distributed by the strikers.

## Striking miners protest in Omaha

BY MIGUEL ZARATE

OMAHA, Neb. — With a Christmas tree standing in the back of their beat-up old pickup truck, which was decorated with a huge banner that read "United Mine Workers of America," striking miners from Wyoming and Montana camped out in front of the homes of corporate executives on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.

"We thought we could bring the message of our strike to the public's attention and show that Kiewit and Decker Coal Co. are modern-day Scrooges," stated Ernest Roybal, who made the 800-mile journey from Wyoming along with two other miners.

The mine workers have targeted the Omaha area, not only because coal company officials live here, but because the actual owner, Peter Kiewit, who also owns the largest construction company in the United States, is based here. Also, the

union-busting Bakers and Associates "detective agency," which has run scabs through union picket lines and harassed and framed up union militants, is also based here.

As they camped out, supporters brought them soup, sandwiches, and coffee to warm their spirits. They drew quite a bit of attention from passersby and the media. Although many papers carried reports on the protest, the *Omaha World Herald*, which is largely owned by the Kiewits, did not print a word about the miners' visit.

The union miners have been on strike since October 1. As Roybal explained, "We're not in this just for ourselves. There are hundreds of other miners in the area, especially in and around Gillette, Wyoming, who are closely watching and awaiting the outcome of the strike." Most of the 14 mines in Gillette are nonunion.