

Military gov't steps up Lebanon's civil war

BY FRED FELDMAN

The attempt by Lebanese army chief of staff Michel Aoun, backed by rightist leaders of the Maronite Christian minority, to impose a military regime on Lebanon has resulted in a bloody resurgence of the civil war there that has been going on in that country for 15 years.

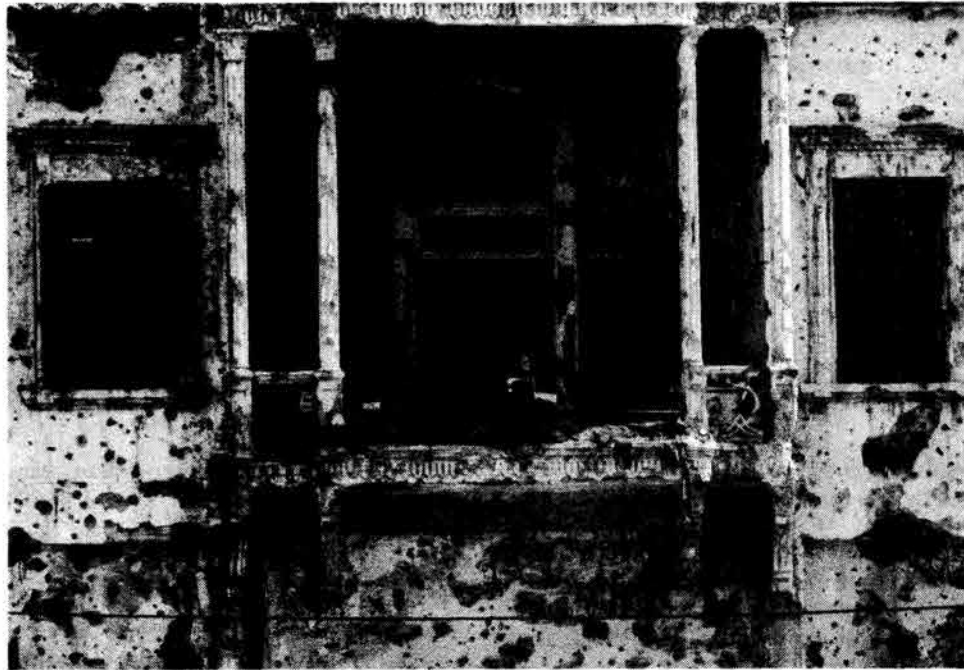
Some 250,000 people have fled predominantly Muslim West Beirut since mid-March to escape massive shelling.

As of April 18, about 300 people were estimated to have been killed in the shelling across Beirut and its outskirts, and in areas where Syrian troops are concentrated. Untold numbers have been wounded.

There is a critical shortage of electricity, oil, flour, water, and other necessities.

Aoun's forces are based in East Beirut, which is mainly Christian. The latest stage of the war began in March, when Aoun's naval forces imposed a blockade on ports in Beirut controlled by Muslim forces opposed to his military regime. The Muslim-

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Beirut. Fifteen-year civil war has devastated capital city.

Israeli regime escalates killings

BY HARRY RING

In an unprecedented move, Israeli officials barred West Bank and Gaza Palestinians from attending prayer services at Jerusalem's Al Aska Mosque. The mosque is regarded as one of Islam's holiest sites.

Previously, Israeli authorities had boasted that they had never denied West Bank or Gaza residents access to Jerusalem mosques.

Officials said the ban was ordered because of a clash between Israeli troops and Palestinians at the mosque the previous week. They said they also wanted to deter an anticipated protest over the killing of four Palestinian villagers by Israeli border cops the day before.

Those wishing to attend the prayer ser-

vices had to present their ID cards at police checkpoints. West Bank and Gaza residents were turned back. Most residents of Jerusalem were permitted to enter. Young men had to surrender their ID cards, to be reclaimed after the services.

Israeli Police Minister Haim Bar-lev said, "We will continue these measures until the Palestinians prove they only want to come here for prayers."

Israeli military border cops provoked a new outcry with an assault on a West Bank village April 13. In a predawn shooting rampage, they killed four people and wounded some 50 others.

Jeep loads of cops rode into the village of Nahhalin, a farming community of 4,000, as residents were rising to eat an early break-

fast in preparation for the daylight fast of Ramadan.

With loudspeakers, the cops ordered people out of their homes to erase slogans, tear down Palestinian flags, and remove roadblocks. When some youths resisted with stones, the cops opened fire with 16-millimeter automatic rifles.

The International Red Cross accused the Israeli cops of "opening fire without discrimination and without restraint."

On April 17, troops took the lives of six more Palestinians.

In a Gaza village, Faris Muhammed Salha, 56, died of a beating inflicted by soldiers when he intervened to prevent his sons from being struck.

When villagers defied a curfew to prepare a grave and to demonstrate their protest, soldiers opened fire. A youth, 13, was shot in the thigh and bled to death after arriving at a hospital.

In the West Bank, a 13-year-old girl was killed, also while attending a funeral. Another youth, 18, was electrocuted when soldiers ordered him to remove an outlawed Palestinian flag from a power pole.

The same day, hospital officials said two Palestinians were shot dead in a Gaza City demonstration. The army said there had been no soldiers in the area.

An Israeli court announced April 12 that it had indicted the principal leader of the right-wing settlers' movement for killing one Palestinian and wounding another.

Indicted was Rabbi Moshe Levinger, head of the Gush Enunim (Bloc of the Faithful), a vigilante gang that asserts a "divine" Jewish right to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The court said that last September in the West Bank town of Hebron, Levinger responded to a stone-throwing by shooting at random, killing a shopkeeper and wounding a second person. When he finished shooting, he overturned several market stalls.

Like all Jewish settlers, Levinger was armed by the Israeli government.

Palestinians charge that settlers have killed more than 20 of their Arab neighbors. But prosecutions are rare.

At the time of the Hebron shooting, officials recommended that no charges be brought against Levinger. Now, seven months later, it's been decided that indict-

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Soccer disaster sparks anger at police

BY PETE EVANS

LONDON — Saturday, April 15, was to be an important day in the lives of soccer fans from Liverpool. Their team had reached the semifinals of England's premier cup competition. On that day they had the chance to forget the poverty and unemployment of Merseyside and revel in the excitement of the match.

Instead, the Hillsborough stadium in Sheffield, South Yorkshire, became the scene of the biggest disaster ever to occur at a soccer match in Britain. Hundreds of Liverpool fans were crushed and trampled, and

See editorial on page 18.

95 of them were killed as thousands of fans pressed to enter the stadium.

The stadium claims a capacity for 54,000 spectators. But there are only 23,000 seats. The remaining 31,000 spectators must watch the match while standing on terraced cement steps. These standing-room-only sections are often crowded far beyond any safe capacity. In the last few years these areas have been fenced in to separate them from the playing field.

In its previous matches the Liverpool team drew, on the average, twice as many fans as the opposing Nottingham Forest team. Despite knowledge of this fact, Nottingham Forest fans were allocated 6,000 more tickets than Liverpool. As a result, large numbers of Liverpool fans showed up at the stadium without tickets, hoping to gain entrance to the match.

Liverpool fans were also given the smaller end of the stadium. While Nottingham Forest supporters were given the standing section, which holds 22,000, Liverpool's area could hold only 9,100. The reason for this choice, police said, was that it would be easier to get Liverpool's fans from the railway station to the smaller end of the stadium than to the larger end.

Neither team plays its home games in the Hillsborough stadium. Fans of both teams had to travel to the match.

Police open gate

As the buildup of those outside grew, police opened a large gate, allowing the crowd to surge forward. Hundreds in the standing areas were crushed against the fenced enclosures. Desperate fans began to climb over the fence to escape the crush only to be stopped and turned back by the cops.

"People were screaming and trying to climb onto the pitch, but the police were using their truncheons to force them back," one fan told reporters. "We were shouting 'Open the gates, open the gates,' but they just stood and watched."

This was the latest in a series of catastrophes at football matches over the last few years. In May 1985 some 53 fans died after a stand caught fire in Bradford. Another 39 spectators lost their lives at the Heysel stadium in Belgium, in a game that also involved Liverpool. In both cases authorities claimed the deaths were due to "rioting" or "drunkenness." In the wake of the Hillsborough disaster, Britain's largest-selling daily, *The Sun*, criticized the fans. A

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Alaskans fight oil spill



Militant/Janet Post

Student from Valdez, Alaska, and pharmacist from Anchorage rinsing off a common murre, one of the many birds affected by contamination. See pages 4 and 5 for coverage of fishermen's efforts to combat Exxon spill.

400 striking woodworkers rally in Oregon

BY GENE LAWHORN
AND JOHN CHARBONNET

ROSEBURG, Ore. — More than 400 cars and pickups packed with striking woodworkers and family members participated in a high-spirited, two-mile-long "rally on wheels" March 28. The strikers circled the highway in front of the main Roseburg Forest Products complex in Dillard three times, and blocked scab trucks and management for more than an hour. Cars and trucks were decorated with orange solidarity ribbons and signs saying "No wage cuts."

The woodworkers have been on strike at Roseburg since mid-January.

During the rally, a scab log truck driver, Patrick Kokos, used his truck to attack a striker, William Sinkey. Kokos pulled into Sinkey's lane, drove his fully loaded truck into the striker's Jeep Wagoneer, and forced it back 18 feet. Sinkey's four children and a friend were also in the car. No one was hurt in the collision.

After ramming Sinkey's jeep, Kokos stopped his truck, jumped out, and attacked Sinkey. Other strikers came to Sinkey's aid.

The Douglas County sheriff's office cited Kokos on charges of reckless driving, menacing, and second-degree criminal mischief. Sinkey is seeking to bring civil action against Kokos.

Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers members ratified by narrow margins a five-year contract at the Oregon City mill and a three-year contract at the Newberg mill.

The workers gained small increases in pension benefits, but most company demands were imposed, including loss of some holidays and cuts in medical benefits. There will be no wage increases until 1990.

Workers voting against the contract were mainly concerned with winning back the jobs of members fired by the company for strike activity. The contract calls for arbitration of their cases.

Smurfit had hired "temporary replacements" to boost production during the latter months of the strike.

Following the voting, workers expressed strong bitterness toward the company. Prior to the strike, workers had set production records, worked large amounts of overtime, and participated in company cost-reduction programs.

Gene Lawhorn is a member of the public relations committee of WCIW Local 2949. John Charbonnet is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 63.



Militant/John Charbonnet
Members of Western Council of Industrial Workers at rally in support of woodworkers' union.

Bank profits soar but failures continue

BY FRED FELDMAN

"It was the worst year ever" for the government's Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., FDIC Chairman William Seidman said March 13, even though total bank profits reached a record \$25.3 billion in 1988. The expenditure of \$7 billion to close or merge 221 failing banks, about 100 of them based in Texas, resulted in a \$4.2 billion annual loss, the agency's first.

The government set up the FDIC, which insures 14,000 commercial banks, to help stabilize the banking system after the collapse of 4,000 banks in 1933, during the Great Depression.

The 1988 figures marked the seventh year of an upswing in bank failures.

"We expect fewer failures in 1989," Seidman said. He predicted that "no large institutions" like the First RepublicBank Corp. of Texas, which collapsed last year, would be among them.

A little more than two weeks later, however, the FDIC moved to take over 20 insolvent banks belonging to MCorp of Dallas, the second largest Texas banking concern. The MCorp bank failure was the third largest in U.S. history, exceeded only by those of First RepublicBank in 1988 and the Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. in 1984.

MCorp, which lost \$913 million last year, was left, after the March 29 takeover, with five banks and a trust company worth altogether \$3 billion.

Following the FDIC action, MCorp filed under Chapter 11 of the Federal Bank-

ruptcy Code to protect its remaining operations from creditors. The company also sued the U.S. government, charging that at least 12 of its banks had been seized illegally.

Bailout costs mount

Bailing out the 20 MCorp banks is expected to cost the federal government between \$1.5 and \$2 billion.

For starters, the FDIC injected \$300 million to keep the banks it had taken over open under the name of Deposit Insurance Bridge Bank.

