

## N.Y. marchers demand decent housing for all

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — Thousands of marchers took to the streets here to demand decent housing for all New Yorkers, braving a bitter cold that earlier in the day claimed its sixth homeless victim in a week.

The December 19 "March and Rally for Housing Justice," organized by a coalition of 175 organizations throughout the city, capped a week of meetings, picket lines, and educational events that highlighted the plight of nearly 100,000 New Yorkers — including 5,000 children under five — who are homeless.

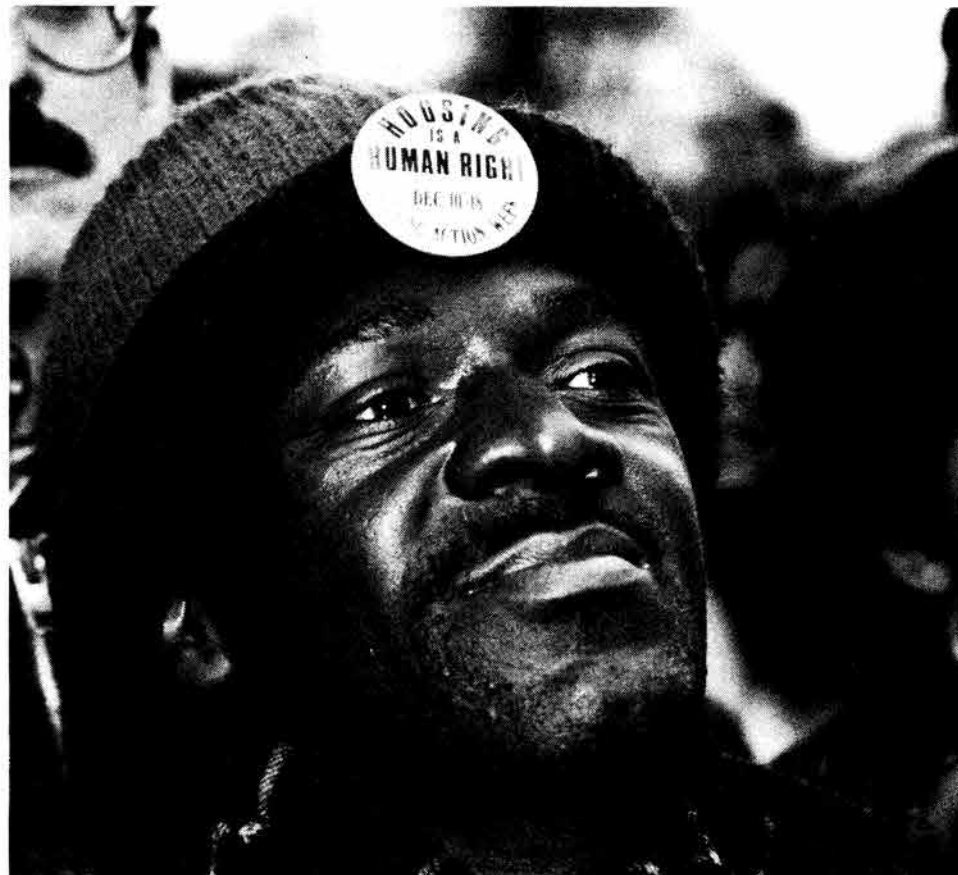
The six deaths due to exposure during a week of temperatures that at times dropped to five degrees Fahrenheit focused widespread public attention on the rising human toll and broadening reach of the housing crisis.

An official city report on housing for 1987 noted that 42,000 apartments are severely overcrowded, while nearly a third of New York tenants spend more than 40 percent of their income on rent. Between 1984 and '87 rents rose an average of 43 percent.

The crowd of some 10,000 was overwhelmingly young, drawing thousands of high school and college students and Central America solidarity, peace, disarmament, and women's rights activists.

Scores of churches endorsed the event, along with Teamster, city employee, hospital, telephone, and United Auto Worker locals, as well as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. The event was also backed by 19 elected city, state, and congressional officials from New York.

Housing rights organizations helped bring busloads of homeless New Yorkers, the big majority of them Black and Latino,



Some 10,000 people participated in December 19 march

Impact Visuals/Catherine Smith

who led the march down 57th Street. Some of the city's most elegant stores are located there.

Well-dressed Christmas shoppers stopped, lined the streets, and watched the spirited march, as demonstrators chanted, "We

want a home, a home, a home."

At a pre-march rally, Lower East Side community activist Margarita López brought cheers when she told the gathering, "We've got dignity, and nobody's going to

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## 20,000 rally against court's blow to French-language rights in Québec

BY BOB BRAXTON

MONTREAL — "Vive le Québec français!" (Long live French Québec!) "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat!" (It's only the beginning! We'll continue the struggle!) Fleur-de-lis flags waving in the air, nearly 20,000 French-speaking citizens of Québec mobilized in the Paul Sauvé Arena here December 18 to demonstrate opposition to the Supreme Court of Canada's decision overturning provisions of Québec's Charter of the French Language, Law 101.

Representatives from trade unions, Québécois nationalist organizations, farmers, students, artists, writers, and others, denounced the December 15 decision. They insisted that French — the language of more than 80 percent of Québec's population — be respected, and that Québec, not the federal government in Ottawa, decide linguistic questions in the province.

Many of the participants were teenagers who had staged demonstrations across the province in the days following the court decision.

The rally was the third mobilization in support of Law 101 in two years.

Law 101 was adopted by the Québec government in 1977 following 15 years of mobilization against the systematic discrimination faced by Québécois — discrimination based on the fact that they speak French. The bill, which has overwhelming support from Québécois, imposes affirmative-action measures designed to make French the normal language

of work, education, government, and commerce.

Canadian capitalists and their government in Ottawa reap superprofits from the second-class status of the people of Québec. This discrimination is used to divide Québécois workers from non-French-speaking workers in the rest of the country. Since 1977 Ottawa has worked tirelessly to whittle away at Law 101 and "put the Québécois back in their place."

The latest decision is the third time since 1979 that the Supreme Court of Canada has overturned important sections of Law 101. Basing itself on provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Québec Charter of Human Rights dealing with freedom of expression, the most recent judgement overturns sections of the bill that ban the use of languages other than French on commercial signs.

At the same time, the decision confirms the right of the Québec government to make French the predominant language on signs and to proscribe English-only signs. The judgment also confirms that the Québec government has the power to invoke the "notwithstanding" provision of the federal constitution. This clause permits provincial governments to exempt legislation from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the constitution so that it cannot be challenged in court under its provisions.

For many Québécois, the latest Supreme Court decision is the last straw, whether or

not they agree or disagree specifically with the overturned sections of Law 101. While the rally at the Paul Sauvé stadium was still in progress, Québec Premier Robert Bourassa announced his "compromise" solution: bilingual signs will now be permitted inside stores, but the Québec government will invoke the notwithstanding

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## Palestine uprising enters 2nd year

BY HARRY RING

As the Palestinian uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip entered its second year, Israeli forces marked the occasion by killing eight Palestinians in a single weekend. Five were killed when troops opened fire on a burial procession for a teenager who had been killed earlier.

Palestinians protested the escalation of terror with a new general strike that shut down shops and transportation across the West Bank.

Meanwhile discussion opened December 16 between the U.S. State Department and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The negotiations began soon after Wash-

See articles on pages 10 and 11, and editorial on page 14.

ington abruptly reversed its long-standing refusal to talk with the PLO.

Earlier, the Israeli regime chose December 8, the anniversary of the uprising, to make its deepest attack into Lebanon in the past five years. The target of the new Israeli attack was said to be a Palestinian guerrilla headquarters.

Reports from Lebanon indicated that guerrillas thwarted the attack. An Israeli lieutenant was killed in the fighting.

Meanwhile Washington lifted a six-year ban on the sale of cluster bombs to Israel. Israeli officials promised not to use them against civilians.

Filled with hundreds of bomblets, the exploding cannisters send a lethal spray over a wide area.

Shipments were halted when it was exposed that during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Israeli forces used the bombs against Lebanese towns and Palestinian refugee camps.

Announcing the lifting of the cluster bomb ban December 6, a U.S. embassy spokesperson in Israel said, "There is no reason to maintain the embargo if the sale of the bombs would increase Israel's security."

Meanwhile Palestinians scored a victory when Israeli military authorities agreed to

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## Paris: League for Rights of Man leader backs Curtis defense

BY JOHN STUDER

PARIS — Robert Verdier, honorary president of the League for the Rights of Man, one of the most prestigious human rights organizations in the world, has added his name as a sponsor of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Curtis is a packinghouse worker framed up and jailed because of his union and political activities.

Djim Ounei, Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) representative in France; Gilbert Wasserman, editor of *M* magazine and executive committee member of the Communist Renovator's Movement; Alain Krivine, public spokesperson of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR); and longtime socialist activists Michel Pablo and Louis Raymon Molinier have also joined the ranks of hundreds around the world who are supporting the committee's efforts to free Curtis.

Many names were gathered at an all-day series of meetings and rallies organized by the LCR to commemorate the role of Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky in founding the Fourth International 50 years ago.

Curtis supporters from France, Great Britain, and the Des Moines-based defense committee teamed up to staff a literature table at the events. *Rouge*, the newspaper of the LCR, had run an article on the defense effort prior to the celebration, thus ensuring that many of the 1,500 participants had some familiarity with the case.

Leaders of groups associated with the Fourth International from many countries have signed committee endorser cards.

These include: Ernest Mandel and Livio Maitan, United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Gerry Foley, editor, *International Viewpoint*; Sergio Rodríguez, Revo-

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# New Sankara book launched in Sweden

BY DAG TIRSEN  
AND MARIA HAMBERG

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — A meeting of 65 was held here December 11 to promote the book *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87*.

In front of a banner with a portrait of the African revolutionary leader, who was killed in a coup in 1987, a broad platform of speakers from Sweden, South Africa, Nicaragua, Western Sahara, the United States, Namibia, and Burkina Faso discussed the book and its importance. It was recently published by Pathfinder.

Catharina Tirsén, the Swedish representative of Pathfinder, who co-chaired the meeting with Barbro Davidson, opened the meeting by describing steps the revolutionary government headed by Sankara had taken to improve the conditions for the Burkinabè people. It is the political perspectives Sankara fought for, she noted, that makes the book so valuable.

The program began by showing a segment of a video interview with Sankara himself. The interview had been given to Leila Tengroth and Ragnar Hedlund for Swedish television.

## ANC women's representative

Yolisa Modise, representative in Scandinavia of the African National Congress of South Africa Women's Section, was the first speaker. Her remarks set the tone for

the entire meeting. "I would like to join those who thank Pathfinder for this most valuable publication that has been placed at our disposal. It is a valuable tool in our fight against injustice and racial discrimination, a tool to be used by us as women in removing the yoke of oppression, and most of all, a contribution to all those in Africa and around the world who, inspired by his example, need to know the revolutionary course he fought and died for.

"As a representative of the ANC Women's Section in Scandinavia," she continued, "it is appropriate to stress Thomas Sankara's understanding of issues on women, his clear analyses of women's role in society, and how we women should emancipate ourselves from the triple yoke of oppression."

Modise concluded, "This book tells us about the struggle for freedom and justice, and it is the manner of telling that is remarkable. Its immediacy and complexity will insure its place as one of the historic and revolutionary documents of this phase in the struggle.

"The message given is decisive to the political education of millions of young fighters, and it is up to us to pass it on."

## Former member of Sankara government

Among the featured speakers of the evening was Germaine Pitroipa, former member of the National Revolutionary Council of Burkina Faso under the Sankara regime. She described Upper Volta, as Burkina used to be called, before the revolution in 1983. A small layer of privileged rulers enriched themselves while the vast majority suffered from disease, malnutrition, and poverty.

Pitroipa outlined what the Sankara government had done to fight against corruption and the steps taken to improve the infrastructure, education, irrigation, and health care.

Maria Terese Alvarado, press and cultural attaché of the Nicaraguan embassy here, compared Sankara with Ernesto Che Guevara as a spokesperson of oppressed people. She described Sankara's visit to Nicaragua in 1986 and quoted him as saying, "We must support Nicaragua [against the imperialist-backed contra aggression] because if Nicaragua is destroyed it would be a breach in the well-being of the other peoples of the entire world."

Alvarado told the audience that this is a book that must be read both by those who hold power and by those who don't. She encouraged everyone at the meeting to help circulate the book.

A Haibas Abbas from the Polisario Front's office in Stockholm said he was filled with great emotion when he recalled Sankara's commitment to just causes all over the world — and especially to Western Sahara, which is occupied by Moroccan troops. Burkina Faso recognized the Polisario-led Saharan Arabic Democratic

Republic the day after Sankara became president in 1983.

When he visited the country in April 1985 he was the first president to do so, the first to challenge the colonial power and recognize the Western Saharan people's right to justice and independence.

## Woman metal worker

Eva Palm, a metal worker at a big Swedish-owned multinational with substantial interests in South Africa, said two questions have been stumbling blocks in discussions with her coworkers, almost all of whom are men — the role of Swedish companies in propping up the apartheid regime in South Africa and why women should fight to break the barriers of sex discrimination on industrial jobs. When she read Sankara, Palm explained, "It was a fantastic experience — a man who was Black, from the middle of Africa, coming from a society as different from Sweden as could be, was a source of guidance and leadership for workers in Sweden.

"The world is shrinking. And for me and other revolutionary workers in Sweden it is a book to be read and spread and studied. His words are needed here!"

Pengordjabi ya Shipot from the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia's office in East Berlin told the audience, "The people of Namibia and the revolution launched by Sankara in Burkina have something in common — namely the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism, the struggle for total eradication of poverty, hunger, thirst, and also from racial discrimination in Africa.

"At the time of independence of Namibia," he said, "we will face the same problems as Burkina, and therefore we regard the achievements of Thomas Sankara in Burkina as an example for us and many other African independent states for many years to come."

Also present and introduced to the meeting was Guido Castellbranco from the Angolan embassy here.

Anders Nordin, farmer and spokesperson of the Swedish Miljöpartiet, the "greens," spoke briefly about Sankara's appreciation of the importance of environmental questions.

## Messages

A number of important messages that had been sent to the meeting were also read in the course of the program. One of the most powerful came from Lars Anders Baer, a leader for the Samic people of the Nordic countries and of the World Council for Indigenous People. He pointed to Sankara as an example for the indigenous peoples in their struggle for the right to life, independence, and cultural development.

Other greetings came from Eugen Makhlof, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Sweden; Ismet Oelepy, a Kurd activist under arrest in Sweden; Stellan Hermansson, national chairperson of the Communist Youth; and from the Ghana Union and the Pan-African

Association of Progressive Students and Workers in Sweden.

Mary-Alice Waters, representative of Pathfinder New York, was the final speaker.

"Sankara was not just a leader of the people of Burkina or of Africa or of the Third World," she said, "he was a leader of the working people of the United States, Sweden, Cuba, Nicaragua, of the Soviet Union.

"Like Che, like Maurice Bishop, like Malcolm X, like Nelson Mandela — he belongs to all of us.

"More than anything else," Waters emphasized, "Sankara believed in, had confidence in, and had respect for the capacities of ordinary working people. For their capacities to understand that the world of exploitation and oppression in which we live was not created by some god or some fate beyond our control but by human beings.

## 'World can be changed by us'

"In the same way that this world has been created by human beings," she said, "Sankara knew it could be changed by other human beings, by us, by working people the world over who are the victims of this system.

"Sankara lived and died for this perspective, tirelessly organizing, mobilizing, educating, and leading the people of Burkina Faso, of Africa, and of the world. He gave us confidence to take history into our own hands and act together and to change it."

She stressed that out of the irrepressible struggles of the people of Burkina Faso against imperialist domination, out of their revolt against the social misery and inequalities and injustice in which they lived, came one of the great 20th century leaders of the international working class. "And nothing can more clearly underline the international character of the social forces that are today compelling working people the world over into struggle, nor the international character of the leadership we need."

## New York City

## Report back on 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution

Hear:

**Mary-Alice Waters**

editor of *New International*

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Militant  
Yolisa Modise, African National Congress representative in Scandinavia, speaking at event.

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

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# Socialists to run municipal campaigns in nearly 30 cities

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party has announced plans to run candidates in nearly 30 cities in the 1989 municipal elections. In addition, the party will field a candidate for governor in New Jersey.

*Militant* editor Doug Jenness, who was the SWP's 1988 national campaign director, has been designated the national director of the party's '89 election campaigns.

In an interview here, he said that SWP candidates have already been selected for the mayoralty races in Chicago and Los Angeles. Omari Musa, a long-time civil rights and union activist, he noted, announced his campaign for mayor in Chicago several months ago.

The SWP in Los Angeles nominated Joel Britton as its candidate for mayor at a meeting on December 20. Britton, an operator at Chevron's El Segundo refinery near Los Angeles, was the party's standard-bearer in the California senate race in 1988. He is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1547.

The other candidates in Chicago's February 28 primary election are Acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer, who took office after Harold Washington's death in 1987; Richard Daley; Alderman Timothy Evans; Alderman Lawrence Bloom; Alderman Juan Soliz; Edward Howlett; and Edward Vrdolyak.

Mayor Thomas Bradley is planning to run in Los Angeles' primary elections April 11 for another term.

Jenness said the problems facing working people in the cities, including homelessness, unemployment, speedup and safety on the job, deteriorating medical care, breakdowns in transportation, and pollution reflect the deepening economic and social crisis the entire capitalist system faces. And all signs indicate, he said, that conditions will get qualitatively worse with the next recession.

During the election campaigns, Jenness explained, the SWP candidates will be par-

ticipating in struggles by working people to defend their rights and living conditions. And they will present proposals, he said, that will help steer a course of action that can draw working people together internationally.

The SWP, Jenness noted, has put forward an Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis that can help working people recognize their common interests and strengthen their ability to fight back and win. This program, he said, is available for \$1 in a pamphlet published by Pathfinder. Thousands of copies were sold during the SWP's 1988 presidential campaign.

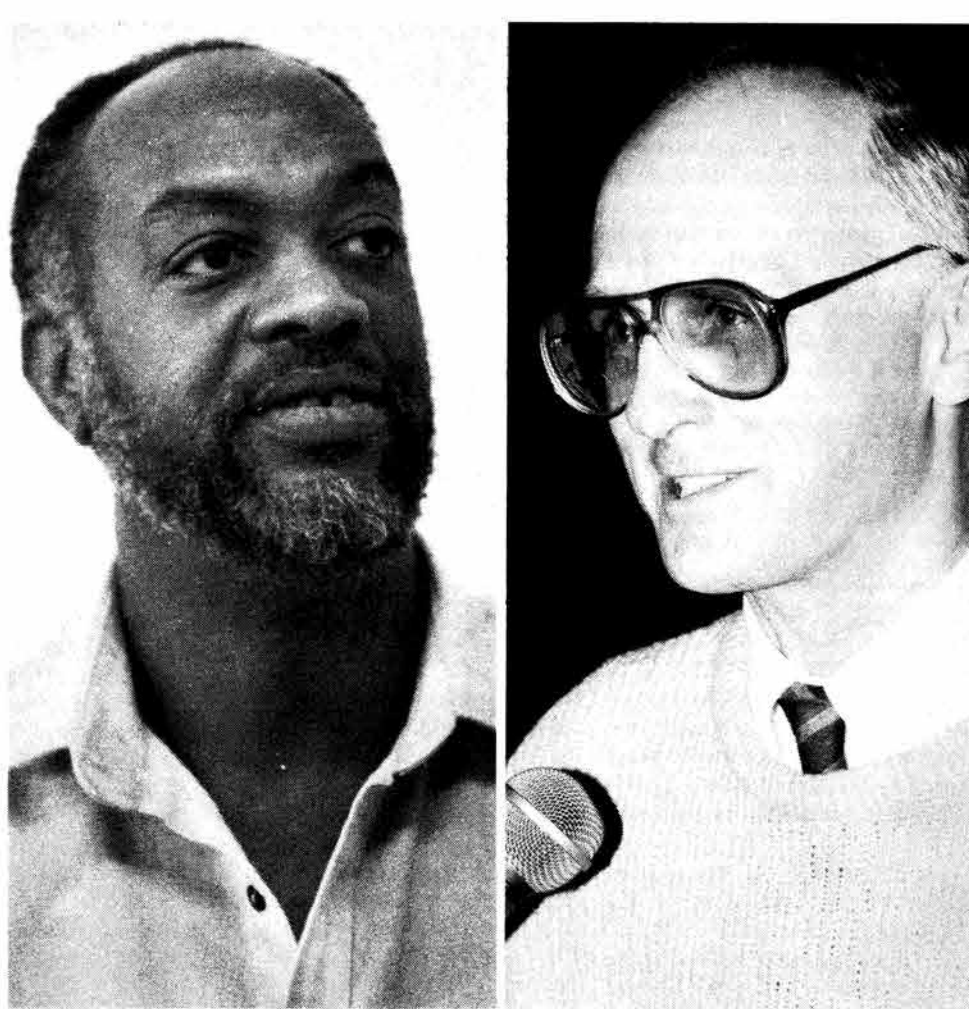
The central elements of this program are:

- to radically reduce the workweek, with not a penny reduction in pay. "If the workweek were shortened to 30 hours with 40 hours pay," Jenness said, "that would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions of workers;"

- fight for affirmative action to overcome race and sex discrimination used by the employers to divide working people on the job and throughout society;

- join the struggle already being waged to cancel the debt to the imperialist bankers that is ravaging the semicolonial countries and threatening a financial catastrophe that will devastate working people worldwide.

Jenness noted that the forces converging behind Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition are also gearing up for the municipal



Left, Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, and Joel Britton, Los Angeles SWP mayoral candidate.

elections. The working-class perspective presented by the SWP candidates, he said, will point in a different direction than the political course being set by these forces.

"Rather than preparing to lead the next upsurge of the working class toward independence from capitalist parties, strategies, and perspectives, the Rainbow is operating within the framework of capitalist poli-

tics," Jenness said. "Their proposals aim to make the capitalist system work better for working people. It's a dead-end for workers and farmers."

The dates for the municipal elections range from February 21 for the school board elections in Milwaukee to the November 28 mayoral election in Phoenix, Arizona.

## Why was U.S. plane over W. Sahara?

BY SAM MANUEL

Several questions surrounding the role of the DC-7 plane accidentally shot down December 8 over Western Sahara by the Polisario Front remain unanswered. A second DC-7 plane was damaged in the inci-

dent but managed to land safely.

Polisario (People's Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro) has been conducting a 13-year war against Moroccan occupation and for independence for Western Sahara.

T&G Aviation of Chandler, Arizona, which owns and operates the planes, has said that two DC-7s had been contracted by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to spray malathion on locust swarms in northwest Africa.

### May be covert action

But Sen. Dennis DeConcini and Rep. Morris Udall, both from Arizona, have commented that the planes may have been involved in a covert action for the U.S. CIA.

"It had all the earmarks of an American CIA operation," Udall said. "One of the CIA bases is out of Marana [Arizona]; it's a secret everyone knows."

The assertion that the plane may have been involved in CIA activity "was more than a rumor," said DeConcini. "It came to me through legitimate sources." DeConcini, who sits on the Senate Intelligence Committee, added that the U.S. government has many covert operations in that region.

DeConcini later said that after speaking with U.S. State Department officials and others he is "satisfied" the plane was on a pesticide spraying mission. An aide reached by phone at Udall's office in Washington told the *Militant*, "The congressman's remarks were misrepresented in the press."

The planes were on their way from Senegal to Morocco when both were hit by missiles. One crashed immediately, killing all five members of its crew. The second plane managed to land at Sidi Ifni in Morocco.

### Deep in Western Sahara

Initial reports said the planes were flying in an international air corridor over Mauritania when they were fired on. But Mauritanian government officials vigorously denied responsibility for the incident and added that the planes were fired on "deep within the Western Sahara, far away from the Mauritanian border."

A December 10 Moroccan government statement conceded the planes were hit over the war zone in Western Sahara.

Why the planes were flying over a war zone at such a low altitude also remains unanswered. A Polisario statement placed the planes as low as 6,000 feet. The crew of the surviving plane said they were flying at 10,000 feet.

But one of those crew members, Bill LeCount, told the *Tempe Daily News*, "In this job you are paid to do and expected to do what is illegal anywhere else. You get away from all the restrictions, rules, and regulations. Just flying around at 75 feet, it's like a license to buzz the countryside...."

Both planes were unmarked except for an "N" number on the tails signifying U.S. registrations, according to AID spokesman John Metelsky.

In a December 11 statement telexed from its office in Algiers to the Associated Press in New York, Polisario announced that its forces had fired on the planes.

"The destruction of one of the two crafts was in no way premeditated," the statement said. "It was an error caused by a pure coincidence stemming from the war conditions existing in the area and the moment that the planes arrived."

The Polisario statement noted that its forces in the area are under constant bombing attack by Moroccan planes.

The statement called the incident tragic and expressed "deepest regrets" to the world and "deepest sorrow" to the United States.

Polisario also announced that its forces had found the wreckage of the downed plane and was beginning to retrieve the bodies of the victims, which it said would be returned to the victims' families.

## 'Militant' holiday schedule

We want to alert our readers to our holiday printing schedule. This issue is the last for the year. We will not print an issue for the following week but will return with the *Militant* dated Jan. 13, 1989. It will be mailed to our subscribers and distributors on January 5.

## Socialists to host conferences in 6 cities

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be hosting regional political conferences in six cities in January and February.

Members and friends of the SWP and YSA and supporters of the *Militant* will hear reports on and discuss major developments in international and U.S. politics today. They

will also discuss perspectives in the international campaign to defend Mark Curtis, a framed-up Iowa packinghouse worker serving a 25-year jail sentence.

Each conference will feature a public talk by an SWP leader on the political stakes involved in the fight to defend Curtis.

Host city	participating	Host city	participating
<b>January 21-22</b>			
San Francisco	Oakland Portland Seattle	Pittsburgh	Baltimore Charleston Cleveland Detroit Morgantown Washington, DC
<b>January 28-29</b>			
Atlanta	Birmingham Greensboro Houston Miami	Chicago	Austin, Minn. Des Moines Kansas City Milwaukee Omaha St. Louis Twin Cities
<b>February 4-5</b>			
Los Angeles	Phoenix Price, Utah Salt Lake City	New York City	Boston Brooklyn Newark Philadelphia

For more information call: San Francisco (415) 282-6255; Pittsburgh (412) 362-6767; Atlanta (404) 577-4065; Chicago (312) 363-7322; Los Angeles (213) 380-9460; New York (212) 219-3679.

## The Political Fight to Free Mark Curtis

Hear **John Gaige** National farm director for the Socialist Workers Party and SWP organizer in Des Moines, Iowa.

**San Francisco, Sat., Jan. 21**

For more information call (415) 282-6255 or (415) 420-1165.



# 'I am proud to stand with those defending Curtis'

**Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving 25 years in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international protest campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.**

Héctor Marroquín told a meeting in Los Angeles December 10 about his victory in winning per-

fort to unify and strengthen his union."

The meeting also received messages from Esteban E. Torres, member of Congress from California's 34th District; and Humberto Camacho, president of United Electrical Workers District 10. Earlier, Marroquín had met with Camacho, who signed up as a sponsor of the Curtis defense committee.

Peter Schey, executive director of the National Center for Immigrants' Rights, Inc., described the

give every effort I can to see that Mark Curtis gets out of jail," Castle told the *Militant*.

"I've volunteered to help put together a video that can be used around the country and around the world to get the word out on this case," Castle said.

"The nature of the charges sometimes makes it difficult for people to understand what's involved," he continued. "A video will allow people to see the real Mark Curtis and show the conditions he was fighting against."

*Spark*, a twice-monthly socialist newspaper published in Detroit, carried an article headlined "Mark Curtis, a fighter for workers' rights, is sentenced to 25 years in prison" in its December 5-19 issue.

Curtis "needs help in defending himself, including contributions toward his legal expenses. The frame-up that has been carried out against him is, in fact, a frame-up directed against anyone who wants a better life for working people," the article explained.

of support for the fight come in. From South Wales in Britain, for example, 20 workers recently sent Curtis a card with Christmas greetings and pledges of support.

"Checks from union locals, collections from meetings, and individual contributions arrive just in time to pay for a new piece of literature or the postage on a package to New Zealand," explained Bockman. In the first week of December, for example, contributions totaled more than \$5,000.

The single largest project of the defense committee recently has been an international mailing to 4,500 people, which contains committee coordinator Stu Singer's answer to the slanderous attack on the defense effort by Keith Morris, as well as other committee literature.

The efforts of several dozen volunteers went into producing the materials, organizing the mailing list, stuffing the envelopes, and transporting the 30 sacks of mail to the post office.

A professor from Drake University, which is a couple of blocks away from the defense committee office, called as soon as he read Singer's response and asked for 75 copies to give to his students.

*Nelson Blackstock from Los Angeles contributed to this column.*

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

manent residency status and asked his supporters to join him in the fight to free Mark Curtis. More than \$1,400 was donated by the more than 50 people in the audience.

In a message to Marroquín, Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, said: "I was proud to be among the many supporters of your 11-year battle. Today I am proud to stand with you and thousands of others who have come to the defense of Mark Curtis. Mark is being victimized for his union activity, his defense of his immigrant coworkers at the Swift plant, and his ef-

crudely political and racist nature of U.S. immigration policies. Schey is also a sponsor of the Curtis committee.

Marroquín met with Luis Olivares, a priest who is the most prominent spokesperson for immigrant rights in Los Angeles and a longtime supporter of Marroquín. Olivares signed up as a Curtis sponsor. Marroquín's backer Phillip Zwerling of the First Unitarian Church also lent his name to the Curtis defense effort.

Marroquín talked with director Nick Castle, whose film *Tap*, starring Gregory Hines, will be released in February. "I'm going to

At the November 21-25 congress of the Icelandic Federation of Labor, Thorir Danielsson, executive director of the Icelandic Federation of Workers, an association of unskilled workers' unions; Einar Gunnarsson, president of the Reykjavík Tinsmith Group; Halldór Björnsson, vice-president of Dagsbrun, one of the largest unskilled workers' unions in Iceland; and Magnús Gíslason, chairman of the Commercial Workers Union in Southern Iceland, a union that fought a militant strike last spring, all signed Curtis support petitions.

Shipyard worker Benedikt Kristjansson explained the facts of the frame-up and the political stakes involved to the entire gathering, and then collected 27 signatures.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee office is a center of activity as the drive to gather thousands of committee sponsors begins to move into high gear, according to Mary Nell Bockman, a laid-off steelworker from Cleveland who has been volunteering in the Des Moines office for a few weeks.

"Everyday, volunteers come in to answer the telephones, get out bundles of materials requested by Curtis supporters from all over the world, maintain the list of sponsors that grows daily, and respond to requests for more information," says Bockman.

The arrival of the mail is the daily high point. In addition to sponsor cards, other expressions

## New York: Héctor Marroquín's victory celebrated

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — Héctor Marroquín spoke to 80 people gathered at the American Federation of Musicians Hall to celebrate the victory in his 11-year fight for permanent residence in the United States.

New York was the last stop in a dozen-city tour by the Mexican-born Socialist Workers Party leader. The tour was sponsored by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, in Des Moines, Iowa.

Rafael Anglada López, lawyer for the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, told the meeting, "I really congratulate Héctor and his attorney, Claudia Slovinsky. I want to stress the

importance of his case for all of us — all peoples living under U.S. domination, and all those who are struggling."

"This is a real, real victory," the Puerto Rican activist continued. "We can feel it. We can touch it. I will also be honored to meet Mark Curtis, and to visit him in prison," he said.

Anglada López explained that every time he goes into a prison to consult with a client he asks who is there. "And I always find political prisoners," he said. Curtis' fight is "a struggle," Anglada López continued. "We have to participate in this struggle, and eventually we will win."

The mid-Atlantic regional organizer for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Jon Haines, also spoke at the rally. Haines described the "illegal six-year investigation" of CISPES and other antiwar groups by the FBI. "We are trying to get all the information released. We want the files removed from the FBI and other government agencies and not used against anyone," Haines explained. CISPES recently filed suit to achieve these aims.

As part of his fight against the Des Moines cop frame-up, Curtis is also trying to get the government to release files the FBI gathered on him. One FBI file already released described Curtis as a "leader of CISPES in the Birmingham area."

Peter Krala, a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers, in New Haven, Connecticut, told the rally about his recent firing by Norden Systems.

"As a member of the Young Socialist Alliance," he said, "I won support for Héctor Marroquín's fight for permanent residence, and when I learned of the beating and frame-up of Mark Curtis I started talking to my coworkers about supporting him also."

"Where I work is an open shop. You don't have to belong to the union," Krala explained. "So as a union activist I sought to convince my coworkers to join the union also. I was fired by Norden Systems for 'interfering with the work of my coworkers.' No evidence has been produced — they fired me because of my political and union activity."

"My union sees this as a case of democratic rights, of free speech. We are fighting this attack on our union," Krala concluded.

"On behalf of the African National Congress I join in the celebration of a job well done, in the 11-year fight to win Héctor Marroquín permanent residence," Victor Mashabela of the ANC of South Africa's Youth Section told the rally. "We must use this victory as a reservoir of strength for



Militant/Jean Zuman



Militant/Jon Hillson

**Victor Mashabela, left, of African National Congress, and Rafael Anglada López, lawyer for Puerto Rico/Hartford 15. Mashabela said Héctor Marroquín's victory in fight for permanent residence is "reservoir of strength for struggles to come."**

struggles to come — like that of Mark Curtis," he added.

A message was read from Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haiti Progrès*. "We salute Héctor," he said, "for continuing this political struggle by fighting for the freedom of Mark Curtis, and therefore justice for all workers, undocumented or documented, for whom Curtis fights."

In his address to the rally Marroquín thanked supporters of his fight. "Without this broad and persistent support, the victory could never have been won. With this support we have all strengthened the rights of immigrants and every working person to engage in politics. It is a blow to government attempts to deny immigrants protection under the law, to reduce us to a pariah status and weaken the entire labor movement."

Referring to Curtis's 17 coworkers who were arrested at the Swift plant by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Marroquín said, "Like Mark's coworkers, I was put in jail. Luckily, there were some

Mark Curtises around who got me out and started my fight.

"Both Mark and I are activists in the labor movement. It is for what Mark did in action, his deeds, that he was beaten by the Des Moines police, called a 'Mexican-lover,' framed up on rape and burglary charges, convicted, and sent to jail."

Marroquín explained that his fight and Curtis' are the same. "At the heart of these struggles is the fight for immigrant rights and the unity of the labor movement, which Mark was trying to advance through his actions with his coworkers."

## N. Carolina Indians indicted by state after federal acquittal

BY SHERRIE LOVE

GREENSBORO, N.C. — On December 6, a Robeson County grand jury indicted Tuscarora Indians Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs on 14 counts of second-degree kidnapping. The state charges stem from an incident last February 1 when Hatcher and Jacobs took over a local newspaper office to draw attention to the racism and corruption of county officials. The two were acquitted of federal charges of hostage-taking in October.

Attorneys for the two activists labeled the state charges vindictive and a clear violation of the concept of double jeopardy.

"The obvious purpose of this indictment," Hatcher's lawyer, William Kunstler, said, "is not only to punish the defendants for their acquittal, but to terrorize the Black and Indian population of Robeson County and to prevent an effective investigation of official drug trafficking in that area."

Hatcher was arrested while working at the headquarters of his defense office in Pembroke, North Carolina. Bail was initially set at \$140,000 each for Hatcher and Jacobs.

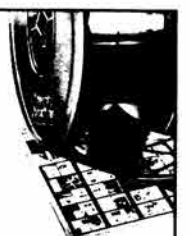
The maximum sentence for second-degree kidnapping is 30 years on each count. A trial date has not been set.

On December 9 Hatcher was released from jail after his bond was lowered to \$25,000. The National Council of Churches has put up the money for bail.

Jacobs was arrested in mid-December just outside the Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York where he had gone to seek refuge following his posting bond. The state of North Carolina is trying to obtain his extradition to face trial.