Since 1987 the six largest banks in Texas have all been taken over by the government or sold to out-of-state banking interests.

The MCorp takeover came as the FDIC also began to oversee the government's effort to overcome the crisis in the savings and loan industry. This was formerly the responsibility of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp., which is effectively bankrupt.

There were 222 failures of savings and loan institutions last year. Bailing out up to 1,000 failed or gravely endangered S&L's will cost the federal government an amount currently estimated at \$125 billion.

On March 31 the FDIC and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board took control of Gibraltar Savings of Beverly Hills, California, and Gibraltar Savings F.A. of Bellevue, Washington — subsidiaries of the Gibraltar Financial Corp. The corporation lost \$100 million last year.

Gibraltar Savings of Beverly Hills, with

assets of \$13.4 billion, was the largest of the 177 S&Ls seized by the government in a two-month period.

These were the first legally solvent S&Ls to be taken over, as the George Bush administration made more aggressive efforts to limit the industry's losses and the government's bailout costs. U.S. officials said the firms were being mismanaged.

Shaky insurance companies

There are mounting signs of instability as well among the 3,800 insurance companies that make up another key component of the U.S. financial structure.

Last October the National County Mutual Fire Insurance Co. became the biggest insurance company to fail in Texas. Up to 80 other Texas insurance companies are considered to be in such precarious condition as to require state supervision.

Nationally, 21 property-casualty insurance firms failed last year — up from 13 in 1987. The average was a little more than three per year from 1969 to 1980.

More than \$909 million in bailouts had to be paid in 1987 out of funds maintained by state governments to protect the insurance industry.

During the 15 years from 1969 to 1983, state funds had to provide a total of only \$454 million for bailouts.

The 1985 collapse of the Transit Casualty Co. and the 1987 failure of the Mission Insurance Co., both based in Los Angeles, were the most costly ever. The bailouts cost about \$2.5 billion.

Handful cross lines

Since the strike by 4,300 mill workers began, only a handful of union members have crossed the picket lines. Limited production at Roseburg's 15 mills in southern Oregon and northern California is being done by supervisors and office workers.

As the weather warms, the company will be under increasing pressure to resume production. It has carried out substantial renovations of the mills during the strike.

At a meeting March 14 called by a federal mediator, company officials stuck to their demand for wage cuts averaging \$1 an hour, with the largest cuts falling on the lowest-paid workers.

In February, an untrained foreman was killed in an accident at the Dillard mill. The company was later fined \$2,500 for not providing training to the foreman.

In late February and early March, strike support rallies of 2,500 in Roseburg and 700 in Anderson, California, were held that drew support from other unions throughout the region.

Recently, Western Council of Industrial Workers Local 2949, which organizes 2,700 Roseburg Forest Products workers, offered to help picket at the Portland airport in support of Machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines.

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

PORTLAND, Ore. — Some 500 paperworkers at two Smurfit Newsprint Corp. mills recently ended a seven-month strike, which had turned into a lockout.

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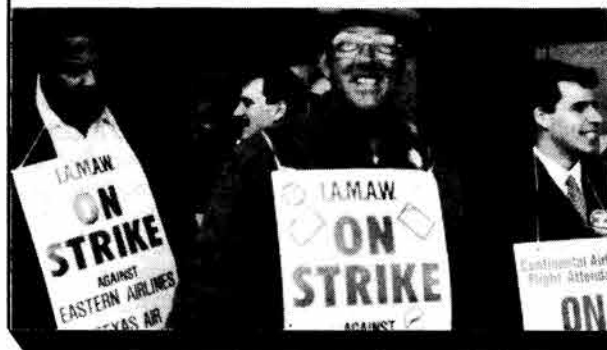
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Send to THE MILITANT, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014



The Militant

Closing news date: April 19, 1989

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Published weekly except one week in August and the last week of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Canada, Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$30, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$65. Britain, Ireland, Continental Europe, Africa: £22 for one year, £12 for six months, or £6 for three-month renewal. Send check or international money order made out to Pathfinder Press and send to Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney, NSW 2037, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

April 26 vigil at Supreme Court will defend abortion rights

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The National Organization for Women is urging supporters of legal abortion to participate in a vigil at the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., on April 26, starting at 9:30 a.m.

On that day, the court will begin hearing a case—*Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*—that could be used to overturn the landmark Supreme Court ruling that legalized abortion in the United States 16 years ago.

The 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision held that the constitutional right of privacy includes "a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

NOW is also calling on supporters of abortion rights to hold meetings, rallies, vigils, and other prochoice activities around the country at the end of April, to coincide with the Supreme Court vigil, or on April 29. Operation Rescue, the national antiabortion outfit that has organized disruptions aimed at closing clinics in many cities in recent months, is planning actions against abortion rights at clinics in a number of cities on April 29.

In Los Angeles, New York, St. Louis, and other cities, Operation Rescue's recent efforts to close facilities where abortions are performed have been defeated by countermobilizations of prochoice activists. The importance of continuing to outmobilize Operation Rescue was a theme of the massive abortion rights march held in Washington, D.C., April 9.

On April 15 some 1,000 supporters of legal abortion demonstrated at the Iowa State Capitol in Des Moines. Sponsors of the action included Iowa NOW, Planned Parenthood, the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, Mid-Iowa Coalition of Labor Union Women, and several abortion clinics. The march, which drew many young people and a number of unionists, came a week after Operation Rescue had disrupted an abortion clinic in Des Moines.

Missouri case

The *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* case being heard by the Supreme Court originated in Missouri. "Webster" is Missouri Attorney General William Webster, and Reproductive Health Services is a St. Louis abortion clinic.

In 1986 the Missouri legislature adopted a bill that prohibits performing abortions in public hospitals and clinics, bans the use of public funds to counsel women on abortions, prohibits public employees from assisting in abortions, and requires doctors who believe a pregnancy is beyond 20 weeks to test for viability of the fetus before performing an abortion.

The Missouri law, which holds that the "life of each human being begins at conception," was never fully implemented because

it was challenged by Reproductive Health Services and Planned Parenthood. In 1987 it was struck down as unconstitutional by a federal district judge in Kansas City.

This ruling was then upheld by the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals last July. The Missouri Attorney General then appealed to the Supreme Court, which announced in January its decision to hear the case. A few days after the November presidential election, the Reagan administration filed a brief with the Supreme Court urging it to consider the Missouri case.

A record 78 friend-of-the-court briefs concerning the Missouri case have been received by the Supreme Court. They are about evenly divided between those supporting *Roe v. Wade* and those opposing legal abortion.

On April 4 nearly 250 Justice Department employees, mostly lawyers, delivered a petition to Attorney General Richard Thornburgh protesting the Justice Department's request to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

"We believe that every woman has the right to make her own decisions about whether or not to continue her pregnancy in



Militant/Sam Manuel

April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C. NOW has called prochoice actions for end of April to be held around the country.

accordance with the guidelines set forth" in the 1973 Supreme Court decision, the petition stated. The same day, the American Medical Association and seven other medical groups also filed a brief urging that *Roe v. Wade* be maintained.

Many participants in the April 26 vigil will be wearing black armbands, and trios of activists symbolizing patients, doctors, and health-care workers will be handcuffed

together to visibly demonstrate that many abortion rights supporters "are prepared to defy the law if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned," explained NOW Executive Vice-president Patricia Ireland.

For more information on the April 26 actions, contact the National Organization for Women, 1000 16th St. NW, Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20036-5705; (202) 331-0066.

Indicted Israeli activist on U.S. tour

BY HARRY RING

Michel Warshawski, who is on trial in Israel for his political beliefs and activities, will speak in several U.S. cities during a brief visit to this country. He is free on bail, but must report to the Israeli police at periodic intervals.

On Saturday evening, April 22, he will be heard at the New York Militant Labor Forum. Among those joining him on the platform will be Julie Nalibor of the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

In the Detroit area, Warshawski will speak Sunday evening, April 23. Sponsors of the meeting include the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Palestine Aid Society, and Rev. William Gepford of the United Presbyterian Church in Dearborn. The meeting will be held at the United Presbyterian Church.

In New Jersey, Warshawski will speak the afternoon of Tuesday, April 25, at Essex County Community College in Newark, and in the evening at Rutgers University in New Brunswick.

In Miami, Warshawski will speak at a meeting cosponsored by the New Jewish Agenda and the Black Student Union at Miami-Dade Community College. The meeting will be held 7:30 Thursday evening, April 27, at the college's Wolfson Campus, Building No. 2.

Warshawski will discuss his case and those of other political activists and journalists, Palestinian and Jewish, who have been

targeted for their support to the Palestinian uprising.

Warshawski's trial has been under way, in periodic sessions, since last October. He was jailed after police raided the West Jerusalem office of the Alternative Information Center, of which he is a founder.

The AIC publishes *News from Within*, which focuses on the Palestinian freedom struggle and reports on human rights abuses by the Israeli regime.

Warshawski, and the AIC, were indicted under a Prevention of Terrorism Act and under Emergency Defense Regulations adopted in 1948, which are still in effect.

They are charged with "rendering services to an illegal organization," "possession of written material of an illegal organization," and "supporting a terrorist organization."

The "illegal" organizations to which Warshawski and the AIC are supposedly linked include publicly active West Bank and Gaza student organizations, women's groups, and unions.

On the basis of their support for Palestinian freedom these groups have been branded by Israeli police agencies as "fronts" for affiliates of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is illegal.

The defendants' "links" with these groups consist of doing typesetting work for them and possessing some of their publicly circulated literature.

The prosecution witnesses consist of 11

cops and a person who worked as a typist at the AIC.

Warshawski's prosecution has evoked protest in Israel and internationally. Among the U.S. groups condemning the trial is the Committee to Protect Journalists. Walter Cronkite is its honorary chair.

Israeli authorities have also cracked down on another paper supporting Palestinian liberation. *Derech Hanitzotz* (Way of the Spark) was shut down in February 1988 and its editors prosecuted for alleged links with a Palestinian "terrorist" organization.

Three of them remain in jail. A recent appeal from prisoners Yakov Ben Efrat and Assaf Adiv reported that they have been placed in an isolation wing and confined to their small cells for 22 hours a day. They have appealed internationally for protests against this and in support of their demand that they be assigned among other political prisoners.

Victimization of Palestinian journalists has been even more drastic. At least 19 are currently imprisoned, most without charges.

The Israeli government's moves to crush the Palestinian uprising are creating growing dissent within the Jewish population, particularly among military reservists assigned to Gaza and the West Bank.

Warshawski will discuss his case in the context of these developments. He was jailed twice for his role as a cofounder in 1982 of the Committee of Reserve Soldiers Against the War in Lebanon. Currently he is a member of the Coordinating Committee for the Movement Against Occupation, which opposes the Israeli repression of the Palestinian uprising.

Grenada gov't steps up censorship moves

BY STEVE CLARK

The U.S.-imposed government of Grenada is continuing to enforce its undemocratic ban on the entry of books that it deems to contain "negative ideas."

On April 16 customs officials at Grenada's Port Salines airport seized a package of 20 books from Dennis Thomas, international relations secretary of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM). Thomas was returning from a conference in Cyprus. Among the items seized were books he had picked up there, as well as a number published by the New York-based Pathfinder press that Thomas had obtained during a stopover in Barbados.

The following day, Grenadian airport authorities seized a copy of *Thomas Sankara Speaks* published by Pathfinder. The book was being brought into the country to a Grenadian citizen by his sister, who lives in the United States.

MBPM leader Terry Marryshow issued a condemnation of this escalation of the government's attacks on the democratic

rights of the Grenadian people. He pointed out that these actions come only a few days prior to the scheduled April 21 trial of a lawsuit he has filed challenging the constitutionality of the government's book-banning policies.

The lawsuit calls on the government of Grenada to turn over to Marryshow four boxes of books he had ordered from Pathfinder earlier this year. In March the Grenadian government impounded the books from the Federal Express courier service, which was seeking to deliver them to Marryshow.