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# 1930s frame-up of meat-packer Frank Ellis

BY CRAIG HONTIS  
AND DALE CHIDESTER

AUSTIN, Minn. — When Mark Curtis was framed up on rape and burglary charges he confronted a time-honored procedure used by the government to get activists it considers undesirable "out of the way."

The Curtis case echoes a similar frame-up against Frank Ellis, a packinghouse worker and union organizer in this Southern Minnesota town, more than 50 years ago.

Ellis was accused of abducting two women under 18 years old and taking them to a hotel for "immoral purposes." A jury convicted him Dec. 5, 1935, and he was sentenced to two years in prison.

Ellis served eight months in the state penitentiary at Stillwater, Minnesota, before his sentence was commuted. He was released New Year's Day 1938.

Ellis' picture still hangs in the Austin Labor Center. A brass plate beneath it reads, "Frank Ellis, founder of the Austin Labor Movement." He died here in 1976 at the age of 88.

## Joined IWW

When still a boy, Ellis began working in the meat-packing industry at Swift in St. Louis. After participating in a strike in 1904 he ran away from home and soon joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a militant organization founded in 1905. The IWW fought to organize workers along industrial lines. At the time the American Federation of Labor advocated organizing only skilled workers along craft lines.

For many years Ellis worked in packinghouses throughout the Midwest, becoming an effective on-the-job union organizer. In 1928 he went to work at the Hormel plant in Austin and became the central leader of the Independent Union of All Workers (IUAW).

Formed in July 1933, this union led a very successful sit-down strike in the plant later that year. This action brought union recognition and a contract.

Once the union was established in the Hormel plant the IUAW helped spread unionism to other workers in Austin and throughout the region.

## 'Every inch a fighter'

Ellis worked with leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union in regional organizing. The Teamsters in Minneapolis had a class-struggle leadership in the 1930s and had successfully led a series of strikes there in 1934. One of the Teamster leaders

Ellis collaborated with was Farrell Dobbs, who later commented in his book *Teamster Power* (Pathfinder, New York, 1973):

"The central leader of the IUAW was Frank Ellis, a man with considerable experience in the IWW. Although not a Marxist, he had absorbed many class-struggle concepts, and he was every inch a fighter.

"He did all he could to teach the workers that they must rely on their own strength, never putting their trust in any agent of the capitalist class. Ellis warned especially against thinking the workers could get any justice in the capitalist courts."

Ellis himself certainly never got any justice in those courts. He was someone the ruling rich in southern Minnesota wanted out of the way, one way or another.

## Bribes, beatings

John Winkels, a founding member of the IUAW at Hormel, relates the story of how Hormel tried to bribe Ellis. Shortly after the union won the strike in 1933, Ellis reported to a union meeting that Hormel had offered him \$35,000 cash to get out of town and stay out. Ellis responded, according to Winkels, by telling Hormel where they could take that cash and shove it.

On another occasion, a different approach to get Ellis "out of the way" was used. The April 16, 1935, issue of the *Northwest Organizer*, newspaper of the Minneapolis Teamsters union, reported, "Returning home from a union meeting early in the morning of Tuesday, April 16, Frank Ellis, diminutive but courageous organizer for the Independent Union of All Workers, was brutally attacked by an unknown assailant. Armed with a gun and a club, his attacker beat him unmercifully, leaving him with injuries from which he may never completely recover.

"Ellis," the *Organizer* continued, "has played an important role in the building of the Austin union and is intensely disliked by the opposite of unionism. This vicious assault should open the eyes of those workers who continue to believe that the bosses are their friends; that labor and capital have a common interest."

But neither the violent attack nor Hormel's attempted bribe could dampen Ellis' activities in the labor movement. So the employing class decided to carry through their frame-up assault.

An account of the frame-up appeared in the Dec. 6, 1935, issue of the *Midwest American* published in Minneapolis and edited by Walter Liggett.

Ellis had arranged to drive from Austin to Minneapolis on March 22, 1934, to have



Militant/Tom Jaax

April 1986 union solidarity march with United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 during its strike against the Hormel meat-packing company in Austin, Minnesota. Frank Ellis, who led the 1930s drive to organize Hormel, is considered to be the founder of the Austin labor movement.

a meeting with Ray Dunne, a leader of Teamster Local 574. Ellis frequently drove to Minneapolis to meet and discuss with union activists in that city.

## Carefully constructed frame-up

Frances Exelby and Teresa Hall, two young Austin women, heard that he was making the trip and asked if they could get a ride to the house of an aunt who lived in Minneapolis.

When they got to Minneapolis, the women discovered that the aunt was not home, and so told Ellis that they were going to hitch-hike back to Austin. Ellis did not think this was such a good idea, since it was already afternoon and a snowstorm was coming on. The union leader decided to put them up for the night in a separate room at the hotel where he was staying. He had his meeting with Ray Dunne that night and then drove the young women back to Austin the next day.

Eighteen months later, after the frame-up had been carefully put together, Ellis was charged and tried on two counts of abduction of a minor for immoral purposes. Liggett, who also met with Ellis in Minneapolis, was charged with committing sodomy with a minor.

According to coached testimony of the two young women, Ellis had stopped to buy liquor in Faribault on the way from Austin to Minneapolis. This was during the prohibition years, when buying liquor was illegal.

Exelby testified that Ellis discussed "unnatural love" with them during the trip to Minneapolis. The three of them were met at the hotel by Liggett, whereupon all four of them got into the same bed. While Ellis slept through it all, Liggett performed two acts of sodomy with Exelby.

The jury was carefully selected to insure that Ellis and Liggett would not get a fair hearing. Union members were automatically excluded.

Liggett faced a life sentence if convicted. On Nov. 9, 1935, the judge ruled that there had been perjury committed and the case against Liggett was thrown out of court.

Ellis' trial proceeded, however, and he was convicted.

## Liggett murdered

In the days following the conviction, Liggett was involved in raising bail, gathering support, and seeing to it that Ellis' prison conditions were as comfortable as possible. Liggett was machine gunned to death December 10 while getting out of his car in front of his Minneapolis house. He had just put to type the article on the Ellis frame-up cited earlier.

The Austin *Daily Herald* ran sensationalistic articles on the murder for weeks after it happened, but no connection was made in the big-business press between this murder and the Ellis case. The killing was attributed to a boot-legging gangster known as Kid Cain.

The *Northwest Organizer* reported that on Jan. 17, 1936, Ellis was released on \$5,000 bail and that same day spoke before a union organizing rally of 1,500 workers in Albert Lea. Also speaking at the meeting were Miles Dunne and Bill Brown for Teamsters Local 574 from Minneapolis.

Speakers pointed to the danger of having union leaders victimized and appealed for financial support for the Ellis defense effort. Requests for support were sent to unions throughout the state.

On April 29, 1937, Ellis began serving his sentence after losing his appeal to the state supreme court.

Later that year his sentence was commuted. The Nov. 18, 1937, *Northwest Organizer* reported, "On Tuesday last week the state board of pardons announced it had commuted the sentence of Frank Ellis, militant Austin labor leader now serving a jail sentence. . . . It is the opinion of the labor movement in the state that Frank Ellis was framed up by reactionary employers in the Southern part of the state for his activities in behalf of the union movement in Austin and other towns. The shortening of his term reflects the pressure of the labor movement to gain his release."

The union-organized New Year's welcome home for Ellis was a gala celebration that included a parade to the local armory where speeches were heard, the Drum and Bugle Corps of the Ladies Auxiliary performed, and a dance went until late in the night.

The Dec. 30, 1937, *Organizer* reported, "Resolution number one for the Austin labor movement during the coming year is that there shall be no more frame-ups of workers by the enemies of labor in Austin, Minneapolis or anywhere else."

Mark Curtis and thousands of other working-class fighters for justice who have been victimized in the courts since then bear witness that this resolution is far from being fulfilled. For Austin's 1938 New Year's resolution to become a reality the system of class rule by the rich will have to be replaced once and for all.

Craig Hontis is a member of United Auto Workers Local 2125 and works at Crenlo in Rochester, Minnesota. Dale Chidester is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9 and works at Hormel in Austin.

# Curtis defense wins backing of Paris human rights leader

Continued from front page

lutionary Workers Party, Mexico; Maria Sundvall, international secretary, Socialist Party of Sweden, and Göte Kildén, Socialist Party leader and union official at Volvo; and Michaël Warschawski, Revolutionary Communist League of Israel, who is facing a prison sentence because of his support for the Palestinian struggle.

Also endorsing were Miguel Romero Baela, Revolutionary Communist League, Spain; Ernesto Herrera, Socialist Workers Party, Uruguay; Frank Slegers, Socialist Workers Party, Belgium; Achin Vanaik, Revolutionary Communist Organization, India; Mogens Pedersen, Socialist Workers Party, Denmark; French LCR leaders Hélène Viken, Claude Gabriel, Gerard Filoche, and Daniel Bensaid; Nat Weinstein, co-national secretary of Socialist Action of the United States; Stephen Bloom, editor, *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, published in New York; and Guirou Amadou, general secretary, Organization of Socialist Workers, Senegal.

Other political activists also signed up, including: Rosario Ibarra of the National

Front Against Repression in Mexico; Judith Woodward, chair, London Labour Region Women's Committee; and D.A. Packer, Labour Party of Britain.

In all, more than 100 unionists, Nicaragua and El Salvador solidarity activists, fighters for the rights of immigrants and against racism, and supporters of a variety of political parties signed sponsor cards.

A group of workers at a psychiatric hospital in Paris signed cards and took material to pass out to coworkers.

Central America solidarity activists from Lyons, France, had already circulated a telegram in support of Curtis at their last meeting. Other activists from Lyons said they would like to get involved as well.

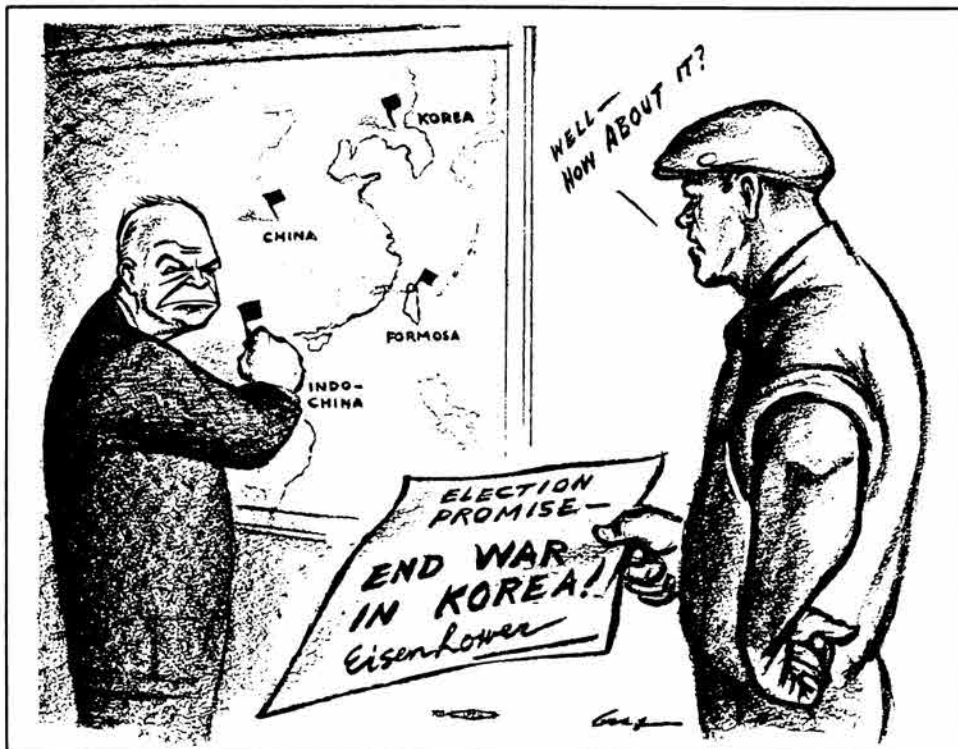
Many people took information and endorser cards to use to win more support. Much of the material in French consists of reprints from publications from different parts of the world, including *Lutte ouvrière*, a monthly published in Québec; *Haïti Progrès*, a weekly published in New York; and *Rouge*.

Some 600 francs (US\$100) was donated to the defense committee.





Nov. 13, 1950



March 30, 1953

Caught in the Act



March 9, 1953

Burnt Offering



June 24, 1953

## 'Militant' artist Gray's work at N.Y. exhibit

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — A little gem is currently on display at the Tamiment Institute Library here: eight original cartoons by Laura Gray, staff artist for the *Militant* from 1944 until her death in 1958.

The eight are just a small sample of some 430 original Gray cartoons and drawings that were donated to the Tamiment library by the *Militant* in 1987. The entire collection, which can be readily looked at by the public, spans the 14 years during which Gray's powerful political drawings were an almost weekly front-page feature of the paper.

As the *Militant's* cartoonist, Gray had as her themes the big political events of the day, seen from the point of view of the working class. Her bold, simple sketches depicted imperialism's irrepressible drive toward war; the rise of the colonial revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the passage of crippling anti-labor legislation against the U.S. labor movement; the fight to defend democratic rights during the anti-communist witch-hunt of the late 1940s and '50s; the rise of the mighty civil rights movement that smashed the system of Jim Crow segregation in the South; and much more.

The problems working people face as long as capitalism exists — unemployment, speedup, low wages, high taxes, inadequate housing — were frequent subjects for Gray's cartoons, often inspired by a headline in the capitalist press about the economy or a strike.

In her drawings, the social classes were depicted by figures that became familiar to *Militant* readers over the years and reflected a style of political art that was popular in the 1930s. The workers were drawn as strong men in work clothes. The capitalists were fat, cigar-chomping men in bankers' suits, and their wives, diamond-studded and overfed. The Democratic and Republican parties and politicians were de-

picted as human-like donkeys and elephants — often chewing on cigars themselves — eagerly doing the capitalists' bidding.

Although Gray's style may seem a bit old-fashioned today, those who view the collection will find themselves nodding at how on-target her cartoons remain, and smiling at her sense of humor.

Some of her finest drawings, which also appeared in the *Militant*, were caricatures of capitalist political figures such as Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur, and Joseph McCarthy.

Laura Gray was born in 1909 in Pittsburgh. Her family moved to Chicago when she was a young girl, and at 16, Gray entered the prestigious Chicago Institute of Art. Within a few years, she had become a

nationally recognized painter and sculptor.

Like many other artists and millions of workers during the 1930s' depression, Gray had a hard time making ends meet. She finally got a job with the Works Projects Administration Art Project, under which artists worked on public art and were paid by the government. Much of this work, including Gray's, was later destroyed by the government.

Opposition to World War II led Gray to join the Socialist Workers Party in 1942 in Chicago. She became an enthusiastic *Militant* distributor selling the paper to workers at plant gates and union halls throughout the city.

Two years later, she visited the *Militant* office in New York and soon became part of its staff.

"The combination of class consciousness, moral courage, political acuteness, and artistic capacity required for a Marxist cartoonist is a once-in-a-generation phenomenon. We were lucky indeed to find Laura," wrote Art Preis in the Jan. 20, 1958, *Militant* tribute to her that appeared shortly after her death.

"On March 4, 1944, her first cartoon appeared in our paper," he recalled. "From the first, her work added such a fresh, bright, satirical note to the paper that it was enthusiastically hailed by our readers everywhere."

Each week the cartoon's subject was on the agenda of the *Militant's* staff meetings. After the staff discussed and decided what the topic would be, Gray would go home and start to draw.

In addition to being part of the *Militant* staff, Gray was a member of the New York SWP branch. Beginning in the early 1950s, she worked at a series of jobs to support herself, including painting store mannequins and creating window displays for some of New York's big department stores.



Soichi Sunami

Laura Gray

Gray had been stricken with tuberculosis when she was 22 years old, and had to have one lung removed in 1947. She died suddenly in 1958 after a brief bout with pneumonia.

There's been considerable interest in the exhibit since it opened in October, says Mary Allison Farley, the nonprint archivist at the Tamiment library who arranged the display. Originally scheduled to run through November, the exhibit has been extended through January. Trade unionists, students, political activists, and scholars are among those viewing the display, which is mounted at the entrance to the library.

Because the Tamiment library, which is part of the New York University Library system, is open to the public, working people and students can now have access to Gray's drawings. Copies have been made so that they can be looked through easily, without damaging the originals. They are also being catalogued to make finding specific drawings easier.

Farley explained that after the library received the drawings, it was difficult to locate a photocopier big enough to reproduce the cartoons, and their large number made the job even harder. Finally a blueprint company with an adequate copier was located, and the owners, Arthur and Martin Lescher, decided to make a donation of the copies, saving the library more than \$1,000.

Having the cartoons at the Tamiment also means that the drawings themselves, most of which are charcoal and ink on large-format paper, will be preserved in the best possible way. They are now stored in map holders, and the drawings are interleaved with acid-free paper to help prevent deterioration.

The address of the Tamiment Institute Library is 70 Washington Square South, New York, New York 10012. Telephone (212) 998-2630.



# Boeing workers face serious health risks

## U.S. gov't, company use 'national security' claim to block disclosure

BY JILL FEIN  
AND KAREN RAY

SEATTLE — Workers at Boeing Aerospace here and Lockheed workers in Burbank, California, are suffering health problems from using composite materials while building Stealth bombers and Stealth fighters as well as other planes.

The composites, which have come into use in the past five years, contain suspected carcinogens, while others contain compounds shown to cause mutations in human cells in laboratory experiments. The new materials are being used in aircraft because their nonmetallic surfaces are better able to elude radar.

Reported health problems range from dizziness to mood swings, memory loss, and skin rashes. Attorneys representing 160 employees at Lockheed who have filed suit against the company alleging chemically induced illness say five workers have already died.

### Gov't warns workers not to talk

Union officials charge that government claims of "national security" are preventing the disclosure of unsafe working conditions in aerospace plants across the country.