The Pathfinder books seized from Marryshow included *Maurice Bishop Speaks*; collections of speeches by Malcolm X; *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, an interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro; *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela; *The Communist Manifesto*; and others.

According to Marryshow, the government has indicated that it will ask the Su-

preme Court to postpone the trial at the April 21 hearing. The case was first scheduled to be heard April 7, but the court granted a two-week extension requested by government lawyers.

Protests against the Grenadian regime's censorship are continuing. U.S. Rep. Sidney Yates of Illinois has expressed "concern over and opposition to the recent confiscation of four boxes of books shipped to Grenada." In an April 7 letter to Secretary of State James Baker, Yates asked to be informed "of any steps that are currently underway to correct this situation and to avoid this type of censorship."

Protests against the book seizures were featured in the April 7 issue of *Publishers Weekly* under the headline, "Groups Condemn Confiscation of Books by Grenada." An article in the April 24 issue of the weekly *New Republic* magazine also covered these events, taking note of the Grenadian government's increased "police harassment and state censorship."

In our next issue...

PLO initiative and Palestinian uprising

The May 5 issue of the *Militant* will carry an article by Fred Feldman on the diplomatic initiative that the Palestine Liberation Organization began last November. The article, which is to appear as the introduction to a new Pathfinder pamphlet, *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation*, by Feldman, discusses how the initiative has affected the popular uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and politics in Israel and the United States.

8 days in Alaska — and 107 new readers

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

ANCHORAGE, Alaska — April is known as "break up" in Alaska. It's when the ice begins to thaw, allowing rivers to flow freely. The days become rapidly longer. Bears wake from hibernation and caribou begin their migration. It's the same every year.

But the March 24 oil spill in Prince William Sound has made this a spring that Alaskans will never forget.

Every morning before work or during coffee breaks workers, students, fishermen, and others grab the newspaper to study the daily map of the giant traveling oil slick. Like a people at war trying to anticipate the advance of enemy troops, they ready themselves for the next stage in the fight to contain the damage caused by the disastrous spill.

A three-person *Militant* reporting team spent eight days covering 1,400 miles of Alaska's land and water to learn firsthand what is happening, and to introduce the *Militant* to working people in this state.

We arrived in Valdez close to sundown on April 7 and decided to get a bite to eat. There was a waiting line at every restaurant in town because of the large number of people who've come as a result of the spill. So we stood in line looking over the latest issue of the *Militant*.

'Like Jack London'

A local bartender and piano tuner standing behind us asked what we were reading. "Socialist? In Valdez? How can I get this?" he asked almost in one breath. He became our first new reader.

A fisherman standing nearby overheard the conversation and called out "Socialist? Oh, like Jack London. I'll take one."

The following day we traveled by boat to witness the damage caused by the spill. On the return leg of our 120-mile round trip, the boat operator offered to take us to Tatitlek, a village of Aleut Natives accessible only by boat. This town of 20 families is the closest inhabited area to the accident site. On March 24 nobody bothered to tell them about the spill. They heard it on TV that night, hours after the accident.

In an hour we talked with 10 families, seven of whom purchased introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*. One resident explained that since the spill dozens of reporters have visited the town trying to get a "scoop" for their oil-spill coverage. But, he said, "Nobody else has told us about a paper like this that we can keep getting after the reporters go back to the city."

Animal rescue center

Volunteers at the animal rescue centers get to know each other pretty well. They're part of a team that's fighting to save lives, and a feeling of camaraderie naturally develops. So as workers and volunteers became familiar with members of the *Militant* team working alongside them, there was a lot of interest in the paper.

A Dominican laborer bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-

language sister publication of the *Militant*. "I understand exactly what you're talking about," he said. "I have every book by Che Guevara."

Two women each pulled a handful of dollar bills out of their pockets to buy subscriptions so that they could follow the news about the April 9 march on Washington, D.C., to defend abortion rights.

While driving the 360 miles from Valdez to Fairbanks, the team discussed the response we were getting and decided to set a goal of selling 50 subscriptions by the end of our tour.

At the University of Alaska - Fairbanks (UAF), the Pathfinder literature table we set up in the student union easily became the center of attention.

One student said that he thought the *Militant's* coverage on El Salvador would be helpful because he's organizing a forum about land reform in that country. Another woman thanked the team for coming to Alaska, explaining that at UAF "We're so hungry for real news like what you have in this paper."

By the end of the day, 41 subscriptions had been sold at UAF, putting the team well ahead of its goal. We decided to up it to 75.

Good response in Anchorage

Anchorage is the largest city in the state with close to 250,000 residents. It has a bustling harbor and is the headquarters of the Alaska Railroad.

Workers in the yard office of the railroad welcomed the team, which included two rail workers and a Canadian woodworker. An official of the United Transportation Union Local 1626 bought a subscription for the union, and another conductor purchased his own personal subscription. An officer of the International Association of Machinists got a subscription on his way out of work at the roundhouse.

We spent some time exchanging views about railroad union contracts, the state of the union, and the effects of the oil spill on Alaska's economy and environment. One worker suggested hanging a copy of the *Militant* and some subscription blanks on the union bulletin board. We put them next



Militant/Robbie Scherr

Janet Post, right, sells *Militant* in Tatitlek, an Aleut Native village.

to a black-and-white sign that read, "In memorium: Prince William Sound." We also posted the April 14 *Militant* article about the socialist election campaign in Seattle.

"Hi. We came from the Lower 48 to volunteer at the animal rescue center in Valdez and write articles for our paper, the *Militant*." This introduction opened almost every door in the Mountainview area of this city. Mountainview is a working-class neighborhood with a high percentage of Blacks, Dominicans, and Natives.

Fred Nelson, a team member, happened upon a house that sported a Puerto Rican flag in the window. The woman who answered the door readily bought a *PM* subscription after Nelson explained the paper's support for Puerto Rican independence. Another *PM* subscription was sold to a couple of Dominicans who work in a fancy hotel downtown.

By this time our goal had risen to 100.

The Pathfinder literature table at the University of Alaska - Anchorage got a similar reception to the one we'd set up at UAF. Before even getting permission to set up, we'd sold 10 subscriptions to inquisitive

passersby.

One Nigerian student did a double take as he strolled past the table. "I've been looking everywhere for something on Sankara." He bought the Pathfinder press book *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

Interest in YSA

Soren Wuerth is on the staff of the school newspaper. He is also politically active on campus and helped organize some of the most vocal demonstrations against Exxon immediately following the spill.

After signing up to get the *Militant*, he asked how he could set up a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. He talked with the team for awhile and then left to call some friends. When he returned he handed us a map describing how to get to a local bar, and a list of four people he'd invited to a meeting to set up a YSA chapter.

That night we spent several hours talking with three students about the socialist youth organization. Two asked to join.

During the tour, a total of 102 *Militant* and five *PM* subscriptions were sold, in addition to \$185 in Pathfinder literature, T-shirts, and buttons.

Seattle socialist reports on oil spill

The following statement was released by Robbie Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle, at an April 19 news conference held at the Seattle Center after her eight-day trip to Alaska.

I spent eight days in Alaska witnessing the effects of the March 24 oil spill and talking with hundreds of Alaskans.

I have to say that criminal is too mild a word to describe Exxon and the Alyeska oil consortium. These robber barons, in order to make superprofits, have destroyed miles of our environment and wildlife and disrupted the livelihoods of thousands of working men and women.

I share the intense anger and heartfelt desire of every Alaskan to bring these public enemies to justice. Nothing should be spared in the effort to clean up the environment, save wildlife, and rebuild the economies of the communities affected by this corporate greed.

To start, a moratorium on shipping oil out of Port Valdez must be enacted until adequate safety measures are put in place.

Every precaution conceivable has to be taken to insure that a repeat of the March 24 accident won't occur. For example, a stop must be put to the practice of running single-hulled tankers into the port, access to which is laden with icebergs and other navigational hazards. Every ship should be double hulled, as was standard until the last decade. And a study should be conducted to determine the maximum size of ships in the Prince William Sound.

Nearly every person I talked with in the Prince William Sound area expressed outrage that Exxon and Alyeska had not put into place the elaborate safety measures they promised when the Alaska pipeline

was built in the 1970s. There was insufficient boom to contain a large spill. Trained personnel was practically nonexistent. Not only were skimmers (ships that suck up spilled oil) not available, but Exxon even refused to respond to offers from around the world to send these vessels. And the crew on the *Exxon Valdez* was understaffed and overworked.

Cleanup efforts inadequate

Even now the cleanup efforts are grossly inadequate. All of this will have to change if the Port Valdez can ever expect to ship oil safely. Until it does, I am totally opposed to taking any further risks that could upset the delicate environment in this beautiful and rich land.

I am similarly opposed to starting offshore drilling in Washington State at this time.

Workers such as the cannery employees who have lost their jobs as a result of the spill should be paid unemployment compensation for as long as they are out of work, whether or not they technically qualify based on the seasonal character of their jobs.

And the government should use its authority to back up the claims that thousands of fishermen and small businesspeople have brought against Exxon for loss of livelihood. Exxon should pay every cent due to these independent producers and tourist agents.

The oil industry's illegal pirate-style exploration of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) should be stopped immediately. And an unequivocal "no, no, no" should be given to the reckless idea of opening up oil drilling in the ANWR. This refuge is home to some of the world's rarest

wildlife. It is a very fragile environment. There is no demonstrated need to drill for oil there, and there is every indication that such a practice would have permanent, devastating consequences.

Independent committee needed

In my opinion these measures mean that the government will have to take over the Alaskan pipeline and the shipping of oil out of Port Valdez.

The fishermen of the Cordova District Fishermen United (CDFU) have called for the establishment of an independent committee of fishermen, workers, and community leaders to oversee the Prince William Sound and monitor Exxon for safety. That includes the idea of independent environmental tests, such as on hydrocarbons from the Exxon ballast treatment plant. I agree completely. The men and women who earn their living and make their homes in the Prince William Sound are the best equipped to protect the environment and make economic decisions in harmony with their natural environment. An independent board established by democratic election is necessary to see that this is done.

Like the Three Mile Island near-meltdown, and the Union Carbide accident in Bhopal, India, the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill is a tragic indication of how far multinational corporations will go to make a buck. No doubt this will not be the last such accident as the capitalist system slips further and further into crisis and the ruling rich scramble to bolster their falling rate of profit.

Their greed and indifference to pain and suffering can only be stopped by the popular intervention of the working people of the world, who have a stake in defending our environment and natural surroundings.

SEATTLE

Alaskan Oil Spill: An Exxon-Made Disaster

An eyewitness report
from Valdez by Robbie
Scherr, Socialist Workers
Party candidate for mayor
of Seattle.

Wed., April 26, 8 p.m.

University of Washington
HUB Room 304

Sponsor: Young Socialist
Alliance. For more in-
formation call (206)
723-5330.

Alaska fishermen try to save hatcheries

BY JANET POST

ANCHORAGE, Alaska — Immediately following the 10.1-million-gallon Exxon Valdez oil spill on March 24, the Cordova District Fishermen United (CDFU) mobilized its ranks to save the fishery in Prince William Sound.

Its first priority was to protect the pink salmon hatcheries in the sound and the red salmon run in Eshamey Bay. Hatcheries are "fish farms" where fish are raised in captivity — from fertilized eggs to adults — for harvest.

"The hatcheries are our future, what we build on," CDFU President Gerald McCune explained in an interview on April 13. "The hatcheries represent our steady income when prices for fish fluctuate."

"The San Juan hatchery would have been down the tubes if not for the volunteer fishermen. If it had been left to Exxon, we would have had a bay full of oil. These fishermen are the real heroes."

McCune said CDFU volunteers laid barrier boom to secure the hatcheries, but their limited resources did not allow for sufficient boom in the event of stormy weather or wind. Realizing this, the fishermen threatened to move the entire season's salmon fry out of the endangered hatcheries and away from the spill. Under the threat of such a dramatic action, which would draw world attention and further tarnish its reputation, Exxon belatedly supplied heavy, oil-grade boom. The CDFU believes this supply may be inadequate.

McCune noted that Exxon is only part of the problem. "The bigger problem is Alyeska, of which Exxon is a part." Alyeska Pipeline Service Co. is the consortium of oil companies that built and operate the Trans-Alaskan pipeline and the Port Valdez Marine Terminal. In addition to Exxon, it includes Arco Alaska, Inc., BP America, Mobile Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Unocal, and Amstar Hess.

The CDFU leader continued, "Alyeska said they had all these contingency plans. But what good are contingency plans if you don't have any equipment with which to carry them out?"

Seattle: 3,000 protest Exxon's obstruction of oil-spill cleanup

BY KAREN RAY

SEATTLE — On April 12 some 3,000 people rallied here at Alki Beach to protest the inadequate cleanup effort in Valdez, Alaska, following the March 24 oil spill.

Many people in the Northwest feel a strong connection to Alaska and have been angered by the environmental and economic impact of this disaster. Many work part of the year on Alaska fishing boats and in the canneries. Others have worked on the Alaska oil pipeline and in construction.

The rally was organized on 12 hours' notice by two radio disc jockies from a popular radio station. The two DJs locked themselves in the radio station for a day, ditching the regular rock format, and turned the airwaves over to listeners to voice their opinions about the oil spill.

All day listeners called in, many saying there should be a boycott of Exxon, and that they opposed offshore drilling on the Washington coast. Many described the beauty of the Alaskan wilderness that has now been marred and the spill's long-term environmental impact.

The rally drew high school students from Port Townsend and Snohomish, towns that are 50 miles from Seattle. College students and young workers filled the beach.

The organizers opened the microphone to the crowd. A worker from an Exxon tanker crew got up and accused Exxon of cutting back on qualified help, even during the cleanup. Another young worker said that the U.S. government takes taxes from people, but is not using that money to help with the cleaning. A Native Alaskan woman said, "We have felt alone for such a long time. But this rally makes me proud, and I know we are no longer alone."

Speakers called for boycotting Exxon and writing to congressional representatives. Others voiced frustration over not knowing what to do. A bonfire was lit, and people burned their Exxon credit cards.



Militant/Janet Post

The fishermen fought against the building of the Alaska oil pipeline, including with a lawsuit against Alyeska in 1971. Jack Lamb, vice-president of the CDFU, said, "We helped hold up the pipeline project for two years." The Trans-Alaskan Pipeline Authorization Act was passed by Congress in 1973.

Lamb explained that the CDFU tried to warn people that a devastating oil spill accident was likely. He quoted from the transcript of a potential accident scenario presented in 1977 by a member of the Alaska House of Representatives. The report suggested what could happen if a 210,000-ton oil tanker grounded on Bligh Reef ruptured on its side.

The CDFU met with Exxon three years ago to discuss accident contingency plans. "Exxon said that all their employees were 'oil spill technicians,'" McCune said. "But in an emergency, how can they just pull workers off their regular jobs to cover the emergency? Where are those oil spill technicians now?"

"Alyeska does what they want to do when they want to do it," McCune said. "They have to be forced to respond immediately. Why can't they right now order the 10,000 barrel oil skimmers that Norway has?" he asked.

One of the CDFU's demands is for an independent committee, including fishermen, to monitor Alyeska, McCune explained. "We also demand independent testing on the hydrocarbons from the Exxon ballast treatment plant. Exxon does their own testing, writes their own reports, and we don't have any input."

He added, "We've been squawking to Congress about that one for five years. But we can't afford those big lobbyists in Washington. We're just one organization trying to break through the chain of command."

Lamb said that the CDFU was founded in the late 1930s and is the oldest organization of commercial fishermen in Alaska and on the West Coast of the United States.

Since the spill, the organization has doubled in size to 600 members. It includes some fishermen who own 40- to 50-foot boats and may hire from two to three crew members, as well as gill-netters who have smaller craft. They count several women and native fishers from the Chenega and Tatitlek villages in their ranks. Some seasonal cannery workers, who have no union representation, have volunteered to help the CDFU cleanup efforts. The CDFU also works with other groups of fishermen and environmental groups, such as Greenpeace.

With the proposed oil drilling in Bristol Bay and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the CDFU has another fight on its hands. McCune said, "I'm not saying we don't need oil. We do. But they should hold off on any drilling until every possible safeguard has been put into place."

"Let's face it. They make money off this oil. They also get tax breaks. What do we get? Nothing. We need all the people of America to look at this problem."

Cuban youth in U.S. eager to visit island

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — One night this March something unusual took place on a major street in Union City, New Jersey, where thousands of Cubans live.

It was unusual because Union City has had a reputation stamped by right-wing foes of the Cuban revolution, whose tactics of terror and intimidation have supposedly made the Cuban community off-limits for partisans of the revolution.

A small group of young Cubans were handing out fliers promoting the Antonio Maceo Brigade, which organizes yearly delegations to Cuba for youth of Cuban origin living in the United States. Antonio Maceo was a leader of Cuba's war of independence at the end of the 19th century. This year, for the first time, the brigade will include youth who left Cuba from the port of Mariel in the summer of 1980.

As the young Cubans were distributing leaflets to passersby, a police car pulled up, its lights flashing. The cop, who was of Cuban origin, got out. Up until then, the leafleters had been "well accepted," Roberto Pareda, an organizer for the New York chapter of the brigade, explained in an interview.

"Just about everybody took the leaflets," he said. "Only a couple of people tore them up."

The cop told the leafletting team "they needed a permit, a license," said Pareda, who was there. A crowd gathered on the street, watching and listening.

Then, a 19-year-old Cuban who lives in the neighborhood, challenged the cop. She had been handing out fliers. "It's our right to do this," she said, addressing the officer. "You say there's freedom here, but this is repression. We don't need any permit. This is supposed to be a democracy." They debated a moment and then the cop got back in the car, and the group resumed leafletting.

The event is just one example of the big changes in the Cuban community in the United States, Pareda explained.

In fact, the majority of participants in the New York contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade are youth from Union City, young people who left Cuba at Mariel. Most, Pareda noted, are students, and a few are workers.

They've responded to brigade fliers; to the quarter-page ad placed in El Diario/La Prensa, New York's metropolitan-area

Spanish-language daily newspaper; or to word of mouth. They want to visit Cuba because they "are interested in seeing the changes of the last nine years," Pareda said.

Many still have family in Cuba and are anxious to see them. But, the brigade organizer stressed, the fundamental attraction is political. The trip is described that way, so that it is not confused "with either a travel agency or organizing tourism."

The brigade's program in Cuba will include meetings with leaders of the Communist Party, Committee for the Defense of the Revolution, unions, and youth and women's organizations.

Perhaps the most important feature attracting brigade participants today, Pareda explained, is the sweeping societywide process of political change known as rectification, a process initiated by the Cuban Communist Party in 1986 to deepen worker participation in the revolution.

"Everybody in the [Cuban] community knows about rectification in some way," Pareda said. "The older, more conservative

elements, the right-wing elements say, 'Oh, it's just another thing, another gimmick. It doesn't mean anything.' But there is real curiosity about this, real interest."

In fact, the decision of the Cuban government to allow those who left at Mariel to travel to Cuba is a sign of such changes. There is a "greater openness" in Cuba, noted Pareda, which is shared by the Antonio Maceo Brigade itself. The brigade urged the Cuban government to lift its policy of barring Cubans who have come to the United States since 1979 from returning to Cuba.

Pareda himself is proof of the changes among those who left Cuba in the last decade. He left Cuba at the age of 23. "It was personal," he says, "emotional, immature. Looking for experience, for adventure."

But unemployment and homelessness, along with the absence of free health and medical care — rights in Cuba — were "a cultural shock." The experience of actually living in the United States, "with its racism, poverty, its social conditions," convinced Pareda of his error.

Canada activists plan tour of Cuba

BY JOAN CAMPANA

TORONTO — Trade unionists, solidarity activists, and students will be participating in a two-week tour of Cuba currently being organized here. The tour will depart from Toronto August 13 and return August 27. The trip is designed for people who want to know more about Cuba, as well as for those who are already supporters of the revolution.

The tour brochure explains that participants will be able to get to know Cuba from the inside, learning about Cubans' daily life. The program includes visits to factories and meetings with workers, as well as with leaders of the Cuban Workers Federation. Participation in voluntary labor, either on a construction project or in the harvest is scheduled.

Visits are also planned to newspapers, hospitals, a specialized medical center where organ transplants are done, and a family doctor office in Havana.

Participation in discussions led by Cubans on a wide range of topics will be possible.

Time will be allocated to recreation, including enjoying the beaches, attending a

dance performance, visiting the historic Old City of Havana, and dancing to Cuban music.

The tour will stay at the Julio Antonio Mella International Center, located outside Havana in a lush country setting. The Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples administers the center and is organizing the tour program.

The price is Cdn.\$850. This includes air transport from Toronto to Havana, lodging, three meals daily, and ground transportation within Cuba, as well as administration fees, departure taxes, and cancellation insurance. The trip can be paid for in two installments. A nonrefundable deposit of \$346.50 is due by May 10. The remaining \$503.50 is due by July 10.

The tour is being broadly built in Canada among young people and in trade unions, teachers' associations, and Cuba and Central American solidarity groups. Participants from countries other than Canada are welcome, as are families with children.

For more information and reservations, contact Linda Grabovsky, coordinator, at (416) 467-8809.

Successful week of sales spurred by strikes, protests

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Increased political activity by working people in defense of their rights and living standards has helped spur interest in the *Militant* and other socialist publications, contributing to a successful target week in the international drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Lutte ouvrière*, *New International*, and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Initial reports from numerous areas across the United States on the results of the April 8-15 sales mobilization indicate that supporters of the socialist press in several cities organized trips into outlying areas to reach coal miners, packing workers, copper miners, farm workers, and students, as well as going door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods closer to home.

A big help to the drive nationally was the 541 *Militant* subscriptions that were sold at the massive April 9 abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., and team to Alaska, which sold 107 subscriptions.

"This is the best coverage our strike has received ever," said one member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 126, on strike against Harris Ranch Beef in Selma, California. "This is the kind of coverage that can help us win solidarity," said another. They were responding to the account of their fight in the April 14 *Militant*.

All day April 10, as workers walked the picket line at the plant and launched their boycott of Harris Ranch products outside the Harris Ranch Restaurant, strikers eagerly read the *Militant*.

One slaughterhouse worker who bought a subscription used to live in South Dakota. His two sons work for John Morrell & Co. He described the setbacks foisted on the UFCW there, which were reported in the *Militant* along with the article on Harris Beef. Others read the eyewitness coverage from El Salvador and compared the situation of U.S. workers with those in that Central American nation.

To date, 11 strikers have subscribed and dozens of copies of the *Militant* have circulated on the picket line.

Militant salespeople in Phoenix, Ari-

zona, participated in two regional teams during the week — one in southern California and one to copper mining towns in southern Arizona.

Barry Fatland headed up the California team. On the first Saturday of the special week, they went to Ventura and Oxnard, which are agricultural areas on the California coast. Going door-to-door in the trailer court that housed the mostly Mexican farm workers, they sold 20 *PM* subscriptions and one to the *Militant*.

The next day the team went to California State University at Fresno. On Sunday and Monday, the team sold 31 subscriptions there.

The next weekend, three supporters from Phoenix visited copper-mining areas in the southern part of the state, and the University of Arizona at Tucson. They sold a total of 24 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*, and six copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

A majority of the subscriptions were sold to miners who live in Magma Copper's company housing in Mammoth. Workers were especially interested in the *Militant* coverage of the strikes at Harris Beef, Eastern Airlines, and Pittston mines in Virginia and West Virginia.

Portland, Oregon, is topping the circulation chart. Brian Williams reports that supporters there sold 70 *Militant* subscriptions, three *PM* subscriptions, and four subscriptions to *Lutte ouvrière* during the special week.

"We had projected what we thought was an ambitious goal of 30 subs for that week," explained Williams. Some of their success was a result of having a participant on the team to Alaska, as well as two supporters at the Washington abortion rights march.