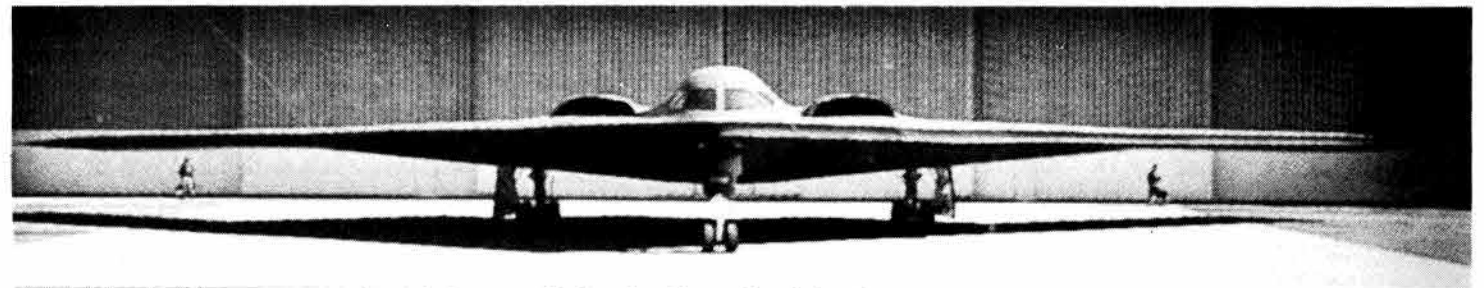
Many articles have appeared in Seattle newspapers in the past several months discussing the health problems and unsafe work conditions at Boeing and Lockheed. After one such article came out in the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* on August 3, International Association of Machinists Lodge 727 officials in Burbank were contacted by the FBI. The article contained an interview with a Lockheed worker.

Workers with top secret clearances are subject to prosecution, including life imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine, for violating "national security" by speaking to anyone about the chemicals they use on the job.

In California workers in a restricted area of Lockheed's Burbank plant, who complained about clouds of toxic, chemically laden dust in the air, as well as lack of safety equipment, were told by management to limit their conversations with the media to "no comment," even on health issues.

The Stealth bomber is produced at the Boeing Developmental Center. "Talking about even unclassified chemicals that they are working with does brush against the issue of giving away elements of something that is classified, so it is wiser not to do it," warned Boeing spokesperson Bob Jorgensen.

Boeing workers here fear government retaliation for discussing job safety conditions. "We feel like we could be prosecuted



Stealth bomber. Workers on aircraft fear retaliation for discussing job safety.

and lose our jobs," said one worker at the developmental center. "Everyone is afraid."

Boeing workers are complaining of physical symptoms ranging from dizziness and nausea to rashes at the Kent, Everett, Renton, and Auburn facilities in the Seattle area. Now, literally fearing for their lives, some workers are beginning to speak out about what they view as a deadly threat to aerospace workers nationally. They fear the effects of chemicals used to produce a new generation of futuristic, "plastic" aircraft — lighter, faster, and less detectable by radar.

### 'Workers used as guinea pigs'

"These people are being used as guinea pigs," said John Carpenter, a business agent for the Machinists' local at Burbank. It represents about 8,000 Lockheed workers at Building No. 351 where "top secret" work is done. Heat and poor ventilation combine to create clouds of chemical-laden dust, obscuring the view from one end of the building to another.

Boeing's Auburn plant was the first among a growing number of aerospace facilities in Washington and California where workers reported dizziness, nausea, rashes, and memory loss from new chemicals coming into use on production lines.

"Two women workers recently became ill while using chemicals containing asbestos and at least one suspected carcinogen to make jet engine cowl liners," said Bob Ripley, an IAM business agent for the Auburn plant who was the guest speaker at the September Coalition of Labor Union Women meeting here.

"One woman blacked out and didn't even remember anything until she came to

in the company's medical facility," said Ripley. "Another ended up in the hospital with pneumonia-like symptoms. Most of the workers are young, single women who are parents. They are afraid to say anything."

According to Craig Fluvog, a Boeing hygienist, one chemical adhesive being used widely "contains methylene dianiline, a suspected carcinogen which also contains asbestos." Originally safety procedures called for a specifically vented booth when doing a process using this substance, but that requirement was later deleted. Nor were workers provided with proper protective gloves.

More than 20 Auburn workers already have filed state workers' compensation claims alleging occupational disease.

Bryan Dupaul, a Plant II Tooling inspector has worked at Boeing for 11 years. He is recording secretary on IAM District 751's safety committee. "Chemical poisoning has been reported at all plants at all locations of Boeing," he told the *Militant*. "It is a state and federal law that safety data sheets be made available to workers describing the materials being used and their hazards. At the Renton plant new materials are being used but there is no safety data sheet available for security reasons."

"They really don't know how much of these chemicals are acceptable to our systems because they are all so new," said Dupaul. "It is impossible to know how many have died from industrial poisoning. Each year thousands of new chemicals are added to the work place. At Plant II a compound is used that is imported from France but the French don't use it because it is so dangerous."

"On August 4 Plant II was evacuated because of a chemical spill. There was no method to the evacuation other than 'run for your life.'"

In September IAM District 751 filed a grievance against Boeing, charging the company knowingly exposed its workers to toxic chemicals. This isn't the first time the IAM here has filed a grievance citing chemical hazards as a contract violation. The substance of the union complaint is that the company knowingly violated safety procedure.

In October the union formed a committee with Boeing management to do a six-month investigation of the problem.

The union also asked the State Department of Labor and Industry to investigate safety violations at Boeing's Auburn plant. But according to union representative Ripley, the Department of Labor and Industry is "merely a tool of the employers."

It was no surprise when the government agency found that test results of air samples at the Auburn plant met federal standards. But workers say the tests were made during atypical working conditions — with doors open — and extra fans at work. It is this report that Boeing hopes to use to deny medical claims of workers who say their illnesses are being caused by chemicals. Compensation claims have been filed by 42 workers. So far Boeing has refused to pay.

On September 23 the U.S. Senate Environment and Public Works Committee announced that it would investigate aerospace illness and use of the FBI to keep workers silent about health problems. The committee will begin meeting next year.

The authors are both members of IAM District 751.

## Pathfinder plans Northern Ireland trip to protest 'antiterrorism' act

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — In a jointly signed letter Pathfinder London Director Alan Harris and London Labour member of Parliament (MP) Tony Banks have announced plans for a public visit to the north of Ireland in February. The visit, which will include Banks and Pathfinder sales representative Peter Clifford, will protest the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and assert Pathfinder's right to travel freely "in order to promote the sales of its publications," read the statement.

On the last Pathfinder sales trip to Ireland Clifford was arrested under the PTA and detained for 24 hours. He was picked up following a visit to a recipient of Pathfinder literature at Long Kesh prison.

Banks and Harris write that the harassment of Clifford is a "threat to the democratic rights of all... and a violation of the right of the Irish people to [have] access to the literature of their choice."

"Current government moves to revise the Prevention of Terrorism Act and place it on a permanent basis," they explain, "will inevitably result in further such infringements of civil liberties. A public challenge is needed and would be welcomed by many. The ruling of the European Court of Human Rights on the PTA is proof that public sentiment against the provisions of the act is growing, including internationally."

Banks and Harris state that Clifford and Banks will visit Long Kesh and "publicly hand over assorted Pathfinder books for

those prisoners who want to read them. We are approaching several prominent persons from the labor and civil rights movements to accompany Clifford and Banks, as well as a journalist, photographer, and solicitor."

The announcement of a return visit is made in the context of growing support for Clifford. On November 13 a quarter-page article appeared in the *London Guardian* sympathetically covering Clifford's case. This was the 11th newspaper to cover the story, including the *Irish Post*, the most widely circulated newspaper in Britain's Irish community. It has now carried a total of four items on the case. A prominent article in its November 19 issue was headlined "Protests at bookseller's PTA arrest."

The London-based *City Limits* weekly magazine carried a half-page story, "Booked under the PTA."

The political weekly in Ireland with the largest circulation, Sinn Féin's *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, carried a report, "A publisher arrested at H-block." The paper's editor, Rita O'Hare, issued a press statement protesting Clifford's treatment as "another example of the British government's fear of journalists and publishers who report the war in the north of Ireland and aren't afraid to tell things as they are."

Clifford has spoken at meetings in five cities and has won support from MPs Ken Livingstone and Clare Short; writers Peter Beresford Ellis and Bob Rowthorn; Errol Smalley, uncle of Paul Hill, one of the four Irish people framed for an explosion in

Guilford in 1974; Martin Collins, editor of *Labor and Ireland*; and Larry Cotton, an executive member of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Banks, who is also Clifford's local MP, spoke before Parliament about Clifford's detention. Banks raised it during a debate on the proposed revisions to the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Interrupting the home secretary, he reported, "One of my constituents, Peter Clifford, a bookseller, was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Frankly that was an outrage."

Banks also submitted four written questions to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland concerning Clifford's arrest.

In his reply on behalf of the Secretary of State, junior minister Ian Stewart stated that fingerprints of Clifford taken during detention "have now been destroyed" and that only "a procedural record of his arrest and detention have been retained."

Records of fingerprints and interrogation are important because such records, including of people released without charge, may be kept on file for the entire duration of the act. "The danger of such records," the National Council for Civil Liberties explained, "is that the fact of arrest under the act will be used in the future as grounds for suspicion against that person."

Banks intends to submit further questions to Stewart.

Messages of support and financial donations for the return visit should be sent to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE18LL.

## New York City hospital held responsible for deaths of 12 patients

NEW YORK — State health investigators charged that Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx was responsible for the deaths of at least 12 patients. The New York City-operated facility accepted responsibility for nine of these deaths.

State probers detailed specific cases at Lincoln, including these:

- A cancer patient died after surgery because the hospital failed to monitor her blood pressure or give her a transfusion.
- A woman died of a heart attack because there was a five-and-a-half hour delay in getting her into surgery even though doctors knew it was an emergency situation.
- A patient died of infection because the hospital failed to drain an abscess.
- A surgery patient went into cardiac arrest because the attending anesthesiologist did not know the standard life-saving procedure used in such cases.

The investigation found cases of 16 patients who waited as long as six days to be admitted to the emergency room.

They pointed to scores of cases where patients got the wrong medication or no medication, the wrong diet, or the wrong tube feeding.



# Human toll is high from illegal abortions in Nicaragua

BY JUDY WHITE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In the first eight months of this year, 3,700 women were admitted to Bertha Calderón Hospital here for treatment of complications arising from abortions. According to Dr. Ana María Pizarro, a gynecologist who works at the hospital, 10 to 15 percent of the cases could be expected to have resulted from spontaneous abortions. The rest were artificially induced.

Abortion is illegal in Nicaragua. The only exceptions are cases in which bearing a child threatens a woman's life, or when there is reason to believe the child will be deformed.

Pizarro is the author of a new study on victims of illegal abortion admitted to Bertha Calderón, Nicaragua's only hospital specializing in obstetrical and gynecological problems. She is an Argentine who has been working in Nicaragua for seven years.

The study, which was awarded a prize by the Ministry of Health, details the cases of 531 women, diagnosed as having had illegal abortions, who were treated at the hospital between July 1985 and September 1988. Thirty of the 531 women died.

Of those who survived, 98 percent needed surgery to save their lives or repair the damage done by the abortion. Almost 20 percent of these had to be operated on more than once.

Abscesses and acute infections, injuries to reproductive organs, and severe anemia are at the top of a long list of medical complications from the botched abortions.

A profile of these women shows the typical patient to be a woman between 20 and 35 years of age who has a stable relationship with a man. She is a housewife with a secondary-school education. Prior to this — her first — abortion, she has already had from four to six pregnancies. She was 12 to 14 weeks pregnant at the time of the abortion, which was carried out by a midwife.

## Cost of treatment

The cost of treating these patients is extremely high — seven times what is budgeted for the average patient at Bertha Calderón.

With the money spent trying to fix up these botched abortions, Pizarro said, "we

## Québécois rally for language rights

Continued from front page

clause to maintain French-only signs outside.

The Québec government's decision to use the notwithstanding clause to adopt its own language policy, taken under the pressure of the nationalist mobilization, raised a howl of outrage from anti-Québécois politicians across the country. They are threatening to blow up the Meech Lake constitutional accord signed by the federal and provincial governments, including Québec, last year.

That accord was hailed as a victory for Canadian unity by the country's prime minister, Brian Mulroney, because it brought Québec into the 1982 constitution, which was adopted over Québec's opposition.

The 1982 Canadian constitution denied the Québécois their right to self-determination as an oppressed nationality. The 1987 Meech Lake accord approved by the Bourassa government codified this setback for Québec while paying lip-service to the concept that Québec is a "distinct society."

On December 19 Manitoba Conservative Party Premier Gary Filmon attacked the decision of the Québec government and withdrew his support for the Meech Lake accord. The accord requires unanimous approval of all the provinces to become law.

Filmon has the support of leaders of the big-business Liberal Party, and trade union-linked New Democratic Party in western Canada, who view the "distinct society" clause in the Meech Lake accord as an unwarranted concession to Québec that will lead to a weakening of the federal government.

could have bought 45,000 IUDs, 30,000 monthly doses of birth control pills, and 11,000 other devices — all for family planning."

The Pizarro study shows an increase in the percentage of patients admitted to Bertha Calderón for abortion-related problems in 1988. It also shows a higher number of patients volunteering the information that they have had an illegal abortion.

"This reflects an increased confidence on the part of the patient," Pizarro told the *Militant*. She believes that increased public discussion on abortion has made women more willing to come to the hospital for treatment following the procedure and to speak up about it.

In September Carlos Núñez, a Sandinista leader and president of the National Assembly, said in an interview published in *El Nuevo Diario* that the upcoming session of the legislature "will probably discuss two issues that — as we say in Nicaragua — will make society break out in a rash, that is, sexual abuse and abortion."

"Sexual abuse because women aren't afraid to talk about it anymore and they are denouncing it where it arises. Abortion, not because it is the invention of some feminist organization or association, but because it is a demand of the specialists in gynecology, who point out that it is one of the main causes of death in Nicaragua."

## 'Unavoidable subject'

Núñez predicted that discussion on these issues would cause an uproar in the National Assembly. "But," he said, "they are unavoidable subjects that must be dealt with firmly, energetically, and, above all, on the basis of scientific data that will permit us to convince society of the need for laws of this type."

Two conferences organized here in re-

cent months by the Women's Secretariat of the pro-Sandinista Nicaraguan Federation of Professional Associations have taken up the question of abortion. The first, held in August, recommended that the government "decriminalize abortion as a way of opening up sexual education and a broad discussion on this problem."

"What is needed," the conference concluded, "is a more vigorous, firmer position to confront this reality among all agencies involved in the solution to the problem of abortion, because the lives and dignity of women, the security of the Nicaraguan family, and the correct utilization of our medical resources are at stake."

"Abortion should not be considered a crime. Thus, we believe it should be removed from the Penal Code. We think it is time to get rid of the hypocritical conception that has been prejudicial to women for centuries," the conference said.

"On the one hand, society condemns her if she decides to have an abortion, arguing that it is her responsibility to society to continue her pregnancy. But when that child is born, then it is no longer society's responsibility to feed him and raise him, but the responsibility of the mother."

## 'A necessity and a right'

In October a conference attended by women from throughout Latin America and the Caribbean drafted a resolution that calls for a continental fight to decriminalize abortion as a "necessity and right of women."

Decriminalization of abortion, the resolution said, implies "the creation of an adequate infrastructure and/or services that can guarantee women a healthy future life without losing sight of the immediate aim, which is to eliminate unwanted pregnancies."

The resolution stressed that abortion



Militant/Michael Baumann  
**Carlos Núñez, Sandinista leader and president of National Assembly, says assembly will likely discuss abortion issue during next session.**

should be viewed not as a contraceptive method but rather as a "measure of last resort" that must be made available along with a campaign of sex education and family planning directed at all sectors of society.

Pizarro also addressed the question of birth control. "One of the most criminal things," she said, "is that the women who leave this hospital do so without any method of contraception, without any counseling. The Ministry of Health doesn't have any norms for this question."

Nicaragua needs a serious, aggressive program of sex education and family planning, she added.

# Sandinista leader reports U.S.-backed contras no longer a military threat

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — U.S.-backed mercenary forces have virtually ceased to exist as a military force, according to Nicaraguan Minister of Defense Humberto Ortega. Ortega, a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, made this assessment at a December 15 news conference here.

The contras "can cause damage, but they really do not threaten even a little piece of national territory," Ortega said. Most of the 2,000 contras still inside Nicaragua have become "bandits," he added. "It would be important to finish off 2,000 bandits in any part of the world, but it is a problem that will take time."

The Nicaraguan government and the contras signed a 60-day cease-fire on March 23, 1988. Although no further accords have been reached, the Nicaraguan government has been unilaterally extending the cease-fire on a monthly basis.

According to Ortega, contra leader Enrique Bermúdez recently told his followers to ignore the agreement, but "in practice, there has been an honoring of the suspension of offensive military operations." The minister of defense said this was due to the contras' "inability to mount major attacks and because there are some counter-revolutionary elements and units that are not in agreement with Bermúdez."

However, Ortega warned, Washington is seeking to use the Honduran army as a "spearhead" for new aggression against Nicaragua. There has been an increase in provocations from the Honduran side of the border, he reported.

Figures released at the news conference document the steep decline in contra military activity since March 1988.

• The number of Nicaraguan soldiers killed in combat dropped from 1,613 in 1987 to 611 in 1988.

• Contras killed fell from 5,339 in 1987 to 2,226 in 1988.

• Civilian casualties have also declined, although there has been a rise in reported kidnappings by the contras.

## Honduran army provocations

Ortega reported 75 harassment attacks by Honduran army units against Nicaragua this year. There were 20 such incidents in October alone. The policy of the Nicaraguan government has been to refuse to respond to these provocations to avoid giving any pretext to the Honduran or U.S. governments.

In addition, according to Ortega, the number of U.S. spy flights over Nicaragua increased in 1988. He said the U.S. military is also planning three joint military maneuvers with the Honduran army.

"We cannot let down our guard," Ortega warned. "We must maintain a well-oiled national military defense system." As long as the U.S. government refuses to come to an agreement with Nicaragua and to accept the existence of the revolution, he said, "the danger of a military escalation persists."

Despite the change in administrations in Washington, Ortega said, the United States is not going to give up its efforts to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Nicaraguan revolution "is a broad project of political pluralism and a mixed economy," he said. "But our historic tendency is going to be in favor of the most needy, in favor of the poor majority that we inherited from the past."