But they also sent out two teams to the large University of Oregon campus in Eugene and went door-to-door in Portland's Black community. "There are more things happening out there," observed Williams, "which makes us more confident to sell the socialist press, and makes people more interested in buying it."

Given the success to date, Portland supporters are discussing how much to raise



Militant

Selling *Militant* at April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C.

their goal, as are some other cities.

Twelve supporters of the *Militant* in Des Moines, Iowa, sold more than 80 subscriptions last week. Forty-two were sold in Iowa City at an antiracist conference and door-to-door.

The success there inspired them to make a similar effort in Des Moines itself. On Tuesday and Thursday nights, teams were sent out to hit a cross-section of working-class neighborhoods in Des Moines. Twenty subscriptions were sold that way.

Subscription drive scoreboard

| Area | Drive Goals | | | Militant | | New Intl* | | PM (Perspectiva Mundial) | | LO (Lutte ouvrière) | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|------|-----------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
| | Goal | Sold | % | Goal | Sold | Goal | Sold | Goal | Sold | Goal | Sold |
| UNITED STATES | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Portland, Ore. | 145 | 130 | 90 | 110 | 105 | 20 | 16 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Price, Utah | 62 | 47 | 76 | 40 | 38 | 10 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 2 | 0 |
| Seattle | 180 | 114 | 63 | 120 | 96 | 25 | 5 | 30 | 8 | 5 | 5 |
| Cleveland | 100 | 60 | 60 | 70 | 48 | 18 | 5 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | 200 | 116 | 58 | 140 | 100 | 35 | 5 | 20 | 10 | 5 | 1 |
| Philadelphia | 190 | 102 | 54 | 125 | 86 | 25 | 2 | 30 | 14 | 10 | 0 |
| Greensboro, NC* | 120 | 61 | 51 | 90 | 52 | 15 | 2 | 13 | 7 | 2 | 0 |
| Los Angeles | 470 | 225 | 48 | 240 | 103 | 90 | 16 | 130 | 106 | 10 | 0 |
| Houston | 180 | 83 | 46 | 100 | 59 | 30 | 8 | 45 | 16 | 5 | 0 |
| Brooklyn | 345 | 159 | 46 | 190 | 111 | 60 | 16 | 65 | 27 | 30 | 5 |
| Phoenix | 132 | 60 | 45 | 70 | 42 | 20 | 2 | 40 | 16 | 2 | 0 |
| Kansas City | 105 | 47 | 45 | 65 | 42 | 20 | 1 | 15 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| New York | 635 | 279 | 44 | 300 | 203 | 150 | 12 | 150 | 61 | 35 | 3 |
| Pittsburgh | 165 | 67 | 41 | 120 | 61 | 30 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 0 |
| Detroit | 175 | 71 | 41 | 125 | 65 | 30 | 1 | 15 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Newark, NJ | 500 | 199 | 40 | 250 | 133 | 100 | 34 | 100 | 23 | 50 | 9 |
| Baltimore | 155 | 59 | 38 | 115 | 52 | 25 | 0 | 10 | 7 | 5 | 0 |
| Milwaukee | 130 | 48 | 37 | 80 | 35 | 20 | 9 | 27 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Boston | 265 | 97 | 37 | 160 | 68 | 40 | 8 | 45 | 13 | 20 | 8 |
| Atlanta | 205 | 72 | 35 | 150 | 54 | 30 | 8 | 20 | 10 | 5 | 0 |
| Miami | 250 | 86 | 34 | 145 | 51 | 35 | 4 | 45 | 12 | 25 | 19 |
| Oakland, Calif. | 175 | 57 | 33 | 100 | 45 | 30 | 5 | 40 | 6 | 5 | 1 |
| Morgantown, WV | 130 | 41 | 32 | 90 | 39 | 25 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Charleston, WV | 92 | 28 | 30 | 70 | 26 | 15 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Salt Lake City | 120 | 36 | 30 | 80 | 17 | 20 | 11 | 15 | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| St. Louis | 175 | 51 | 29 | 130 | 43 | 30 | 6 | 10 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Twin Cities, Minn. | 275 | 80 | 29 | 200 | 58 | 35 | 13 | 30 | 9 | 10 | 0 |
| Birmingham, Ala. | 170 | 49 | 29 | 130 | 45 | 25 | 0 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| Austin, Minn. | 87 | 25 | 29 | 60 | 25 | 15 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Omaha, Neb. | 120 | 33 | 28 | 80 | 31 | 20 | 0 | 15 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Chicago | 320 | 83 | 26 | 200 | 59 | 50 | 2 | 60 | 22 | 10 | 0 |
| Washington, DC | 170 | 42 | 25 | 100 | 30 | 25 | 0 | 35 | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| San Francisco | 215 | 40 | 19 | 135 | 33 | 35 | 0 | 35 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Other U.S. | - | 27 | - | - | 25 | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | 0 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 6,758 | 2,774 | 41 | 4,180 | 2,080 | 1,153 | 200 | 1,115 | 430 | 310 | 64 |
| AUSTRALIA | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BRITAIN | 30 | 19 | 63 | 17 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| London | 150 | 73 | 49 | 95 | 55 | 30 | 3 | 20 | 15 | 5 | 0 |
| Manchester | 61 | 20 | 33 | 40 | 20 | 15 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| South Yorks | 60 | 19 | 32 | 30 | 17 | 20 | 0 | 10 | 2 | - | 0 |
| South Wales | 59 | 17 | 29 | 40 | 14 | 10 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Other Britain | 70 | 5 | - | 25 | 5 | 25 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| BRITAIN TOTAL | 400 | 134 | 34 | 230 | 111 | 100 | 5 | 50 | 18 | 20 | 0 |
| CANADA | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vancouver | 30 | 42 | 140 | 20 | 41 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Montréal | 250 | 100 | 40 | 80 | 18 | 40 | 30 | 30 | 19 | 100 | 33 |
| Toronto | 270 | 102 | 38 | 150 | 57 | 50 | 17 | 50 | 21 | 20 | 7 |
| Other Canada | - | 4 | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| CANADA TOTAL | 550 | 248 | 45 | 250 | 120 | 92 | 47 | 86 | 41 | 122 | 40 |
| ICELAND | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NEW ZEALAND | 15 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Christchurch | 75 | 50 | 67 | 60 | 47 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Auckland | 100 | 42 | 42 | 75 | 39 | 15 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| Wellington | 70 | 16 | 23 | 45 | 13 | 20 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Other New Zealand | - | 4 | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| NEW ZEALAND TOTAL | 245 | 112 | 46 | 180 | 103 | 45 | 1 | 12 | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| SWEDEN | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PUERTO RICO | 56 | 22 | 39 | 30 | 12 | 5 | 1 | 20 | 9 | 1 | 0 |
| International Team | 25 | 10 | 40 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 19 | 7 | - | - |
| Other International | 50 | 9 | 18 | 30 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 8 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 8,136 | 3,329 | 42% | 4,940 | 2,437 | 1,409 | 265 | 1,315 | 518 | 470 | 109 |
| Drive Goals | 8,000 | | | 4,900 | | 1,350 | | 1,300 | | 450 | |
| Should be | | 3,000 | 38% | | 1,838 | | 506 | | 488 | | 169 |

*Single copies. Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*.

*Raised goal during drive.

Sweden airline workers enjoy 'Militant' Eastern coverage

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Since the international circulation drive for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* got off the ground March 25, distributors of the socialist press in cities and towns in the United States, Canada, and Sweden have been making special efforts to introduce striking Eastern Airlines workers — and workers at other airlines as well — to the three periodicals.

Hundreds of single copies of the *Militant*, as well as some *PM*s and *LO*s, have been sold to Eastern Machinists, flight attendants, and pilots at airport picket lines, and at support rallies and other strike activities. Dozens of introductory subscriptions have also been bought by Eastern and other airline workers.

Plant-gate sales of the *Militant* in Sweden got a boost recently when supporters there began to distribute the paper at Arlanda Airport in Stockholm.

"I was in Seattle in mid-March, for training, and there the Eastern strike was on the news every hour," one airline worker explained to *Militant* salespeople in early April. "Since I got back to Sweden, I haven't heard a word about the strike." In less than one hour, he and seven other airline workers bought copies of the *Militant*, and one worker also bought an introductory subscription.

The papers were sold at a gate where

mechanics, flight attendants, and pilots from Scandinavian Airlines System and Linjeflyg pass through.

The sales teams found that almost everyone had heard about the Eastern strike. One paper was bought by a worker from Kenya who said he wanted to show it to his co-workers. A union official from the Transportation Workers Union who bought two copies said the Eastern strike was being discussed inside his union.

At Montréal's Dorval Airport in Québec, three of the 29 Eastern strikers, including the chief shop steward, have bought introductory *Militant* subscriptions. Sales teams go out to the airport once or twice a week. Some single copies of the *Militant* and *Lutte ouvrière*, as well as the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, have also been sold to Eastern workers.

On April 12 four *Militant* subscriptions were sold at a strike support rally in downtown Miami that drew 500 Eastern workers and supporters.

In Newark, a laid-off Eastern reservation agent bought an introductory *Militant* subscription at an April 15 strike rally of 150 held at the airport. Several single copies were also sold, mainly to flight attendants. "There was a lot of interest in the *Militant*'s coverage of the April 9 abortion rights march," reported one salesperson.

Capitalist crisis spurs int'l discussion of proposals to unify workers, farmers

Pathfinder reissues Action Program with new preface

The following is a new preface to the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a pamphlet first published by Pathfinder in July 1988. Pathfinder, a New York-based publisher, has just reissued the pamphlet.

BY DOUG JENNESS

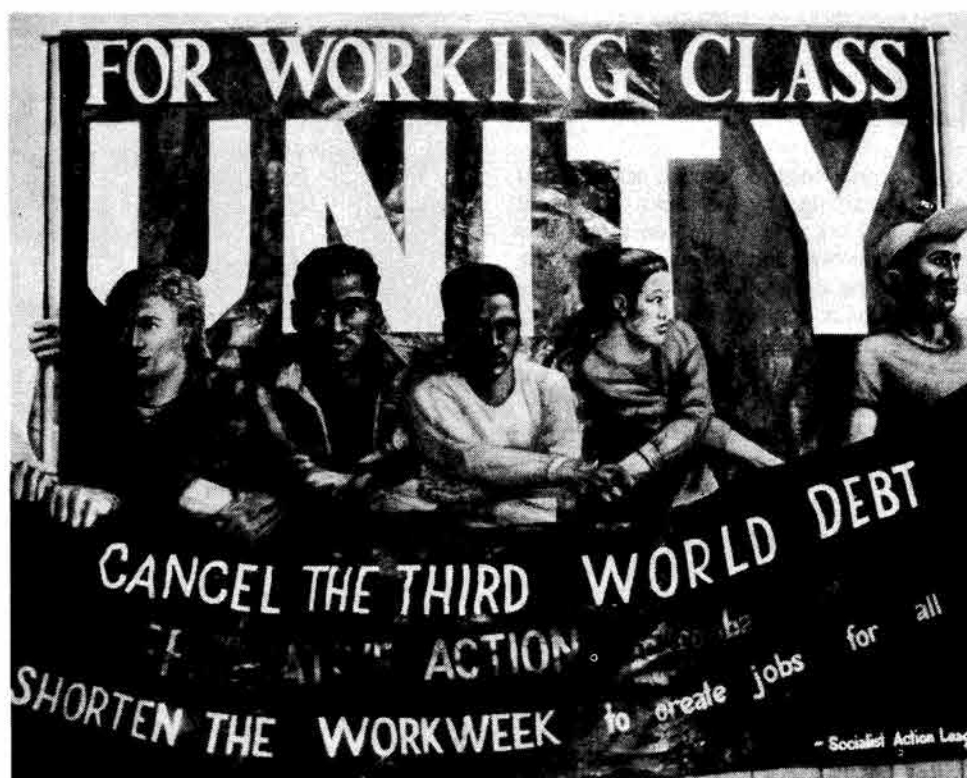
Since this program first appeared in mid-1988, discussions of it by unionists and other workers and farmers have taken place around the world. Its proposals are being raised by socialists engaged in political activity and labor struggles from New Zealand and Australia to the Caribbean, from North America to Iceland, Sweden, and elsewhere. This program is also being campaigned for by socialist candidates and their supporters in 1989 elections for state and local office in the United States, European Parliament in Britain, and the Québec legislature in Canada.