"There can be entrepreneurs, private owners, well-to-do people, rich people, but this revolution is going to be on the side of the humble people," Ortega said.

The United States wants to destroy the revolution, he added, "not for being communist or because the Sandinista govern-

ment is a typical socialist government, but because Nicaragua is more dangerous. Nicaragua is an example that shows it is possible to maintain independent positions in the face of the traditional Yankee imperialist organization without necessarily being a government of this type, of a socialist character."

"They are more afraid," Ortega said, "of the peoples uniting, nations uniting, of various social sectors and the capitalists themselves maintaining independent positions in the face of unjust economic treatment, the debt, etc., than of a transformation of great communist and radical characteristics."

Ortega contrasted the attitude of the U.S. government toward Nicaragua to the stance of other countries, such as Cuba, Mexico, Western European countries, and the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union has never imposed conditions on us," he stressed. "We have good relations with the Soviet Union." In contrast, he continued, the United States "wants to continue treating us like a colony."

Ortega said that while Nicaragua continues to need international aid, it is not dependent on anyone. "The Nicaraguan revolution triumphed alone. It triumphed without the support of anyone," he asserted. "Even the socialist countries didn't understand the guerrilla struggle we were leading, and only understood the struggle of the Communist parties."

"We have maintained the revolution principally with the support of the people of Nicaragua," he affirmed. "We are not going to submit to anyone."

Ortega concluded that not only had the U.S.-supported contra project failed, but so have U.S. attempts "to isolate Nicaragua from political forces in the world, governments of the international community, and in particular of Latin America."



# With war over, Nicaragua peasants demand land, credit in border area

BY THERESA DELGADILLO  
AND SETH GALINSKY

JALAPA, Nicaragua — "In January we are going to clear the mines from 1,400 acres near the border and distribute it to 120 landless families," said David Andara, a representative of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform in this zone.

Andara was speaking to a group of 35 farmers who were meeting to form the first Center for Farm Development (CDC) in this area, which extends to the Honduran border.

The 1,400 acres that are to be distributed are state-owned. Last year, 500 acres near here were cleared of mines and distributed to about 70 landless peasant families.

Because of its proximity to Honduras, Jalapa was in the thick of the contra war against Nicaragua. However, in the past year things have changed. "The situation with the war has definitely calmed down," according to Andara.

While no fighting has occurred for some time, there is still periodic shelling by Honduran troops on the other side of the border. Though the mortar rounds rarely cause casualties, they keep tensions high in the area along the border.

## Pressure for land

Jalapa is a fertile valley at the foot of the mountains bordering Honduras. It is a major area of production of corn, rice, and beans. Most of the land here is worked by small and medium-sized farmers. Some farm individually, others belong to credit and service cooperatives or to collective farms. There are also a handful of capitalist farmers with large farms.

With the end to the fighting, pressure has mounted to open up the land in areas that were previously considered too dangerous for farming. The demand for land was a major topic of discussion at the meeting to form the Center for Farm Development.

Andara explained that the first to receive land this January will be 50 families in the border town of Teotecacinte who currently have none. Those without any land to work at all will continue to get priority in the future, he added.

Andara and local leaders of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) called on everyone in the meeting to draw up a list of the people without land in their areas. Andara stressed, "Everyone who needs land, even if they are currently renting land or working as agricultural workers, should be included."

According to Seneen Rodríguez, a member of the UNAG executive board in the Jalapa area, 300 farm families in the municipality of Jalapa have no land. Some of these are war veterans pressing for land to work. Others are people displaced by the war, he said.

"Now that no invasion has taken place, many people want to return to land they were forced to abandon during the war," Rodríguez told the *Militant*.

## Cooperation among farmers

The meeting to launch the Center for Farm Development was organized by UNAG and the agricultural ministry. It brought together members of collective farms, cooperatives, and individual farmers in the area to begin to work together to obtain credit and buy machinery.

At the meeting, Gaspar Chavarría Alvarez, a member of a credit and service cooperative, proposed that the bank review the applications of farmers who had been denied loans. He maintained that many farmers who belonged to his cooperative have been unjustly denied credit.

Some farmers feel that the opinions of representatives from the agricultural ministry carry too much weight with the bank. "One bad word from the technician and boom, no more credit," commented one

after the meeting.

One of the main reasons for forming the CDC is that "producers want to free themselves from being dependent on the state farm for machinery and materials," said Rodríguez. "They want to supply themselves and they think they can do it cheaper."

Pablo González, a member of a collective farm, told the *Militant*, "The bank loans us money to plant the crops and rent machinery for plowing the field. But the state farm charges more than the bank will finance."

Some farmers accused the state farm of being "capitalist."

The Laureano Mairena State Farm consists of 6,000 acres of land in three complexes in the area. Its primary crop is tobacco, but it also grows some corn, beans, and rice.

The state farm also rents out machinery and equipment and sells fertilizer and seed to local farmers. It is the main supplier of these items in the Jalapa area.

Omar Ortiz, the manager of the state farm, responded to some of these complaints. "While I really don't like to blame everything on the war, it is a factor in these problems," Ortiz told the Center for Farm Development meeting.

"We have to include the costs of repair in the fees we charge. We have to take into account that we charge somebody for harvesting 35 acres and then when we get there, it turns out to be 50 acres. We don't want to be capitalist, but we do want to replace what is used and be able to provide a service in the future."

## Farm workers' point of view

Workers on the state farm have a different perspective on the issue. Pablo Pozo, organizational secretary for the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) in Jalapa, told the *Militant*, "The farmers don't take into account the fact that the state farm is at the service of everybody."

The ATC feels that the state farm has had to absorb many losses — damage to buildings and machinery in the war, the U.S. embargo against Nicaraguan tobacco — while continuing to provide resources to area farmers and jobs for farm workers.

A relative shortage of labor in the Jalapa area means that workers on the state farm and farmers in the area must work together to bring in the harvests, Pozo explained.

ATC members on the state farm provide labor to cooperatives or individual farms. In exchange, labor comes from farmers in the form of brigades organized by UNAG during the tobacco harvest. This is all done by verbal agreement, according to Pozo.

In addition, many small farmers are what Pozo calls "semi-proletarians." They have their own plots of land to farm, but come to work on the state farm during tobacco harvest time, when the work force more than doubles.

While the ATC works with UNAG to try to broaden areas of cooperation, there are also conflicts between farm workers and farmers who hire wage labor. The ATC doesn't organize workers on any of the private farms in the area, Pozo explained, but there are times when groups of four or five workers ask the ATC for help in dealing with their employers.

"We help the *compañeros* solve their problem by going with them to the Ministry of Labor to request that it get involved in protecting the interests of the workers," he said.

## Views on cooperative farming

Farmers here hold a range of views on the merits of cooperative or collective farming.

Aníbal Andara, who farms his 12 acres individually, said that it is often difficult to work together in a cooperative, and he prefers to work his land alone.

But Alejandro Altamirano, an elected



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Peasants harvest beans at Cruz Urrutia collective farm near Jalapa, Nicaragua, a former contra war area on the Honduran border. Government is clearing mines from land so that it can be farmed by those demanding it.

member of the executive board of the Cruz Urrutia collective farm, sees things differently. "It is nice to have your own piece of land," he said. "But I'm happier here, working this farm collectively. The individual farmer loses."

"If I had my own piece of land, I would have to be a slave to the land. And I would have to worry about hiring workers and the demands they would raise."

Some people are working in collective farms only until they can return to the individual farms they had to leave because of the war. "But," said Altamirano, "I'm not going back."

Partners in the collective receive a cash payment and a liter of milk for each day worked. They also get a share of any profits at the end of the season based on the number of days they worked.

Fidencio Bucardo is president of the Cruz Urrutia collective farm. When it started there were only 18 members on 770 acres, he said. Today there are 65 members, 20 of whom are women.

"Of course it's difficult to get used to working together," Bucardo said. "It's a big change. And there are still difficulties. For example, some members didn't want to accept women as partners because they said they couldn't produce enough. But we have many jobs that women can do."

Although eight people have left the collective for various reasons since 1986, others have joined in their place, said Bucardo.

At the Marcos Salgado collective farm, however, the picture is different. Here, there is a process of internal reorganization

because most of its members have quit or become inactive.

The farm is located in a resettlement area, most of whose inhabitants were removed from remote areas as the contra war intensified.

Maximina Raudal, newly elected coordinator of education for the farm, said that there were 200 partners in the collective farm at first. But of 180 that remain, only 80 are currently active. Fifty of the active members are women.

"Some people are going back to the land they had to abandon because of the war," Raudal said. "Others say they plan to go back soon."

The collective farm allocates half an acre to each family for their own use. "Many people just farm their plot and don't contribute to the collective," Raudal said. "Others are merchants, or hire out as wage laborers," she added.

## Upcoming land distribution

Humberto Amador, an activist in UNAG, told the *Militant* that his credit and service cooperative gained almost 50 members last year when land was distributed by the agricultural ministry. At that time, receiving land was linked to affiliation with a credit and service cooperative. Whether that will be true again this year is a topic of discussion in the area.

However, David Andara explained that the 1,400 acres to be cleared of mines next month will be turned over to the landless families "any way they want it." Nonetheless, he predicted, most of them will organize into cooperatives or collective farms.



## Nicaragua Network Hurricane Relief Brigades

Hurricane Joan devastated Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast and caused extensive damage throughout the country. **Immediate relief assistance is needed to harvest coffee** — possibly the only major export crop to survive. Brigades will work on Nicaragua's most pressing needs at any given moment.

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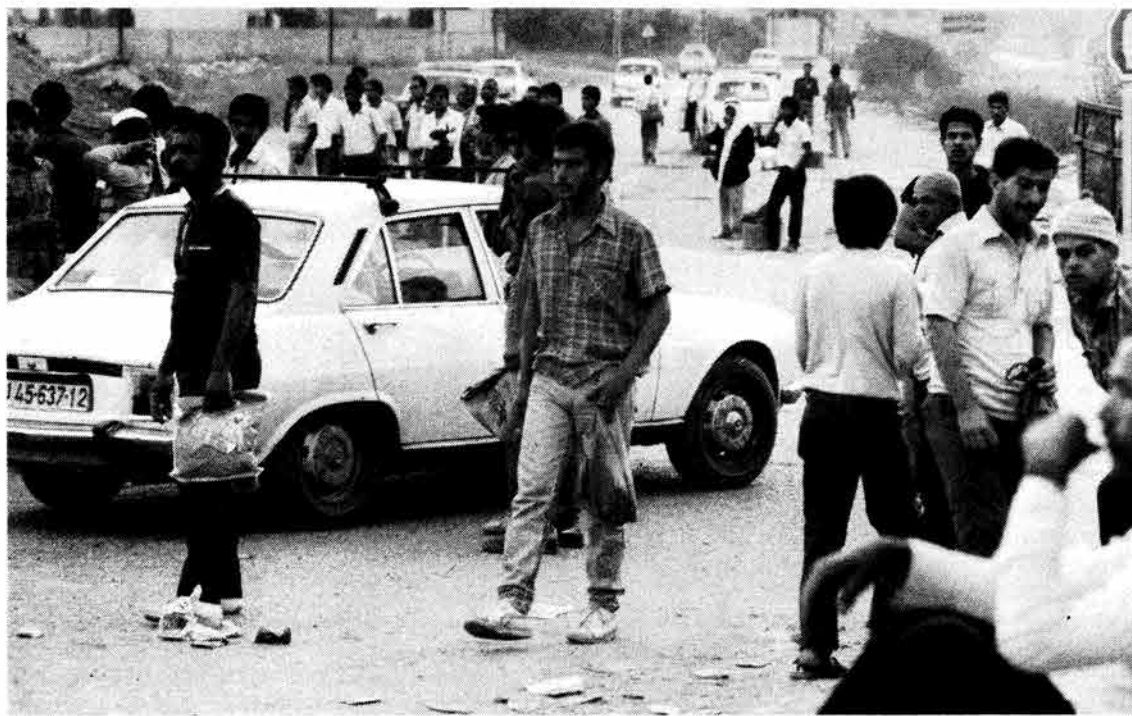
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Dawn in Gaza: workers wait on Sunday morning for buses to jobs in Tel Aviv.

# Despite repression unions gain in West Bank, Gaza

Report from U.S. unionist

Impact Visuals/Rick Reinhard

Evidence that the Israeli government violates the union rights of Palestinian workers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was furnished at a November 17 hearing at the Washington office of the federal U.S. Trade Representative.

Israel is among the countries granted "most-favored-nation" status by Washington, permitting it to ship products to the United States duty-free. In 1987, Israel shipped in \$487 million of duty-free goods.

A federal statute provides that the duty-free privilege can be revoked if a country violates internationally recognized workers' rights.

The hearing on Israel was initiated on petition by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), which

marshaled the evidence. A determination on the charges will be made by the incoming George Bush administration.

In preparation for the hearing, the ADC arranged for four U.S. unionists to go to Israel. The members of the fact-finding delegation were Jeff Perry, Gene Bruskin, Walter Washington, and Bill Rayson.

Perry is a New York official of the Mailhandlers; Bruskin is a Massachusetts organizer for the Laundryworkers; Washington is president of a United Auto Workers local in Detroit; Rayson — author of the article on this page — is a member of the American Postal Workers Union in Miami and national coordinator of Postal Workers for Peace.

held without charges in administrative detention.

Since many unions refuse to submit election lists to the military, it means that essentially they are functioning illegally.

Applications to establish a union are usually ignored. More than 50 have applied for permits in the West Bank since 1967. Five of them have been authorized.

In Gaza, new union members cannot be accepted without military approval. The same goes for officers.

Most political activity by the union is considered Palestine Liberation Organization activity and since the PLO is banned, grounds for arrest and detention.

Right now, at least 17 members of the executive committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions are under administrative detention, as are 22 local union general secretaries and hundreds of union activists.

Despite the repression, unions have made some gains.

In the West Bank town of Ramallah, we met with the leader of the Public Union for Food Industry Workers, which represents workers at an RC Cola bottling plant there. He told us of their successful organizing drive last year at the plant. Their gains include an eight-hour day, a minimum wage, overtime pay, a 10 percent annual wage hike, prompt and regular wage payments, and an end to verbal abuse.

## Strike pay

One clause in the agreement reflects the depth of the uprising. When a plant is closed by a general strike, workers can make up the first four days in a month by working Saturdays. The second four days are to be paid by the employers, with half pay for more than eight days in a month.

The Food Workers are affiliated with the General Union of Workers in the West Bank. Most of the members work in small shops that hire only a few workers.

For these workers, the unions seek to enforce a "pattern agreement," setting minimum wages and benefits as well as safety conditions. The difficulties of organizing small shops are compounded by the frequent need to function clandestinely.

The participation of women in the uprising has created the conditions for many more women to break with tradition and join the active work force. They are joining the unions, and their growing numbers are beginning to be reflected in the local and national union leadership bodies.

When we met with Amna Rimawy, director of the Women's Department and executive board member of the General Union in the West Bank, we found that 10 of the 13 executive board members are now in administrative detention. They are serving six-month terms, without charges or trial, for the "crime" of being Palestinian union leaders.

In all, dozens of union leaders have been killed or deported. Hundreds have been jailed. Thirty-one union offices have been sacked and closed down by the Israeli army.

## Commuter workers

The situation of the workers who commute is particularly difficult. About one-third of the West Bank workers and half of those from Gaza commute to work across the green line. They make somewhat more

money, but the difference is eaten up by high transportation costs and taxes amounting to 40 percent of basic pay. These are for various social security benefits that they don't receive.

They are entitled to workers compensation for on-the-job injuries. But when Palestinian workers are injured, they often don't know their rights. And they are confronted by a hostile system where everything is conducted in Hebrew, a language few Arabs speak. As a result, they often sign off claims, accepting a low, one-time cash settlement.

Under Israeli law, West Bank and Gaza residents who work inside the green line cannot be considered permanent employees, no matter how long they have been on the job. This means they are never entitled to tenure, job security, or pension benefits. Every time they change jobs, often a necessity every few months, they are supposed to register with the State Employment Agency.

## 'Slave market'

Because of all the difficulties involved, and the tax deductions, about half of these workers simply go to the "slave market" for jobs.

There they are chosen by the day to work in construction or pick fruit. Because they are not registered, the employers can avoid bothering with paperwork or paying the minimum wage.

Many children, as young as 10, also work out of the "slave markets" since child labor laws are not enforced there.

While the West Bank and Gaza unions organize some of these workers, they are unable to represent them directly on the job.

Those workers who are registered in Israel have 1 percent of their pay deducted for the Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation. Histadrut is supposed to represent the Palestinians, but they cannot be members and have no voting rights.

Histadrut locals discriminate against Palestinians. When layoffs hit, the union officials demand that the Palestinian workers go first. In some cases they have called for strikes to achieve this.

Histadrut has never protested the repression against the West Bank and Gaza unions and echoes the government claim that these unions are engaged in illegal activity.

Histadrut is also the largest private employer in Israel. Its holdings include the huge Koors steel company, a combined South African-Israeli venture. Ore mined in South Africa is made into steel in Israel and shipped around the world, including to the United States under the favored nation, duty-free trade status.

## Leaders targeted

During our visit, we talked with victims of repression, including union leaders.

One was Fadua Labadi. She is a leader of the Palestinian Union of Women's Work Committees, and the Committee of the Families of Deportees.

Since 1967, thousands of Palestinians have been illegally expelled from the West Bank and Gaza into neighboring Arab countries. Right now five Palestinian union leaders are awaiting deportation, including

Continued on Page 12

## BY BILL RAYSON

Our delegation met with many union leaders in towns and villages of both the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which Israeli forces captured in 1967. It was the first U.S. labor delegation there in more than six years.

Daily, more than 100,000 West Bank and Gaza workers commute to work across the "green line," Israel's pre-1967 borders. They build the houses and roads, harvest the crops, carry away garbage, and wash the dishes.

The Israeli government estimates that 36 to 40 percent of the West Bank and Gaza

labor force now works in Israel.

Their status there as day laborers, and the systematic denial of their rights, makes union organizing difficult.

In the West Bank and Gaza, unions are subject to military regulation. Lists of candidates for union office must be submitted to the military government for approval.

## Political offenders barred

A statute barring those with criminal records from holding union office has been interpreted to include all those jailed for political "offenses." This includes those

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# PLO leader discusses impact of 'intifada'

## Montréal forum hears of uprising's effect on Palestinian movement, Israel

BY MARGARET JAYKO

MONTRÉAL — "One year has elapsed from the beginning of the *intifada*," began Abdullah Abdullah, Palestine Liberation Organization representative in Canada. He spoke to a packed hall December 17 at a Lutte ouvrière Forum held at the Pathfinder Bookstore here. More than 65 people attended the meeting.

Intifada is the Arabic term for the year-long uprising on the West Bank and Gaza Strip directed against the Israeli regime's oppression and displacement of the Palestinian people.

The rebellion, stressed Abdullah, "is not fading away." To the contrary, it is growing in effectiveness. The *intifada* "is the

vert schools into detention centers?"

Prior to the uprising, Abdullah recalled, when Palestinians complained of racial discrimination, they were branded anti-Semites and largely ignored. And Jews who supported the Palestinians were called self-haters.

The *intifada* removed the veil and revealed the true face of Israel and its leaders, he said. "Because of the *intifada*, many people, including members of the Jewish community, have started to voice their concern, then skepticism, then condemnation" of the Israeli rulers.

It's no longer acceptable "to dismiss a whole people that is standing up to regain its freedom. It is no longer acceptable to fi-

categorize the Jews, we are structuring a society" where everyone who lives in it can be equal.

The PNC document, Abdullah stressed, is "not only for us as Palestinians, but it takes into account all individuals who live in that future society. And that's what scares the Zionist leaders of Israel. They don't want to see a society that will certainly be the haven of many Jews who are discriminated against by the Israeli leadership themselves."

### Democratic, secular Palestine

A discussion period followed the PLO leader's talk.

One person asked how the PNC's declaration of an independent Palestine, and its decision to recognize Israel, squares with its support for a democratic, secular state in all of historic Palestine.

"When the PLO started its new phase of the Palestinian struggle in the late 1960s," he began, it adopted the perspective of a democratic secular Palestine. The PLO leadership thought it would be an "appealing formula" to "defuse tensions" between Palestinians and Israelis.

"Unfortunately, it was rejected out of hand," he said, "by progressive Israelis as well as reactionary Israelis."

The PLO leaders hope that the example set by an independent Palestinian state will appeal to Israelis, leading to a unitary country in historic Palestine.

"But we cannot impose our formula on a segment of the society in historic Palestine, that is the Israeli segment of that society, if it doesn't embrace it itself. Otherwise it

won't be democracy," the PLO leader emphasized. Ultimately, however, a single state is the only solution to the "mentality of siege" that exists among the Israelis, he said.

Another participant pointed out that Washington has portrayed the PNC's decisions as "caving in" to pressure from Washington and Tel Aviv.

There's been an evolution in the PLO's approach since 1974, when it realized the Israelis would not accept the formula of a democratic secular Palestine, Abdullah responded.

"When that was rejected, we thought of phasing our struggle." This started with "what is universally agreed upon to be non-Israeli — the West Bank and the Gaza Strip."

Last January, the leadership of the *intifada* proposed building an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, stated that they did not object to living side-by-side with Israel, and demanded the removal of the Israeli occupation forces, he said. This is the source of the new resolutions.

Someone asked about the political and economic impact of the *intifada* inside Israel. Abdullah said that while the economic impact has been large, the political impact is key. He underlined the importance of the growing number of Israeli soldiers who are refusing to do military service in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Abdullah urged those in the audience who were unionists to do what they could to win labor support for the Palestinian struggle.



Militant/Jim Upton

Abdullah Abdullah, Palestine Liberation Organization representative in Canada.

beginning of the road to freedom and independence."

When the protests began, the Israeli authorities would boast every day that they were about to crush the uprising in blood. But the opposite happened, said Abdullah. Despite the large numbers killed, wounded, and arrested, the Israeli regime has not been able to quell the unrest. "They never understood what it is to lose one's dignity and how much one is prepared to pay to regain that dignity," he said.

The Israeli people have been "wrongly indoctrinated that Palestinians are not humans" and therefore the brutality directed against them is acceptable. The uprising, however, has helped fuel the governmental crisis and discontent in Israel.

The Palestinian upsurge, said Abdullah, has unified the Palestinian people across class, geographic, age, and gender lines. What links the Palestinian people is their "collective memory" of their homeland, he said, which was taken away from them by the establishment of the state of Israel.

### Exposed brutality of Israeli rule

The rebellion has exposed the fraud of Israeli democracy to people throughout the world, said Abdullah. "What democracy, if one part of a society is not given the right to express his or her opinion? What kind of democracy that allowed the subjugation, the occupation of a whole people, denying that people basic and fundamental rights? What democracy is it if the order of the day is to break the bones of the children, to beat the women, to gas the elderly, and to con-

nance, to support, to protect the criminal acts committed against an innocent, unarmed people," he said, referring to Washington.

Turning to the last meeting of the Palestine National Council, which took place in November in Algeria, Abdullah said the key question facing the Palestinian leadership was "how can we sustain the struggle of our people" with a minimum of hardships and the least sacrifices.

At the same time, he said, the PLO leadership has "to do our utmost by whatever means available to us to regain the right of our people" to self-determination and to live in their homeland.

Toward this end, the PNC meeting adopted a declaration of an independent Palestinian state.

### Declaration of independent state

The declaration of independence, said Abdullah, is "highly important for us, especially after Jordan abandoned its relationship with the West Bank." More important than the mere declaration of the state, he continued, was on "what basis we are declaring this state."

He invited everyone to read the statement "in order to compare the victims of aggression, the victims of racial discrimination, the victims of expulsion," who did not "lose sight of humanity. They did not lose sight of the future."

"Who is democratic and who is not?" he continued. "Who is worthy to belong to the latter part of the 20th century and who lives in the medieval era? While our antagonists are debating in what classes they will

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Hundreds of activists executed in Iran

More than 300 political activists have been executed by the Iranian government since July, according to a report released December 12 by Amnesty International.

Most of those executed were supporters of one of the following groups: People's Mujahedeen, Tudeh Party, Rahe Kargar, Fedayeen; or of Kurdish organizations.

Also reportedly executed were some supporters of Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, whose followers are associated with peasant demands for land reform.

Some of those executed had been in jail since 1981. Many of them had also been jailed for their political activities during the shah's regime.

The executions have not been publicized in Iran. Amnesty International said it had cross-checked the reports of the executions with both the political groups the victims belonged to and their families.

### Seven million join strike in Spain

A one-day strike in Spain brought commerce, industry, and transportation to a standstill December 14. Ignoring calls by Prime Minister Felipe González to negotiate rather than strike, more than 7 million workers out of a work force of 10 million stayed off the job. Some 100,000 people rallied in Barcelona.

International flights were canceled and bus, train, and subway services were severely curtailed. Hospital and other emergency services functioned at a minimum by an agreement with the government.

The strike action followed two years of complaints by union leaders that the government's anti-inflation policies and the country's prolonged boom benefited business and a few people rather than most workers. The strike also reflects the extent of the erosion of relations be-

tween the government and its Socialist Party-led trade union ally, the General Workers Union.

A year ago Nicolás Redondo, general secretary of the union and a supporter of the government, resigned his seat in parliament over economic policies. Last month Redondo and Antonio Gutiérrez, general secretary of the Communist Party-led Workers' Commissions, agreed on the strike in response to a proposal by the government to allow businesses to employ youth at less than the minimum wage.

Unemployment among youths in Spain is 40 percent, and the overall rate is 19 percent, the highest in Western Europe.

### Thousands of miners strike in Peru

More than 60,000 Peruvian miners went on strike in October to protest a government decree to limit wage increases to 40,000 itis (less than US\$100) until February 1989. Given an inflation rate of more than 1,000 percent a year, the decree imposes a sharp drop in real wages.

The miners are also demanding the release of union leaders held by police in the antiterrorist division. By the middle of November, 90 percent of the miners had joined the strike. The strike has also involved bank and textile workers, and employees in various state companies.

The miners are demanding that President Alan García fulfill an agreement made in August in exchange for which the miners ended an earlier strike. The agreement provided for a substantial pay increase, wages indexed to inflation, a six-hour working day, and early retirement.

An official of the Federation of Miners, Metallurgical and Steel Workers said the miners were going to radicalize the strike because "there is still no solution to our demands."

The strike has sparked concern on the London Metal Exchange, where the price of copper and zinc rose to record levels in October. The price of copper rose by £85 (US\$155) to £1,746 (US\$3,176) per ton.



## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Report from Nicaragua.** Speaker: Seth Galinsky, correspondent with *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial's* Nicaragua Bureau. Fri., Dec. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**Celebrate Cuba's Triumph!** Party and cultural event with Conjunto Céspedes. Music, food, speakers, surprises! Sat., Jan. 7, 7 p.m. Capp Street Center, 362 Capp St. Donation: \$8-\$12, sliding scale. Sponsor: Committee to Celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. For more information call (415) 431-4617.

### San Francisco

**Red, White, and Black Ball.** Benefit party for

Nicaragua hurricane relief. Sat., Dec. 31, 9 p.m.-2 a.m. Caribbean Allstars, Diane Amos, DJ music. Longshoreman's Hall, 400 W Point (at Taylor). Donation: \$14, \$15-\$25 at door. Sponsors: S.F. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Nicaragua Information Center, Community Action, Nest Foundation. For more information call (415) 648-8222.

## CANADA

### Montréal

**Why Working People Should Defend the Linguistic and National Rights of the Québécois.** Speaker: Michel Dugré, garment worker and leader of the Revolutionary Workers League. Fri., Jan. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4274

Papineau, Room 302. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

### Toronto

**Why Working People Should Defend the Linguistic and National Rights of the Québécois.** Speaker: Michel Dugré, garment worker and leader of the Revolutionary Workers League. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

## ICELAND

### Reykjavik

**How Do Workers Confront the Economic Crisis.** A meeting and discussion forum. Sat., Jan. 14, 10:30 a.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, Klapparstíg 26. For more information call (91) 17513.

## How Palestinians in Taibeh won clash with Israeli gov't

Resolute protest by Palestinians living inside Israel's pre-1967 borders — the "green line" — forced the government to back off on removing the town council in Taibeh, a village north of Tel Aviv.

The official retreat came in the wake of a general strike by Palestinians in Israel — the fourth general strike inside the green line in less than 15 months.

Protests erupted in Taibeh last month when police bulldozers demolished 15 homes, assertedly for lacking construction permits. Such permits are routinely withheld from Palestinian citizens of Israel.

The demolition of the houses in Taibeh touched off three days of street fighting between the villagers and Israeli police forces.

The confrontation brought a general strike by the 700,000 Palestinians who live

inside the green line and are citizens of Israel. The Palestinian paper *al-Fajr* reported that while large numbers of police and border guards were stationed at the entrances of most Arab towns and villages, "The strike was totally observed. Workers did not go to work; schools, businesses and municipal offices were shut down."

The Israeli Ministry of the Interior originally declared it would dissolve the town council of Taibeh for allowing the building of homes without permit. A few days later it announced that the "violations discovered are minor and don't require dissolution of the council."

At the time of the general strike, one Palestinian leader told *al-Fajr*, "The Israeli authorities have actually wiped away the 'green line' by transplanting the methods of repression from the West Bank and Gaza to here."

## Union struggles in West Bank, Gaza

Continued from Page 10

two of Fadua Labadi's brothers. Because of her activity, Labadi was placed under town arrest in 1986. Since she taught school in another town, she was unable to go to work. A teacher for 28 years, she was fired with no benefits and no pension.

Omar Zaddan is general secretary of a construction workers' union in the West Bank town of Deir Ghassoun. The union had begun organizing work site committees among those working inside the green line.

These workers were fired from their jobs and the union office closed. Of the 25 members of the union executive committee, six are under detention, and the rest in hiding.

Last February, the army came to the village and the people staged four days of protests. About 1,200 soldiers occupied the town and arrested leaders.

Zaddan went into hiding. Then a top

army official visited some of his relatives and warned that if he didn't turn himself in, many villagers would be killed.

Zaddan turned himself in. He was taken to the notorious Ketziot detention camp in the Negev desert and held there for eight months without charges. Since his release, he stays on the move because he fears assassination.

Ahmed Kilani, executive committee member of the Workers Unity Bloc and a national union leader in the village of Yabad, was shot dead October 8 by the Israeli military commander. All witnesses to the shooting were arrested.

Later that day, the army shot tear gas into the home of Kilani's family where his mother, sisters, and neighbors were in mourning.

When we went there to pay our respects, children rounded up empty tear gas cannisters for us. They read, "Made in Salzburg, Pennsylvania."

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**International Implications of the Mark Curtis Case.** Speaker: John Gaige, leader U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

**The Growing Importance of Pathfinder Books and Pamphlets to Rebuilding the World Communist Movement.** Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, Pathfinder London.

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**Next Steps in Building a Communist Party Rooted in the Industrial Unions.** Speaker: Margaret Manwaring, member of the RWL Political Committee.

All classes translated into Spanish, English, and French. Librairie Pathfinder, 4274 Papineau, Suite 302, Montréal. Donation: \$10 for conference, or \$3 per session. Sponsor: RWL and Young Socialists. For more information call Montréal (514) 524-7992, or Toronto (416) 861-1399.

Forum: **30 Years of the Cuban Revolution: The Role of Cuba in Politics Today.** Speaker: Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder publishers and author of *The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop*. Sat., Dec. 31, 7 p.m. New Year's Eve party to follow. Donation: \$5. Call for location information.

## N.Y. marchers ask gov't to assure right to housing

Continued from front page  
dehumanize us anymore."

The purpose of the week of activities, coalition leader Leslie Cagan told the rally, was to "set a new housing agenda for the [New York municipal] elections in 1989."

When coalition organizer Paul Gorman explained at the main rally that the march was the "beginning of the upcoming mayoral campaign," he was interrupted by chants of "dump Koch," a reference to Mayor Edward Koch.

Rainbow Coalition National Chairman Jesse Jackson told the crowd, "You are homeless, but not voteless."

Jackson said the New York march was the "early stages of a more gigantic movement" and cited the need to "march to Washington by the tens of thousands" to win federal legislation mandating the right to housing."

Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-660 1673.

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**Merit system** — The three reactors at the Savannah River nuclear weapons plant have been shut down since August because of safety problems. Meanwhile, it



Harry Ring

was disclosed that Department of Energy administrators there received tens of thousands of dollars in "performance" bonuses.

**Last-minute gift items** — For the family neurotic, an electric bad breath detector. Measures malodorous methyl-mercaptopan, \$130. . . . For the sophisticated angler, a fishing reel with 12-volt motor and digital readout. Shows exact depth of hook and, if a fish bites, returns hook to same level on assumption there's more, \$410. . . . For the shaky wino, the Vinter, a 7 lb. solid brass uncorker, \$225.

**Advancing Canadian democracy** — The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy bestowed its annual award on Paul Martin, a ranking figure in the Canadian Senate — an appointed body.

**But everything's under control** — To strengthen the British pound against the German mark, London sold off some of its U.S. dollars, causing the dollar to fall against the Japanese yen and Canadian dollar.

**Try whistling** — On Bay Street, Toronto's financial district, things are so quiet says one analyst, that "you can hear the salaries drop."

**Might fly better** — The Pentagon's new B-2 "stealth" bomber — designed to elude the Soviet Union's radar warning system — will cost \$850 million for each plane. One news article calculated that for another \$100 million, the

plane could be made entirely of gold.

**The Martians are coming** — The managing director of the International Monetary Fund says the big challenge is to make the global economy less vulnerable to "external shocks."

**Shopping tip** — Recently the *New York Times* scoffed at people who pay \$2,295 for a sweater or \$1,275 for crocodile chukka boots. One asserted purchaser of such items responded, "You miss the point. What the sweater and the boots. . . have in common is quality. After years of schlock, some consumers are willing, even

eager, for things that last."

**How about mini life jackets?** — The Children's Financial Network is working on a franchise deal in which member banks would offer checking accounts and other banking services to the 5-18 bracket. They will also market finance-oriented toys, games, and books.

**Thought for the week** — "You can't have growth in the garden without some death. Some flowers have to die for others to grow." — David Culver, prez of Alcan Aluminium in Montréal, explaining the dicey economic situation will mean some plant closings and job losses.

## Palestinian revolt against Israel enters 2nd year

**Continued from front page**  
reopen West Bank high schools closed since last summer. All schools except the Palestinian universities are functioning again.

The repeated closing of the schools has been a particular source of rage for the Palestinians.

Palestinian prisoners at Ketziot, the Negev desert concentration camp, staged a hunger strike December 1. The Palestinian paper, *al-Fajr*, reported that the strike was suspended when the prisoners won some of their demands and a promise to consider others.

A protest strike was held throughout the West Bank and Gaza December 6 to support the hunger strikers. And several Palestinian and Israeli women's organizations staged a one-day support sit-in at the Red Cross offices in Jerusalem.

Little has been reported on the U.S.-PLO negotiations. But in a December 18 TV appearance, Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost pointed to a key U.S. objective.

Discussing the Gaza-West Bank situation, he said, "I think it would be very helpful if there is a subsiding of violence in the territories."

This was addressed not to the Israeli occupiers, but to the Palestinians.

They should realize, Armacost asserted, that "violent means are not going to bring about the objective the Palestinians want."

The same day, in Tunisia, Salah Khalaf, a PLO leader, was reported as expressing concern that Washington would try to press the PLO to end the uprising. He declared that if this is the U.S. intention, "Reagan may stop his government's dialogue with the PLO now."

The December 8 anniversary of the Palestinian uprising produced many articles in the capitalist media assessing the state of the revolt.

The *New York Times*, which finds it difficult to conceal its anti-Arab bias, asserted, "The revolt has grown stagnant, running more on inertia than new ideas."

But, it adds, "no one anywhere is suggesting that the uprising is likely to end anytime soon."