Tens of thousands of copies of this pamphlet have been sold at plant gates, political meetings, and on the job; on street corners, on campuses, and at bookfairs. It has been translated into Spanish and French, and Swedish and Icelandic editions are in preparation.

The *Action Program* was issued as a response by socialists to the October 1987 stock market crash, which signaled a world economic and social crisis in the 1990s. It was discussed and adopted by an international conference of workers hosted by the Socialist Workers Party in Oberlin, Ohio, in August 1988. Since then, evidence has continued to mount that what capitalism holds in store for working people is a devastating depression in the years ahead.

The already staggering debt of semicolonial countries to giant international banks rose in 1988 to \$1.3 trillion; the net drain of capital from these nations to the ruling families of the imperialist centers continued to grow, from \$38 billion in 1987 to \$43 billion. The spate of multibillion dollar mergers and buyouts in 1988 put a spotlight on the perilous and unprecedented pile-up of corporate debt in the United States — a trend accelerating in Britain and other capitalist powers too. The sharpening crisis of U.S. banks and savings and loan institutions further threatens the world financial system. All this reveals capitalism's growing vulnerability to economic slumps, shocks, and breakdowns that can, and inevitably will, bring on a deep international depression.

By every measure — infant mortality, caloric intake, unemployment, real wages, deaths from curable diseases, ecological disasters — the human toll in the Third World resulting from the massive debt load be-



Banner at New Zealand socialist educational conference. Thousands of copies of *Action Program* have been sold in New Zealand and other countries around the world.

comes ever more unbearable. In Latin America the crisis has become generalized, no longer confined to a few "trouble spots." This was driven home early in 1989 by the revolt in Venezuela against harsh austerity measures imposed by the government at the demand of the International Monetary Fund. Government troops crushed the rebellion, killing hundreds.

"The objective conditions that gave rise to the great revolutions in history are accumulating, and I feel they are accumulating in Latin America," Cuban President Fidel Castro said in October 1988, citing the French revolution of 1789 and Russian revolution of 1917. "This is a decisive moment in the history of Latin America and the Caribbean," he said a few weeks later. "We note in those peoples great turmoil, great rebellion against imperialist domination such as we have never seen before. This is really a new stage and they can't take any more."

The imperialists have no solutions to the debt crisis. Their debates center on how best to keep interest flowing in, while minimizing risks of defaults that could destabilize the international banking system. Nor do capitalist regimes in the Third World offer a way out of the debt trap. All of them,

including social-democratic governments such as in Peru or Venezuela, end up serving as debt collectors and cops for imperialism's ruling families.

This underlines the urgency of the *Action Program's* proposal to cancel the Third World foreign debt.

Conditions for impoverished working people in the imperialist countries have also worsened. In the United States, a recent congressional study showed a growing gap between rich and poor. From 1979 to 1987 average family income of the poorest fifth of the population dropped 6.1 percent, while rising 11 percent for the richest fifth.

Behind prosperity for a minority in the 1980s lies the grim reality of a creeping social crisis in which millions cannot find jobs. In New York, Baltimore, and Detroit, for example, some 50 percent of working-age residents are either unemployed or have become too discouraged to keep on looking for work. Growing numbers of people in the United States go without homes, health care, and decent education.

The spread of such conditions as the business cycle is peaking, with official U.S. jobless rates at their lowest levels in a decade, is a warning of the additional misery that will accompany the next recession. The picture is no brighter in Western Europe, where joblessness has stayed in double digits during the current upswing. In New Zealand workers face the highest unemployment since the 1930s. And mounting inflation in most capitalist countries is squeezing workers, already under pressure from smaller wage hikes, government cuts, and reduced cost-of-living protection.

This reality underlines the urgency of two other *Action Program* proposals: a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs; and a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living escalators in wages and government payments to the unemployed, retirees, and so on) to protect working people from the ravages of capitalist-caused inflation.

The way capitalism operates breeds competition among working people and reinforces inequalities and prejudices inherited from previous forms of exploitation and oppression. The rulers seek to pit us against each other and stigmatize some of us as inferior to others. They erect barriers to deny some workers jobs, promotions, and equitable wages and working conditions.

Special measures to bridge the gap between worse-off and better-off layers of workers have a long history in the labor movement. To help us unite to fight more effectively for our common interests, affirmative action (often called "positive action" outside North America) is necessary for Blacks, women, and other targets of discrimination. The labor movement must

champion the fight for quotas and other steps in hiring, job upgrading, and education. Otherwise, progress towards equality will be blocked by the multiple ways in which the consequences of centuries-long oppression are reproduced in employment, housing, and schools. And our unions will be further weakened.

Whenever working people go into battle for our rights and living conditions, more of us begin to develop a broader social outlook. We find out that the problems we face are not just our own, nor those of workers in a single workplace or industry. These problems are rooted in a common exploitation of all working people, and they must be confronted politically.

This recognition has led the labor movement to demand steps to overcome existing inequalities: a minimum wage and government programs to aid those most in need (low-rent public housing, child-care, medical benefits). Measures such as hiring quotas and dual seniority lists advocated by fighters for Black and women's rights have the same goals as these long-standing demands of labor. The *Action Program* calls on unions and other groups to resist erosion of affirmative action gains and fight to extend them as part of a mass struggle for full employment and equality.

Labor must also combat cuts in government programs based on need, which in many capitalist countries have been the most heavily slashed in recent years (health benefits, food subsidies, education grants, aid to families with dependent children). These cuts speed the pauperization of new layers of the working class.

A disproportionate number of workers receiving the current U.S. minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour are young, Black, Latino, or female. That minimum must be raised both for new hires and previously employed workers — not the divisive, two-tier increase proposed by President George Bush and Congress. Moreover, the hike should not be shelved out in miserly doles over three years. It must be big enough at the start to make up for the eight years when the minimum wage was frozen and inflation devoured its buying power.

A capitalist earthquake is already ravaging semicolonial countries, as well as tens of millions of workers in imperialist countries. Even more ominous tremors point to a coming crisis that will engulf working people the world over. Conditions will get much worse — mass unemployment and homelessness, mounting pauperization and police brutalization.

Government leaders in many countries where capitalism has been abolished are today seeking to counter economic and political crises by resorting to increased reliance on capitalist methods. This will make workers and farmers in these countries increasingly vulnerable to the consequences of a world capitalist depression, as well.

The crisis conditions ahead will generate struggles and revolts by working people, as we act to defend ourselves from the devastating effects of the capitalist crisis. More and more workers and farmers will be looking for proposals like those in this pamphlet. A necessary step to prepare for these battles is to get more people the world over to read and discuss this program, and to win as many of them as possible to its perspectives.

Wherever the first printing of the *Action Program* has gotten around, it has stimulated discussion about what working people can do in the face of the economic and social disaster capitalism is preparing. As editor of the *Militant* newsweekly, I have sought to reflect this discussion in articles and in our letters column. Through the circulation of this second English printing and its companions in other languages, many more working people will find out about these proposals, and I look forward to further comments and discussion.

I also hope that many readers will be convinced to join the fight for a workers' and farmers' government and become part of the revolutionary socialist movement.

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Debate surrounds dissolution of Sandinista artists' association

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A public controversy has enveloped the decision of the Nicaraguan government to dissolve the national artists' association and replace it with a new government agency.

The step has been criticized in a declaration by well-known members of the artists' group, which was called the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC). The signers oppose the action on the grounds that ASTC members were given no voice in the decision.

The public dispute is unusual because it involves prominent members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) on both sides.

The decision to disband the ASTC was announced in February, after the government cut financing of the arts by 50 percent. The budget reduction was part of sweeping austerity moves involving all areas of government spending.

The association had been financed in part by the government and in part by money its members raised, primarily from overseas. Artists' groups and other supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution in the United States have made substantial contributions to the ASTC.

In addition to underwriting some performances and exhibitions, the association distributed grants and regular subsidies to hundreds of artists, freeing them from the need to hold other jobs to support their work as artists. The ASTC dissolution suddenly left most of them without a source of income.

Rosario Murillo, who had been president of the ASTC, announced the decision to dissolve the organization at a membership assembly February 22. Murillo, a poet, is also the wife of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega.

Murillo has been named to head a new Institute of Culture, the government body that will take over some of the functions of the ASTC.

On March 2 the FSLN daily, *Barricada*, published a column by Gioconda Belli, a prominent Sandinista poet and novelist. While accepting the need to cut the budget, Belli said, "Nonetheless, we have to question the methods and the procedures that led to the dissolution of the ASTC."

The association, Belli argued, began "as an initiative of Nicaraguan artists," and

"compañera Rosario Murillo was elected several years ago by the ranks. How is it possible, I ask myself, that an association can be dissolved and turned into a state institution, or even an autonomous institution, without its members even having been consulted?"

'Estrangement' of artists

This was the culmination, according to Belli, of a process whereby the ASTC had abandoned its original role as an artists' union, or guild, and become "institutionalized." This had produced an "estrangement" between the ASTC and the artists, "above all the most outstanding ones."

"In many cases," wrote Belli, "the relationship took on a purely utilitarian character, since the ASTC 'solved' economic matters." In other cases this led to the "perversion" of the ASTC's role as an association of artists' guilds, leading to inactivity and virtual paralysis.

The ASTC "moved away from democratic functioning and fell into a top-down style of leadership," Belli said.

She called on artists "to organize ourselves and create really democratic unions that represent our interests, organizations of artists and for artists who want to continue within the framework of the revolution."

The new Institute of Culture, she continued, must listen to the opinions of the artists if it wants to avoid "being reduced to nothing but a bureaucratic apparatus, infested with the opportunism of mediocre artists desperately searching for someone to save them from oblivion."

Open letter from Rosario Murillo

Belli's article produced a rejoinder from Murillo. The "Letter from Rosario to Gioconda" was published March 4 in *Barricada*'s weekly literary supplement, *Ventana*, which Murillo edits.

"I feared that a public reply would stir up those traditional pejorative comments about 'women's spats,' or even that some, going even further, might see this argument as an expression of personal rivalries," Murillo began.

"But because I believe one should try to overcome bad habits and prejudices, I decided to write to you in order to clarify some things, and I do it through the newspaper, because apparently you prefer it this way."

Murillo said that it would have been better to call together the members of the ASTC to consult them. But, she wrote, this was not possible because "even for those of us who have had leadership responsibilities, the concrete and detailed information was last-minute." This, she added, was the result of "the priorities that the war and the subsequent economic crisis" have imposed on the government.

"I respect your opinions about our work, and particularly my own, at the head of the association," Murillo continued. But, she added, "I would like to remind you, in the interest of truth" that the ASTC's "priorities and tasks" were discussed and approved by membership meetings in 1982 and 1984.

There have been "mistakes," Murillo added, but "evaluation of work, above all if it is in public, must be more complete and objective, always accepting the share of responsibility that we all have in the failures that we criticize."

In order for criticisms "to play a constructive role," Murillo said, "we have to first be well informed, involve ourselves and participate, putting aside, in the interests of the revolution, resentments and rifts alien to its nature."

Murillo concluded by "here, in public" urging Belli to accept the position of president of the Literary Council of the new in-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Members of Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers and other artists in October 1983 demonstration in Managua against Washington's contra war. Banner reads, "Art: a Sandinista trench."

stitute, "thus becoming part of our leadership committee."

Artists' statement

A response to Murillo's open letter came in the form of a March 9 "Statement of Nicaraguan Artists in Relation to the ASTC," bearing the signatures of Belli and 25 other figures from the artistic field.

Among the signers are Ernesto Cardenal, a poet who was the minister of culture until that ministry was dissolved by the government last year. Other signers include well-known writers Julio Valle Castillo, Vidaluz Meneses, and Daysi Zamora, as well as Erick Blandón, director of Editorial Vanguardia, the FSLN's publishing house.