A report in *New York Newsday* said:

"One year after the beginning of the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising, the Israeli army has put a stop to the mass demonstrations that raged through the occupied West Bank and Gaza in the early months.

"But in the hundreds of rural, isolated villages surrounded by olive trees, in the two dozen crowded and sometimes squalid refugee camps, as well as in the six large, relatively prosperous cities like Nablus, the revolt against 21 years of Israeli occupation goes on at a pace no one imagined possible a year ago."

### British cops attack student protest

BY LEE PARLETT

LONDON — A demonstration of 25,000 students was attacked here November 24 by riot police, closing down most of central London for several hours. At least 60 were arrested and 18 injured. It was the largest student demonstration in Britain in more than 10 years.

The action was called to protest government plans to replace the current grant system, which provides for students' living expenses, with a combined system of loans and grants. The government describes the proposal as "an important step away from the dependency culture." The loans are to be introduced gradually beginning in September 1990. Eventually the grants system, introduced in 1962, will be scrapped completely. The idea is that the loan is repaid when a student starts work.

The introduction of loans is a further attack on access to education, following several years in which the value of grants has dramatically fallen. Most students in higher education are today forced to take a part-time job in order to make ends meet. This is on top of the need to take jobs during vacations. The government has removed students from any welfare entitlements during such periods. The introduction of even a limited loans scheme will throw students even deeper into debt, increasingly making higher education inaccessible to working-class youth. Already it is estimated that 40 percent of students have bank overdrafts, 15 percent have credit card debts, 6 percent have loans from friends or relatives, and 2 percent have commercial loans.

Student anger was such that at one point during the demonstration some 5,000 students broke from the main action and attempted to march to the House of Commons. Demonstrations in the vicinity of Parliament are illegal when Parliament is in session. Using this pretext, the police waded in to break up the march. The demonstrators responded by staging a sit-down protest. Mounted police then charged through the crowd without warning.

A *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent wrote:

"Palestinians have won worldwide sympathy; they have raised the moral and financial cost of the occupation; they have forced the Arab-Israeli dispute back to the top of the Arab and United States agendas. . . .

"More significant has been the sheer tenacity of the uprising despite enormous physical and financial losses, a violent crackdown by Israeli authorities, and repeated predictions of its early demise.

"They can deport the whole country, but as long as there's one child left, the *intifada* will go on," says a Palestinian now awaiting deportation in a Gaza jail."

A *Wall Street Journal* anniversary article offered an account of Mahmoud Magid, a West Bank bricklayer who commuted to Israeli construction jobs and who was a staunch believer in "coexistence" between Palestinians and Israelis.

This was a bone of contention with his son Riyadh, 15, a determined participant in the uprising.

Riyad is now in jail and Mahmoud, simply because he was his father, spent four months at the Ketziot prison camp. He emerged with his health shattered and his thinking revolutionized.

The *Journal* wrote: "Despite the lack of any apparent political gain in return for a year of suffering, Mahmoud wants to see the *intifada* continue. He isn't worried anymore that his younger children will follow their brother's militant path.

"He waves a hand at the crowd of youngsters clustered around him. 'There are enough of them, after all, to form a new PLO faction,' he jokes. Then his smile fades: 'If it is necessary I'll give them a gift to our struggle.'"

The *Guardian* of London wrote: "Despite the sacrifices . . . the Palestinians believe their national account is well

in their favor. . . . From Jenin in the northern West Bank, through remote villages hidden in the folds of stony hills, in semitropical Jericho, down to the sands of Rafah at the southern end of the Gaza Strip, you can hear Palestinians reflecting on the achievements.

"This buoyant mood has not escaped their rulers. A few months ago, the Israelis were still talking bravely about crushing the uprising. . . . Now the *intifada* is a fact of life — a way of life — for them too."

An Israeli official tells the *Guardian*, "This is a mass movement. Every time you cross out one name, one or two more replace it."

### Meeting to celebrate life of Max Goldman, one of Minneapolis 18

LOS ANGELES — Max Goldman, for many years a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here December 2 at the age of 83.

Goldman was a central leader of the struggles of unemployed workers in Minneapolis during the great labor battles of the 1930s. He was railroaded to prison in 1939, sentenced to a year and a day for his role in leading a strike of federal Works Projects Administration workers.

In 1943 he was imprisoned as one of the "Minneapolis 18." These were members and leaders of the Teamsters union and SWP framed up on "seditious conspiracy" charges under the Smith Act for their union activities and political views, including opposition to U.S. entry into World War II.

A meeting to celebrate Goldman's life and political contributions will take place here December 23, sponsored by Solidarity. Paul Montauk will speak for the SWP.

A coming issue of the *Militant* will report on this meeting and Goldman's contributions to the workers' movement.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Dec. 22, 1978

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The "sedition" trial of 11 young Black Soweto youths is nearing the end of its second month.

While there are a number of political trials now under way in various parts of the country, the trial of the Soweto youths is the most significant. The regime has moved against them not only because of their individual roles in the massive Black rebellions of 1976 and 1977, but also because of what they represent — a militant new generation of freedom fighters set on bringing down white supremacy and on establishing Black majority rule.

All 11 defendants were leaders or activists of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which had spearheaded the big mobilizations in Soweto and had set an example for Black youths throughout the country. The SSRC was outlawed in October 1977, along with 17 other Black and anti-apartheid organizations.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Dec. 30, 1963

Price 10¢

On a two-day Christmas visit to South Vietnam, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara conveyed President Lyndon Johnson's personal promise to the generals now running that country: the United States has no intention of pulling troops out of Vietnam but will keep them there as long as the generals need them.

Only three months ago McNamara announced that "the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965" and 1,000 GIs would be brought home by Christmas.

That was just for home consumption. Then the discredited Ngo family was still ruling South Vietnam and many Americans were wondering why GIs were dying for a tyrant and religious oppressor. Since the U.S.-sponsored coup removed Diem, however, Washington is less worried about public feeling about Vietnam.

### Political Perspectives in the U.S.: Into the 1990s

Hear Jack Barnes  
Socialist Workers Party  
national secretary

Los Angeles

Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Pathfinder Books

2546 W. Pico Blvd.

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For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Sun., Jan. 8, 3 p.m.

The Women's Building

Harriet Tubman Room

3543 18th Street

Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.

For more information call (415) 282-6255.



## What Palestinian revolt has won

U.S. officials have accompanied their decision to open talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization with a deluge of demands that PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat swear to repudiate any action that the U.S. rulers deem "terrorist."

The campaign is a fraud. "Terrorist" is the label that Washington and the Israeli rulers have placed on all those who fight the Israeli regime's occupation of Palestine, whether they do so with guns, stones, strikes, or speeches.

Washington's main aim is to isolate the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, whose uprising against Israeli rule has entered its second year. The U.S. government is seeking to pressure the PLO to call off the struggle or disown the fighters.

Washington's preaching about the evils of violence and terrorism is reserved for Palestinians. It is never directed at the murderous thugs who rule Israel.

While reiterating the PLO's opposition to terrorism, Arafat rejected the U.S. government demands. "Our decision," he said December 20, "was and has been to continue the *intifada* until the occupier is pushed from our territories, and until our people get a chance to enjoy their sovereignty under PLO leadership on their national soil."

Washington's campaign around terrorism attempts to obscure a reality that the Palestinian uprising has made increasingly clear to people all over the world, including in the United States: the Palestinians are an oppressed people who are waging a just fight for their rights, while the Israeli rulers are oppressors, who rely on brutal violence to maintain power.

Washington's decision to drop its boycott of the PLO and open talks registered the deepening isolation of the Israeli rulers. The Reagan administration agreed to talk to the authoritative representatives of the Palestinians only after the search for other options — Jordan's King Hussein or Palestinians willing to collaborate with Israeli rule — reached a dead end. And only after Washington's boycott of the PLO had been rejected not only in the United Nations and the Arab countries, but even among U.S. allies in Western Europe.

The U.S. government's concession registers the increased political space that the Palestinian struggle has won in Israeli-held territory and internationally.

The latest developments have also opened an opportunity to win wider support in Israel for the democratic rights of those jailed or threatened with prison on charges of "collaboration" with Palestinian organizations.

In the aftermath of the 1967 war in which Israel seized the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and other areas, Israel appeared invincible, united, and prosperous. In these circumstances, Washington had wide leeway, at least in the United States, for its campaign to portray the Palestinians as terrorist barbarians and the Israeli rulers as civilized and peace-loving.

Today Israeli society is increasingly polarized and politically fragmented. The main capitalist parties — the Likud and Labor — have difficulty in establishing a stable government. The rifts among the rulers over how to counter the Palestinian uprising and the PLO diplomatic offensive are widening.

The Israeli rulers face growing economic difficulties as well — like the rulers of other capitalist countries. Because of its dependence on aid, donations, and investments from the United States and other imperialist countries, Israel is particularly vulnerable to the devastating effects of the crisis that is taking shape today.

The developing economic crisis will compel workers and farmers in many countries — including Israel — to undertake struggles on a scale not seen for decades. The experience that Palestinian workers and farmers are gaining in struggle today will place them in a strong position to take a leading part in those battles as well.

Moreover, Israel is not a viable nation-state. Its crises are always reflected in its efforts to expand its borders.

But the capitalist, settler rulers of Israel are not invincible. The revolutionary upheavals that are coming, of which the uprisings in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are a harbinger, will have the potential to topple the Israeli rulers.

This will open the road to the creation of a united, democratic, secular Palestine where Moslems, Christians, and Jews can live in peace, freedom, and equality.

## A holiday appeal for solidarity

Each year at this time the *New York Times* and other capitalist newspapers and organizations make appeals for donations to help the season's "neediest cases." These pleas on behalf of a few of capitalism's most hard-pressed victims tap the human solidarity working people feel when they learn of others in difficult straits.

The aim of such charity appeals, however, is not to make any changes in the status of "the poor." Their goal instead is to polish the image of the big corporations and ease the conscience of the wealthy who contribute.

The *Militant* has a different appeal to our readers at this holiday time, an appeal for stepped-up solidarity with fighters against capitalist oppression and exploitation the world over who have been framed up and imprisoned for their political views and activities.

These class-struggle prisoners need wider publicity for their cases and increased financial contributions, in many cases to help their families as well.

Some of the fighters against capitalist injustice whose demands for freedom deserve renewed backing in the new year are:

- Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the African National Congress. He has been a prisoner since 1964 for his role in fighting to overthrow the apartheid regime and establish a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

- Hundreds of other anti-apartheid fighters, many facing the death penalty, are also in prison in South Africa, including 11 activists recently convicted of terrorism and treason charges.

- Former Black Panther Party supporter Mumia Abu Jamal, framed up and convicted of killing a cop in Philadelphia in 1982. He is scheduled to be executed this year. At the time of his arrest, Jamal was a young journalist, reporting on the activities of the predominantly Black organization MOVE.

- Four members of the United Mine Workers of America in Kentucky. They are in jail on murder charges stemming from their participation in a 1984-85 strike. They are appealing convictions and sentences of 35 to 45 years each. A fifth miner also faces state murder charges from the same incident, after being acquitted in a federal trial.

- Six alleged members of the Irish Republican Army, known as the "Birmingham Six." They are serving life sentences in Birmingham, Britain, for planting a bomb in a pub. They remain in prison even though the case against them has been exposed as a fraud.

- Irish liberation fighter Joe Doherty. He has been in prison in New York since 1983 after fleeing British occupation forces in the north of Ireland. He is working to win release from prison and recently won the right to apply for asylum here.

- Mark Curtis, a young unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa. He was sentenced to 25 years in prison in November on phony rape and burglary charges.

- Watada Kumeo and Mayeda Michiko. They are serving 12- and 10-year prison sentences in Japan for participating in protests by farmers and political activists against the takeover of farmers' land for the expansion of the Narita airport near Tokyo. Since their arrest in 1978, more than 130,000 people have signed petitions demanding their freedom.

- Fifteen Puerto Rican independence supporters on trial, in Hartford, Connecticut. They are charged with conspiracy in connection with a 1983 Wells Fargo depot robbery. The first to be sentenced, Luz Berrios Berrios, has begun a five-year term at the federal prison in Lexington, Kentucky.

- Johnny Imani Harris, in prison in Alabama since 1970. He was framed on robbery and rape charges after his family moved into a previously all-white neighborhood in Birmingham. He received five consecutive life sentences. In prison, he was framed on charges of killing a prison guard and sentenced to death. A victory in Harris' case was won in 1987 when a judge overturned his death sentence.

- Leonard Peltier, a central leader of the American Indian Movement. He has been in prison since 1976, convicted of participating in the killing of two FBI agents during a government attack on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota. Government officials admit they have "no idea" who killed the agents.

- Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, Sam Brown, Judy Clark, Silvia Baraldini, Cecilio Chui Ferguson-El, Marilyn Buck, and Mutulu Shakur. They are serving prison terms from 12 to 75 years, convicted of various charges, including murder, in connection with a 1981 robbery of a Brink's armored car in New York in which a Brink's guard died. The witch-hunting atmosphere around these cases, tried between 1984 and 1988, and unbridled violations of the defendants' constitutional rights precluded any semblance of a fair trial.

- Six supporters of the Palestinian resistance movement in Israel. They are on trial for their political beliefs. Five members of the editorial board of *Derech Hanitzotz* (Way of the Spark) are being held in jail under abusive conditions. Four are on trial, charged with being members of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Michaël Warschawski, head of the Alternative Information Centre in West Jerusalem, is on trial on charges of aiding the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

## The Rainbow and independent political action

BY DOUG JENNESS

Since the November 8 presidential elections, most groups and currents who consider themselves socialist and many liberals have been stepping up their activities and discussions aimed at galvanizing a movement behind Jesse Jackson. They are particularly looking to the 1989 mayoralty races as a means to advance their perspective.

Jackson has emerged from the presidential elections with greater political standing, which many hope will

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

give momentum to the effort to build a new progressive party. This is the objective of the Rainbow Coalition, which is the name that has come to be identified with this perspective.

There are different evaluations among supporters of the Rainbow about whether its goals will be achieved by taking over the Democratic Party or by regrouping a party based on splittoffs from the Democratic Party and other forces.

Bill Ryan, editor of the *Guardian*, a radical news-weekly published in New York, is among those who believe that the Democratic Party can't be taken over. He argues that the perspective for the Rainbow Coalition should be to build an "independent party."

On the occasion of the *Guardian's* 40th birthday a couple of months ago, Ryan indicated what he means by an independent party. He wrote, "Our support for Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition . . . is a continuation of the *National Guardian's* support for Henry Wallace's Progressive Party in 1948."

(The *National Guardian*, the *Guardian's* name in its first years, was established in 1948 as a voice for supporters of the Progressive Party.)

Ryan's comparison of Wallace's party to the road he proposes for the Rainbow Coalition is useful because it helps make concrete what he means by an "independent party."

While the Progressive Party and Wallace's 1948 presidential campaign were "independent" of the Democrats and Republicans, they were not independent of capitalist politics. The Progressive Party was, in fact, a third capitalist party.

We're so used to the two-party setup the capitalists have engineered in this country that thinking of third, fourth, or fifth capitalist parties is a bit jolting. But that's what the Wallace party was — in program, practice, and trajectory.

Wallace, the Progressive Party's chief figure, had served in President Franklin Roosevelt's administration as secretary of agriculture (1933-41) and as vice-president (1941-45).

He lost the 1944 Democratic vice-presidential nomination to Harry Truman, who became president after Roosevelt's death in 1945.

Following World War II, many Democratic Party supporters were concerned that Truman was heading away from Roosevelt's New Deal policies and was breaking up the wartime alliance with the government of the Soviet Union.

Wallace was one of the most prominent capitalist politicians speaking out against the Cold War and for maintaining the New Deal. Many saw him as a more legitimate heir to Roosevelt than Truman.

Wallace and the Progressive Party never went beyond making foreign policy and economic proposals that were totally within the framework of what the capitalist rulers had done and could do again.

In 1948, the situation wasn't ripe for a shake-up in the two-party system. But had there been a deep economic crisis and a mass upheaval of the working class, it's possible that the Progressive Party could have emerged as one of the major capitalist parties. This, however, would have been no victory for working people.

The Rainbow Coalition, like the Progressive Party, is a diversion from the struggle of workers and farmers to unite to defend ourselves against the worsening conditions bred by capitalism and the even more devastating ones coming.

The comparison with the Progressive Party helps show that the problem with the Rainbow doesn't revolve around its support or nonsupport to Democratic Party candidates. The obstacle presented by the Rainbow is its program, orientation, and class character.

Working people must chart an independent course and not get trapped in the web of capitalist politics — whether they're called "independent," "people's," or "progressive." Independent working-class politics and independent capitalist politics are totally different things.

For readers who want to learn how the Socialist Workers Party saw the Wallace party at the time and why it launched its own presidential campaign, I suggest reading a report by SWP leader James P. Cannon, "Election Policy in 1948," reprinted in *Aspects of Socialist Election Policy* (Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. \$3.50).



# What does the 'copper boom' mean for workers?

BY DAVID SALNER

The price of copper has skyrocketed from about 60 cents a pound in 1986 to around \$1.50 at the end of 1988. This is part of a mini-recovery for the long-depressed copper and steel industries. It has meant stepped-up production and hand-over-fist profiteering by the copper industry's super-rich owners. But have the workers in

## UNION TALK

the industry shared in this mining bonanza?

In Arizona, where nearly 70 percent of U.S. copper is produced, the answer is no. The story here is longer hours, escalating health and safety risks, and attacks on our rights.

Union-busting has been part of the cost-cutting model followed by Phelps Dodge, the nation's number one copper producer. In 1983-84, Phelps Dodge defeated a long struggle by copper miners against concessions. The company maintained production during the strike and decertified the union.

The figures tell the story of how little workers have shared in Phelps Dodge's success story. At the Morenci mine alone, the work force declined to 1,200 this year, down from 3,000 in 1981. But while overall costs are down 31 percent, production is up 32 percent.

The foundry where I work is the major producer of grinding mill parts for most of these mines. My coworkers know all too well how such "industrial miracles" are accomplished: mandatory overtime, crippling accidents, and concession contracts.

Mergers, buyouts, and shutdowns have reduced the number of mine owners operating in the state from a recent total of more than 20 to a current figure of four. This

high-powered wheeling and dealing has also been used to cut away at our union rights. When Cypress Metals bought out Inspiration Mining Co. near Miami, Arizona, the company voided the contract recognizing the United Steelworkers and other unions. The Steelworkers are now involved in an effort to reorganize former members and win union recognition.

The copper smelter in Miami that employs many of these workers is exposing them to 19 times the federal health limit for lead, according to recently revealed test results. A smelter run by Asarco in nearby Hayden has been exposing workers to 109 times the federal limit of arsenic.

One of the world's largest underground copper mines is in San Manuel, Arizona. Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper visiting miners in this area found that Magma Copper Co. has been selling the homes in this company town right out from under the miners. Those who can't go into hock to the tune of \$40,000 must move. Magma has begun layoffs and is speculating publicly that the mines will be exhausted of their ore over the next few years. Some area miners feel this is a company pressure tactic aimed at affecting the 1989 contract talks.

Arizona copper production is estimated to have reached 900,000 tons in 1988 compared to the 1981 peak of 1,147,000. Meanwhile, employment during this so-called recovery has increased very little — to around 9,000 compared to the 25,000 employed in 1981-82. The "copper boom" has actually been a period of high unemployment for copper miners. But still harder times are on the way.

A recent congressional study estimates that overproduction will lead to a bust in four years. This study bases its estimate on predicted saturation of the market in the framework of a stable economy. The reality is that a serious economic crisis plunging millions more into un-

employment will strike all major industries, not just copper.

The U.S. share of the industry has declined during the boom, with Chile replacing it as number one producer. Imperialist speculators are shifting to develop mines in semicolonial countries that can produce copper cheaper than in the United States. Using the leverage they have gained through Third World indebtedness, these finance capitalists plan to rip away the copper for lower labor costs and overhead.

Workers in the copper industry in the United States will share in the same fate as workers in the colonial world. After being worked almost to death during the current mini-boom, we will be thrown on to the scrap heap of unemployment with the next serious recession.

Our interests are with working people around the world, and not with the super-rich capitalists who will increasingly squeeze us with further concessions to maintain their competitive position. We need to advance the call for canceling the Third World debt. The payments demanded by the world banking system are a pistol to the head of our brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, forcing them to work for starvation wages.

Workers in the copper industry should also be in the forefront of an international struggle of the broadest labor forces for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. The goal would be to spread the available work, uniting in common struggle the jobless and those who face the crushing burden of mandatory overtime.

The employers will not like these proposals. We should expect them to fight anything that promotes the unity of our class. But more and more workers will support a serious struggle around them.

Dave Salner is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 4102 at Capitol Castings in Tempe, Arizona.

## LETTERS

### From our readers behind bars

The *Militant* receives many letters from our readers who are in prison. Space permits us to print only a small portion of these.

Last week we devoted the letters column to brothers and sisters behind bars. But there were many more letters than we had space for, so this week we are printing an additional selection.

The *Militant* special prisoners' fund makes it possible to send subscriptions to prisoners who can't afford them. Where possible, the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help in this important effort, send your contribution to the *Militant's* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

#### World struggle

I'm deeply concerned about South Africa and our collective world liberation struggle. I see only one big struggle and sensible solution for those among us with enough guts and the common sense to come together and lead the world liberation struggle to a successful conclusion: complete overthrow and destruction of world capitalism.

A prisoner  
Marion, Illinois

#### Stop the sanctions

I'm an administrative segregation prisoner concerned about prisoners' civil and human rights.

Prisoners who speak out or protest against inhuman justice are put in private areas of ad-seg or placed under a form of sanctions. These included restriction on visits and container restrictions. The officials take the prisoners' drinking or personal containers.

These types of restrictions and punishments are unconstitutional even in an institution such as this.

Recently several officers with special helmets and padded gear forced their way into my cell and

brutally beat me down for a milk container.

A prisoner  
Huntsville, Texas

#### Can't do without

South Africa must be free! The racist, reactionary government must be overthrown totally, annihilated 100 percent.

I don't know what I would do without the *Militant* and its perspectives.

I would like to see articles on political prisoners right here in America. The U.S. of A. with its capitalist "democracy" is human, civil, and political rights violator No. 1.

Also, do a full-scale article on the failures of the Second International as reported by Comrade V.I. Lenin — how he lambasted the Second International and how Karl Kautsky supported the bourgeoisie, etc.

A prisoner  
Dannemora, New York

#### 'Speeches for Socialism'

I would like you to forward the book *Speeches for Socialism*, by James P. Cannon, and the book *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women* to expand in all regards my philosophical point of view. I request as well *Socialism on Trial*, by Cannon, and a catalog of the books you have available.

A prisoner  
Lovely, Texas

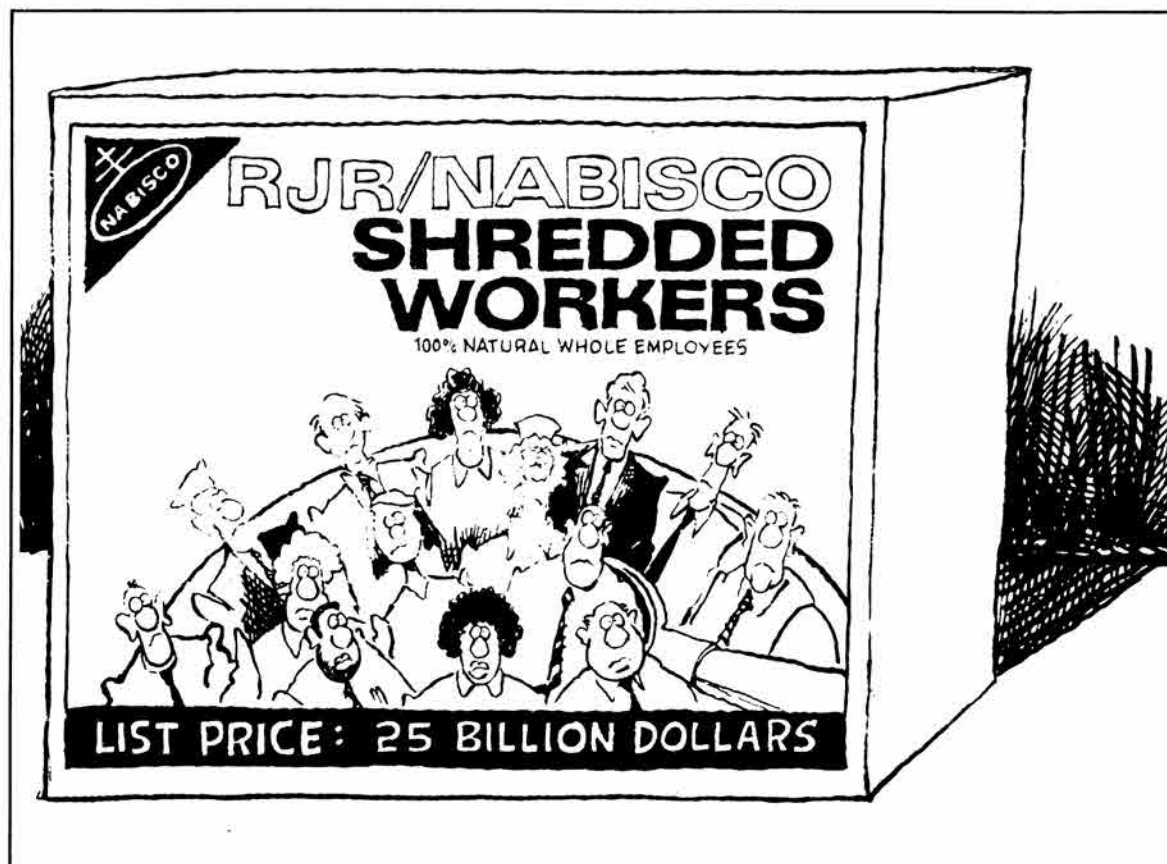
#### Abused and robbed

I am very interested in contributing to the Black struggle as well as enhancing the overall situation for people who are being discriminated against, not just in this country but in other countries abused and robbed by crooked governments.

A prisoner  
Angola, Louisiana

#### 'FBI on Trial'

*FBI on Trial* is a must for every



Marlette

worker's home. And thanks a million as it is flowing around my prior unit. If possible please forward any more books to prepare me for the struggle.

A prisoner  
Lovely, Texas

#### Out in the open

You put everything out in the open as it is. I'm 25 years of age, kind of keen, and love to read. I'm asking if you can grant me a free subscription. Your news will always be read.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

#### Blessing in disguise

I am a Chicano convict. I am requesting a free one-year subscription.

At the moment I am in lockdown in one of the security housing units. That may be a blessing in disguise since we have nothing to do but read all day. That gives us the chance to become educated and thus take these "blindness" off our eyes.

A prisoner  
Huntsville, Texas

#### Untold story

Thanks from me and all the other inmates confined in the "belly of the beast."

I can say with pride that the *Militant* is very good at speaking on the untold story that seems to always be swept under the rug after a week or two.

A prisoner  
McLeansville, North Carolina

#### Prisoners' fund

Please send me the following books from the prisoners' book fund. The ones I'd love to have are: *Malcolm X Speaks*, *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, and *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*.

A prisoner  
Midway, Texas

#### Mandela

I have been blind to certain substantial causes that appear around the world. For one thing I didn't know a Nelson Mandela even existed. I would love to learn more of Mandela, and also of Fidel Castro. I would like Mandela's book *The Struggle Is My Life* and Castro's *Nothing Can Stop the Course*

of History.  
A prisoner  
Midway, Texas

#### Economic problems

Thanks for printing so much information on the economic problems we face in this world today.

These problems are all serious and are responsible for the many difficulties we face in our community lives — the disastrous number of teenage pregnancies, child abuse, divorce rates, alcoholism, drug abuse, suicides, and imprisonment of young men.

Even the economic problems facing the ruling class can all be understood as symptoms of their lives out of control.

A prisoner  
Tennessee Colony, Texas

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.



## 400 at N.Y. meeting celebrate life of African Nat'l Congress leader Makatini

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — "This meeting tonight must take the memory of Johnny Makatini and make sure that his life's work lives with us," said Tebogo Mafole, chief representative of the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations. Mafole was the featured speaker at a meeting in tribute to ANC leader Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makatini.

Makatini died in Lusaka, Zambia, on December 3 at the age of 58.

"As we always say, this is not the time to mourn, it is the time to organize," Mafole told the 400 people attending the meeting at the Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem.

Makatini began his political activities as a teacher organizing opposition to the imposition of the so-called Bantu education system in South African schools. When that system of inferior education was forced upon African students by the apartheid regime Makatini resigned in protest.

### ANC youth organizer

He devoted his time to organizing youth and students for the ANC in Durban and Natal. He was an organizer of the Pietermaritzburg Conference in March 1961 at which Nelson Mandela was a key speaker. He also played a central role in the May 1961 strike protesting the apartheid regime's break with the British Commonwealth and the setting up of an apartheid republic.

In 1962 Makatini was among the first group of young volunteers from Natal to be sent out of South Africa by the ANC for military training. He was later sent to Morocco where he was assigned to receive new trainees. He also served as the ANC representative to that country.

Following the victory of the Algerian revolution in 1963, Makatini was sent to Algiers to help set up the ANC mission there. In 1966 he became the ANC chief representative to Algeria. From Algeria he also played a pioneering role in the work of winning support for the ANC in Western Europe. He became a member of the ANC National Executive Committee in 1974.

In 1977 he came to New York where he served as the ANC chief representative to the UN. Many of the speakers at the memorial meeting spoke of his valuable contribution to building the anti-apartheid movement in the United States.

From 1983 until his death, Makatini was director of the ANC Department of International Affairs.

### Anti-apartheid movement

"We have been greatly moved by the glorious tributes received from our friends and supporters in the United States and from leaders of nations around the world. Your presence here and the presence of a very broad spectrum of groups underlines that Johnny had won us much needed support," Mafole said.

"This is important for the people of South Africa," explained Mafole, "because it is no secret that all the crimes of the apartheid regime — all the atrocities it has perpetrated against the people of South Africa and the region, indeed, against the entire continent — have been due to the support it has gotten, and continues to receive, from its friends and allies abroad."

"For our part in the African National Congress," Mafole pledged, "we shall spare no effort in ridding the African continent and the world of the scourge of apartheid. We shall spare no effort in insuring that South Africa is free, nonracial, and truly democratic."

### SWAPO of Namibia

"I firmly believe that any revolutionary is a romantic, an idealist, said Theo-Ben Gurirab, secretary for foreign affairs of the



Militant/Ernest Harsch



Militant/Sam Manuel

Left, late African National Congress of South Africa leader Mfanafuthi Makatini. Right, Tebogo Mafole, ANC's chief representative to the United Nations, said of Makatini: "There can be no doubt that his place in the history of South African liberation is secure."

South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia. A revolutionary "believes in a brighter tomorrow. A tomorrow without war, hunger, racialism, or Nazism. One who is willing to put his life on the line to achieve victory. That is Johnny's legacy," he said.

"It is a glorious legacy whose strident freedom song we shall all be singing to-

gether, soon I hope, in an independent Namibia," Gurirab concluded.

"The South Africans have seen the Portuguese empire collapse," said Peter Dingi Zuze, chairman of the African Group of Ambassadors to the UN. "They have seen Ian Smith, who once boasted that Rhodesia would not see majority rule in a thousand years, eat his own words."

## French strike wave in fourth month

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — Since early September wave after wave of strikes have brought out hospital workers and postal employees, airline mechanics, and the workers at the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre Museum. At its high

**For six weeks the strike of public transport workers in Paris was at center stage of a strike wave in France. As we go to press, the transport strike has been settled.**

point, the weekly demonstrations of hospital workers drew close to 100,000 people.

A strike at Renault in October was avoided by a lockout of 22,000 workers and the shutting down of every Renault assembly line in France for one week. Hundreds of strikes — often partial or sporadic — are continuing in industrial plants throughout the country.

The central issue in the strikes has been wages, with most calling for a wage increase of 1,500 francs (US\$252). For workers making the minimum wage, this would represent a wage increase of close to one-third.

Some strikes have resulted in modest wage gains. But government repression to stop the strikes is increasing. The army has now been called in to try to break the strike of the Paris transport workers.

The Paris strike started with the mechanics on the suburban rail lines. As unpaired trains piled up at the maintenance shops, the suburban transport network gradually ground to a halt. On November 26, the government made a modest "non-negotiable" wage offer. In general assemblies, the strikers refused the government offer and voted to continue the strike.

The General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the only major union federation to have supported the strike, had already an-

nounced that it would respect the decisions of the striking workers.

The next day the government announced the closure of the "B Line," which transported more than 700,000 people daily to the center of the French capital.

The strike then spread to the Metro subway system, and a number of bus depots were occupied by striking workers. By the end of the week all the other transport unions had joined the strike, which had been initiated by general assemblies of workers with little union backing.

A second wage offer of 300 francs a month was signed by four unions, but refused by the CGT. The assemblies of striking workers also refused the offer, and the strikes have continued.

Early in the strike wave the newly elected Socialist Party government tried to make some minor concessions. It offered modest wage increases and improvements in working conditions. But as the strikes continued, a political confrontation with the government has sharpened.

The government is now trying to turn public opinion against the strikers, claiming that the "public," those who use the buses and subways, are the ones who suffer at the hands of a small minority of greedy workers manipulated by Communist Party-led unions with ulterior political motives.

These arguments have had some impact among the hundreds of thousands of commuters who often spend three or four hours a day going to and from work.

Recent polls show opinion to be more or less evenly divided about whether the government should offer further concessions to the strikers or pass laws limiting the right to strike of public service workers.

The threat to pass such a law has been used more and more frequently by Prime

"They invaded Angola," he pointed out, "in an effort to prolong the life of the apartheid system, only to be dealt a humiliating defeat. And soon they will be forced to leave Namibia."

"Will it ever dawn upon them that they, the racists, cannot be an island in a massive sea of those who demand and are prepared to die for freedom?" Zuze asked.

"By strengthening our resolve to see the system of apartheid eradicated, and by doubling our support for the noble struggle we have been waging," explained Zuze, "we can proudly call ourselves Johnny's friends."

South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, in a message to the meeting, said, "Johnny is part of a very heavy price that our people have to pay for liberation and for all of South Africa, black and white."

A message from Jesse Jackson, a candidate in the 1988 Democratic Party presidential primaries, stated, "It will be difficult to replace Makatini's commitment, energy, and zeal to rid the world community of nations of the racist regime in Pretoria." Messages were also read from congressmen Ronald Dellums and Mervyn Dymally.

Other speakers included Jennifer Davis, executive director, American Committee on Africa; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, United Auto Workers District 65; Lennox Hinds, the U.S. legal counsel for the ANC; David Dinkins, Manhattan borough president; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; actor Ossie Davis; Black rights activists Benjamin Chavis and Herbert Daughtry; and jazz musician Ibrahim Abdullah.

Minister Michel Rocard and President François Mitterrand. It was in this context that Rocard called in hundreds of army vehicles to transport strike-bound commuters. So far, however, this has not dampened the determination of strikers.

The strikes have helped many workers recover their confidence after a long series of defeats. One example is at the Renault plant at Choisy-le-roi in the Paris suburbs. The 1,000 workers stopped work for two hours a day on every shift for two weeks. The high point of that action was when workers were able to block the gates of the factory, preventing trucks from leaving to deliver parts to the various Renault assembly plants. Several assembly lines in other plants had to be temporarily shut down due to a lack of parts.

While the workers did not win their wage demands, they returned to work with a fighting spirit. It was the first significant action at the plant since the strike and occupation of the factory was defeated three years ago.

The strikes have been strengthened by the mass participation of workers in the daily general assemblies uniting both unionized and nonunionized workers. In the past, unions have been hostile to these assemblies, viewing them as rivals. The CGT has announced it will respect the democratic character of the assemblies and will not sign any agreements that are not agreed to by them. Unfortunately, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), another big trade union federation, has remained hostile to the workers' assemblies and has just expelled its affiliated unions of hospital and postal workers for having participated in the coordinating committees elected by the general assemblies.

Nat London works at Renault and is a member of the CGT.