Also on the list are two FSLN deputies in the National Assembly, plus the editor and two additional members of the editorial board of *Nuevo Amanecer Cultural*, the literary supplement to the progovernment daily *El Nuevo Diario*.

The artists' statement was published, among other places, in *Ventana*. There it appeared along with excerpts from accounts of the statement as broadcast on some opposition radio news shows, an apparent suggestion that the artists' statement was giving ammunition to the revolution's enemies.

Ventana also printed a declaration from the Secretariat of the FSLN's nine-member National Directorate. This declaration was issued "in light of the manipulations that some media have made regarding a document signed by 26 members" of the ASTC.

The FSLN Secretariat stated that the "steps taken in the leadership bodies" of the ASTC and the cutbacks in government spending on culture are "consistent with

the measures being taken in the economic arena." These economic measures, it said, "have been taken to meet the social-economic crisis in our country that resulted from the imperialist war."

'Unconstructive confrontations'

The 26 artists' statement said that guilds in the ASTC had repeatedly called for "less top-down and more democratic leadership styles" in the association.

But in most cases, "these demands ended in unconstructive confrontations" that often degenerated into "personal accusations or fixing the blame on the actions of certain individuals." The procedure surrounding the ASTC's dissolution was "the most glaring expression of the institutional style with which the ASTC was run," the statement added.

Then, adding a new element, the artists objected that the decision not only involved cutting the budget of the ASTC and therefore eliminating many artists' grants, but also "turning over to a state institution all the property of the association," including its offices and art galleries.

This was done, the artists said, "without having gone through a process in which the guild members could exercise our right not only to elect new leaders, but to receive a report and statement of accounts of the resources we still have to continue in existence as a guild association."

The artists concluded by rejecting the efforts of the right-wing opponents of the government to portray their criticisms as a "split" in the unity of the FSLN.

The debate, they said, "is not a 'split crisis' but rather a healthy exercise that is made possible precisely because of the freedom we have conquered through the revolution."

Independent Managua production of 'Waiting for Lefty'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — An independent production of Clifford Odets' 1935 play *Waiting for Lefty* was staged in the experimental theater of this city's Rubén Darío center March 17, 18, and 19.

The American play, about a strike, was directed by Pepe Prego. Janet Langon, a U.S. actress, was the artistic director.

The play was produced by Noel Corea and the Rubén Darío People's Theater. Corea was formerly the director of international relations for the Association of Sandinista Cultural Workers (ASTC).

The idea of putting on *Waiting for Lefty* had originally been a project of the ASTC. But with the dissolution of the association, the plan appeared doomed.

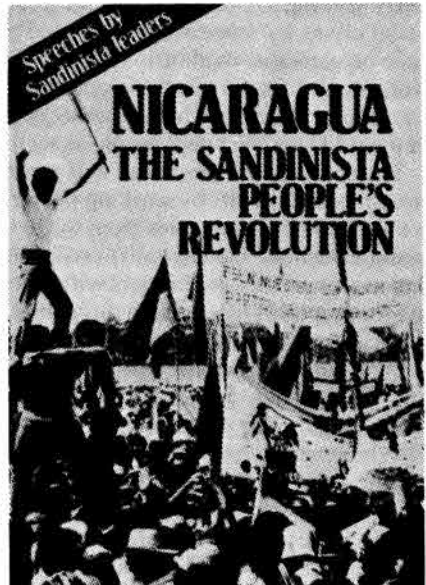
Nonetheless, Corea was able to put on the production, drawing together a special company of actors, some of whom had previously been receiving ASTC subsidies. Members of the troupe came from the National Theater, the Justo Rufino Garay repertory company, and a Salvadoran theater group known as the Roque Dalton company.

Several laid-off clowns from the national circus were also signed up for the production.

Despite its hybrid origins, the ensemble brought a high degree of both professionalism and enthusiasm to the production. The actors effectively conveyed anger and indignation at capitalist injustice and hypocrisy, doing as much as probably can be done to breathe life into the cardboard "workers" drawn by the playwright.

The production was enhanced by the spare but dramatic settings, designed by Fernando Morales, as well as by the costumes, provided by Janet Langon and Ellen Colon Lugo, which wrapped the Central American players in what looked for all the world to be the authentic rough woolen sweaters and heavy overcoats appropriate to a bitter New York City winter in the midst of the Great Depression.

The U.S. artists' group *Ventana* supported the production. The producers also extended special thanks to Thiago de Mello, Richard Hoover, Adam Leventhal, Ellen Colon Lugo, and the Robert A. Friedman Dramatic Agency. — L.S.



Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. This collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. \$10.95. Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16, or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include \$1 for postage and handling.)

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant April 1989

Che Guevara and the economics & politics of the transition to socialism

Preface to new book on his contribution to Cuba's revolutionary transformation

Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism by Cuban writer Carlos Tablada Pérez will be coming off the press at the end of April. It will be the first English edition of this 1987 book. We are printing below the preface by David Deutschmann of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, the publisher of the new book.

Tablada works as an economist in Cuba specializing in the management of state enterprises. He is an associate of Cuba's Center for the Study of the Americas and of the Center for Research on the World Economy.

We've deleted the publisher's reference notes. All quotations by Che Guevara in the preface are from *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* (Sydney: Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, 1987). Most quotations from Cuban President Fidel Castro are from "Important Problems for the Whole of Revolutionary Thought," Dec. 2, 1986, and "Renewal or Death" Feb. 7, 1986, both of which are in *New Internationalist* no. 6, 1987; *Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods*, July 26, 1988 (New York: Pathfinder, 1988); and other speeches that have appeared in the *Militant* in the past two years.

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* * *

BY DAVID DEUTSCHMANN

Having served as a Rebel Army commander in the struggle that culminated in the triumph over Cuba's U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in January 1959, Ernesto Che Guevara took on a broad range of responsibilities in the new revolutionary government and political leadership over the next six years. During this period the Cuban workers and farmers consolidated their political power and the large domestic and foreign landlords and capitalists were expropriated. Cuban working people began undertaking the transition to socialism and building a communist party capable of leading them in that process.

Che "had the exceptional opportunity during the first years of the revolution to delve deeply into very important aspects of the building of socialism," Cuban President Fidel Castro explained in an October 1987 speech, "because, given his qualities, whenever a man was needed to do an important job, Che was always there." He served as president of Cuba's National Bank during the crucial year 1960 when domestic- and foreign-owned banks were nationalized, along with most privately owned industries. Almost from the outset, he was central to the leadership of the administration of Cuban industry, heading the Ministry of Industry established in February 1961, as well as its forerunner. Che represented Cuba on many trips abroad and on platforms at numerous international conferences.

This book by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada is a study of Che's political and theoretical contributions in the course of these wide-ranging duties as part of the communist leadership of Cuba's working class. "The author," Fidel Castro remarked in the October 1987 speech, "compiled, studied, and presented in a book the essence of Che's economic ideas, retrieved from many of his speeches and writings—articles and speeches dealing with a subject so decisive in the building of socialism." The sources used by Tablada, many of which he quotes from in these pages, include not only Che's published works, but also many unpublished transcripts of remarks at meetings of the Ministry of Industry and elsewhere. For an English-speaking readership, many of these articles and speeches by Che have either been unavailable in translation or have long been out of print.

The enduring political contribution of Che's ideas and example was discussed by Fidel at some length at the October 1987 ceremony marking the twentieth anniversary of Che's murder at the hands of U.S.-trained troops in Bolivia. "What I ask for modestly at this twentieth anniversary," Fidel said, "is that Che's economic thought be made known; that it be known here, in Latin America,



Ernesto Che Guevara (second from left) talks with sugar workers in 1963 at time when he headed Cuba's Ministry of Industry.

in the world: in the developed capitalist world, in the Third World, and in the socialist world." It is with the aim of helping in this task that Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia is publishing this English translation of Carlos Tablada's book. We have selected Fidel Castro's October 1987 speech to serve as the prologue to this edition.

Tablada's painstaking work of retrieval is a useful companion to our previous volume, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara*. Both books have been produced with the editorial collaboration of the José Martí Publishing House of Havana, Cuba. Tablada is currently preparing a comprehensive collection of the articles and speeches by Che that served as the raw materials for this study.

The long emancipation struggle of Cuban working people dates back to the 1868 war of independence against Spanish colonialism. In the crucible of these battles for national self-determination, leaders emerged whose words and revolutionary deeds left a lasting heritage of courage, integrity, internationalism, and anti-imperialist intransi-

gence. All this laid the groundwork for the transition from Cuba's national democratic revolution that triumphed in January 1959 to the socialist revolution that accelerated in late 1960 and early 1961 in response to the unremitting hostile actions of domestic and foreign reaction, above all U.S. imperialism.

This socialist road that Cuban working people set out on at the beginning of the 1960s had been opened only some four decades earlier by the triumph of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. The Bolshevik Party leadership of that revolution, headed by V.I. Lenin, went through the world's first experiences in organizing the workers and peasants to begin the transition to socialism. It left a legacy of political lessons of lasting value to subsequent generations of revolutionists.

The socialist revolution marks the first time in history that the political participation and consciousness of the toiling majority of the population becomes the key to the economic organization of society. The door is opened to working people ceasing to be the objects of blind economic laws that determine their living and working conditions, and to begin instead placing society's productive forces

Continued on next page

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under their own conscious control. This is not optional — not just one way among others to advance the transition to socialism. The most committed and self-sacrificing vanguard of the working people, organized in a communist party, must lead growing layers of their class in taking more and more control over the political direction and administration of the state and economy. Otherwise, society will not advance toward socialism and communism, but will instead regress toward capitalism.

This fundamentally political character of economic questions and decisions during the transition to socialism is central to Che's writings and speeches cited by Tablada in this book. As Lenin explained in 1921, commenting on the challenges of beginning to build socialism in the young Soviet republic: "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics. . . . Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."

As a result, the scope of Che's contributions discussed in the pages that follow goes well beyond what is normally, and narrowly, thought of as "economics." In this sense, the publishers of the Argentine edition of Carlos Tablada's book did well in selecting the sweeping title *Man and Society*. In the course of all his efforts, Che constantly stressed the inseparable interrelationship between the transformation of the social relations of production and the transformation of the political and social consciousness of the working people carrying out this revolutionary process. "To build communism it is necessary, simultaneously

"Whenever a man was needed to do an important job, Che was always there..."

— Fidel Castro

with the new material foundations, to build the new man," as Che put it in his 1965 article, "Socialism and Man in Cuba."

Thus, Tablada's study encompasses a wide range of economic and political questions that confronted revolutionary Cuba and were discussed by Che. These include:

- the unique character of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism in contrast to all previous transitions in the history of class society;
- the role of increasing political consciousness and growing control by working people in making this transition possible, and without which it will never be achieved;
- the need for a communist leadership of the working class;
- the relationship between politics and economic planning and management in the building of socialism;
- the degree to which market and commodity relations carried over from capitalism (the "law of value") do or do not continue to operate in various aspects of production and distribution during the transition period: in relations between the state, private, and cooperative sectors; in relations between state enterprises and consumers; and in relations between state enterprises themselves and their transactions with vital social institutions such as schools and hospitals;
- how a course can be charted to consciously and progressively restrict the field of operation of the law of value and its negative social consequences;
- the changing function of money, banking, and prices;
- the obstacles posed by the use of capitalist categories such as "profitability" in judging social costs and benefits, and in guiding a revolutionary government in the efficient organization of production to advance its goals;
- the problem of unequal exchange in the world capitalist market that siphons off an exorbitant portion of the value created by the labor of workers and peasants in the Third World, and the internationalist responsibilities of the socialist countries in the face of this situation;
- the need to transform social attitudes toward work, and the relationship of this goal to the wage system, forms of incentives, production norms, encouragement to attain higher educational and skill levels, and the place of voluntary work;
- the political leadership qualities needed by communist workers and administrative personnel engaged in the construction of socialism; and many other questions.

In 1963-64 a public discussion touching on many of these questions took place in a number of Cuban journals. This discussion was occasioned by varying assessments of the relative merits of two systems of economic planning and management, both of which were being used in Cuba during those years. Che was an advocate of what was called the budgetary finance system, which was being applied in state enterprises responsible to the Ministry of Industry (some 70 percent of all Cuban factories). The other was known as the economic accounting system (sometimes referred to as the financial self-management system). It was in use in enterprises organized by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, as well as in those accountable to the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The articles written by Che in the course of this rich discussion are

frequently and generously cited by Tablada.

As Che worked to help lay a theoretical foundation for the transition to socialism in Cuba, he was in the thick of daily central leadership responsibilities in the administration of the economic institutions of the revolutionary government. Many of the photographs reproduced in this book record Che's activity as he carried out this work: his frequent meetings with assemblies of workers in various factories and enterprises and his participation in weekend voluntary work mobilizations on needed social projects. Che immersed himself in the literature on the most modern industrial processes in use in other countries. He learned the principles of accounting and took regular classes in higher mathematics so that he could better understand the application of computerization to economic planning and financial control in Cuba, which he considered so important.

Studied Marx, Engels, Lenin

In fulfilling these duties, Che also reached back time and again to the lessons drawn by communist leaders from the experiences of previous generations of working people. Che had begun this study of Marxism in his late teens. He began reading some of the main works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the modern communist workers' movement, as well as by Russian communist leader V.I. Lenin. In the period 1954-56, for example, Che concentrated on political economy through an extensive study of Marx's *Capital*. Later as part of his revolutionary work in Cuba, he sought to deepen his knowledge of Lenin's writings and speeches from the opening years of the workers and peasants' republic in Soviet Russia and from congresses of the Communist International. He frequently went back to *Capital*, *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and other economic and political writings by Marx and Engels. Che sought to bring these insights to bear on the challenges confronting Cuba's workers and farmers.

References to these works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin occur throughout Che's articles and speeches cited by Carlos Tablada. "The fact that Che was so creative and that dogmatism was so alien to him," Fernando Martínez Heredia points out in the foreword to the Cuban edition of Tablada's book, "should not lead us to overlook his adherence to the original ideas of Marxism-Leninism; in Che, those two characteristics mutually influenced each other with highly positive results."

Ceaseless work

Speaking before a crowd of several hundred thousand Cubans in October 1967, little more than a week following Che's murder, Fidel pointed out how Che had ceaselessly worked to deepen his understanding of Marxism and combine that knowledge with concrete experience in order to help lead Cuban working people in the construction of socialism:

"If we looked through the windows of his offices, he had the lights on until all hours of the night, studying, or rather, working or studying. For he was a student of all problems; he was a tireless reader. His thirst for learning was practically insatiable, and the hours he stole from sleep he devoted to study."

In the October 1987 speech that serves as a prologue to this book, Fidel Castro points out that in the years following Che's departure from Cuba in 1965 to carry out internationalist missions, some of his "ideas were incorrectly interpreted and, what's more, incorrectly applied. Certainly no serious attempt was ever made to put them into practice, and there came a time when ideas diametrically opposed to Che's economic thought began to take over."

The fundamentally political character of economic questions during the transition to socialism is central to Che's writings

As a result, while "much has been done to recall his other qualities," Fidel said, Che's contribution on these matters "has been largely ignored in our country." Outside Cuba, the fact of this ignorance of Che's theoretical contributions can be affirmed even more emphatically.

Carlos Tablada's manuscript was completed in 1984 and published in Cuba in 1987. Its appearance was timely, as was the widespread discussion it helped spark on Che's theoretical contributions. That period marked the beginning of the rectification process in Cuba—"what we could call a revolution within the revolution," as Fidel Castro described it in November 1987. At stake in this revolutionary process are "essential concepts about what socialism is and how it can be built," he explained in the closing speech to the final session of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in December 1986. The accumulating errors confronting Cuban Communists had to be corrected, he said, "not only for the sake of our own process but also for the revolutionary process in general,



Che Guevara initiated the idea of voluntary work as a necessity in recent revival of voluntary labor.

since the construction of a new society, the construction of socialism, the road to communism is completely new to humanity; it's a new experience, a very recent one that must constantly be enriched by both theory and practice." For that reason, he said, the stakes in Cuba's rectification process are "not only important for our country but for the whole of international revolutionary thought."

The failure prior to this book by Carlos Tablada to produce "a serious study of Che's thought" in Cuba, Fernando Martínez points out in his foreword to the Cuban edition, "reflects a great inadequacy in the development of our study of society, an inadequacy that remains to be examined in light of the rectification process. Carlos Tablada's study then could not have come at a better time. Fidel himself has stressed the unavoidable necessity of rethinking all our economic activity, as well as our economic concepts."

The accomplishments in Cuba over 30 years by the workers and farmers, as well as their unstinting internationalism, have earned the views of their Communist leadership a hearing in any discussion on the problems and challenges of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Without this consideration, a serious discussion of these matters is impossible, since the experience of the socialist revolution in Cuba cannot be abstracted from the broader development of world history in the 20th century.

Starting from an oppressive legacy of colonial and neocolonial domination at the time of the revolution, the Cuban people through their labor and political commitment have accomplished an impressive transformation of social and economic conditions in that country.

- Land to till was provided to poor peasants, sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other rural working people, along with cheap credit and access to needed supplies. On a voluntary basis over the subsequent 30 years, the big majority of Cuban peasants have joined farming cooperatives. Most of the former capitalist-owned sugar plantations and many large farms and ranches became state farms, which today encompass some 80 percent of Cuba's agricultural land.

- The production of sugar, Cuba's main export, has in large part been mechanized, including the arduous harvesting tasks. This modernization has made it possible to expand sugar output on state farms and cooperatives while reducing the number of cane cutters from 350,000 before 1959 to some 70,000 today. This has freed up labor for diversified farm production, industrialization of the country, needed construction projects, and vital social services



Federation of Cuban Women. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia
 ssary component of the transition to socialism. At left, women members of a 1988 construction minibrigade participate

such as education and health care.

• The revolution has brought electrification to the big majority of Cuba's rural working people, as well as to the previously poorest layers of the urban working class. Industrialization, largely restricted to light consumer goods prior to the revolution, has spread to the production of giant sugar harvesting combines, automated steel-making, machine tools, electronic equipment, biotechnology, computerization, and refrigerators and other household goods.

Unlike Third World countries still dominated by imperialism, the benefits from economic modernization in Cuba have been used to improve the living and job conditions of working people, not to enrich a handful of foreign and domestic capitalist families. "We aren't living under capitalism, nor can we work as if this were capitalism,"

"We're rectifying all shoddiness and mediocrity that is precisely the negation of Che's ideas, revolutionary thought, style, spirit, and example..."

— Fidel Castro

Fidel has emphasized. "We must combine economic development with social development."

• A massive literacy campaign in 1961 mobilized 100,000 young people to go into the countryside to teach Cubans to read and write. As a result, illiteracy was virtually eliminated. Since that time a campaign to bring the vast majority of Cubans up to a sixth grade education has been successfully completed, and the effort is now under way to achieve a universal ninth grade level of education. Throughout the rest of Latin America, illiteracy averages nearly 30 percent of the population.

• A concentration of effort and resources on primary health care, training of doctors and other medical personnel, development of the family doctor system, and the construction of hospitals and clinics have reaped impressive gains. Life expectancy and infant mortality rates in Cuba today compare favorably with industrially developed countries and even surpass some of them.

These economic and social conquests have been registered despite Washington's ongoing economic blockade, permanent military pressure, and efforts to isolate socialist

Cuba in the Americas and worldwide. In addition Cuba, like other Third World countries, faces unfavorable terms of trade on the world capitalist market. Given the devastating deterioration of these terms over the past decade, Cuba is determined not to allow its social accomplishments to be pushed back. This goal is one of the factors spurring the rectification process.

• Moreover, Cuban working people have placed their revolutionary government, their material resources, and their skills at the service of oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans have volunteered over the past decade alone to serve overseas as construction workers, engineers, doctors, teachers, technicians, and soldiers—from Nicaragua to South Yemen, from Vietnam to Mozambique. Some 300,000 Cubans have gone to Angola as internationalist volunteers since 1975 to aid its government and people in defending themselves against South African invaders and imperialist-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Despite these outstanding accomplishments of the revolution, the Communist Party leadership of Cuba's workers and farmers believes that serious errors began to accumulate during the 1970s that if not corrected "could have reached the point of being irreversible. We had to rectify them in time," Fidel Castro explained at the December 1986 session of the congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

In his October 1987 speech on the anniversary of Che's death, Fidel Castro refers to these years as "that disgraceful period of building socialism." In that speech he explained:

What are we rectifying? We're rectifying all those things—and there are many—that strayed from the revolutionary spirit, from revolutionary work, revolutionary virtue, revolutionary effort, revolutionary responsibility; all those things that strayed from the spirit of solidarity among people. We're rectifying all the shoddiness and mediocrity that is precisely the negation of Che's ideas, his revolutionary thought, his style, his spirit, and his example.

Che would have been "appalled" by the road that Cuba had begun to head down during those years, Fidel said, "for he knew that communism could never be attained by wandering down those worn capitalist paths and that to follow along those paths would mean eventually to forget all ideas of solidarity and even internationalism."

Even the Communist Party itself "was starting to go to pot," Fidel said in his closing address to the December

1986 party congress session. "But we have reacted in plenty of time so that the party members will not be corrupted, the party will not be corrupted, the young people will not be corrupted, and above all our working class will not be corrupted."

In a May 1987 interview with the French daily newspaper *L'Humanité*, Fidel summarized the wide range of problems that had developed and that Cuban Communists have now begun organizing the working class and farmers to tackle:

Numerous plants tried to be profitable by charging high prices—real robbery. They didn't try to become profitable by improving efficiency or by reducing energy or labor costs. They even earned money at the expense of other plants. Other negative tendencies included: a certain anarchy in wages, a certain competition within the work force, the tendency to want money to regulate everything, a lack of strictness in correcting outmoded work norms.

We began paying very high wages and salaries that had no relation to what was being produced. Awards, bonuses, and overtime payments multiplied. Material incentives were being abused. We were beginning to fall into a trend that would undermine the revolutionary spirit, the consciousness of our workers....

We already began to see contradictions arising between the interests of certain enterprises and those of society, as well as tendencies to earn more by producing more, but of poorer quality.

In a speech to the Union of Young Communists in April 1987, Fidel explained that over the previous fifteen years the course being charted in Cuba began to be justified by the concept that various economic and political mecha-

"He had the lights on until all hours of the night, working and studying. For he was a student of all problems..."

— Fidel Castro

nisms "would automatically solve problems; the idyllic notion, the stupid notion that mechanisms would do the party's work for it, that they would build socialism, that they would promote development."

The governmental structure of People's Power, for example, "was a great advance, unquestionably," when it was established in the latter half of the 1970s in Cuba, Fidel had explained at the December 1986 session of the party congress. But "the naive belief came about that following these changes, these steps forward, the state was going to function perfectly, almost automatically. Later we started to realize that this called for very important political work, an immense task for the party."

Among the other mechanisms he cited were various methods borrowed from capitalism that had been gaining increased acceptance in Cuba:

- increasing distribution of food and other consumer necessities through an unregulated market, with prices determined by supply and demand;
- evaluation of economic performance of state enterprises measured by their profitability in value or money terms, rather than by their output of socially necessary goods and services based on strict cost accounting to ensure efficient use of human labor, material resources, and limited foreign currency reserves;
- growing competition and market/commodity relations among state-owned enterprises and institutions themselves; and
- increasing reliance on bonuses and individual material incentives while expenditures stagnated on the "social wage" component (housing, health, education, day care, etc.), thereby widening economic and social inequalities.

"Cuba will never adopt methods, styles, philosophies, or characteristics of capitalism," Fidel emphasized to the quarter million Cubans in Santiago de Cuba who turned out for the annual July 26 rally in 1988. "Socialism and capitalism are two diametrically different things, by definition and by essence."

Even state property, economic planning, and the state monopoly of foreign trade — all vital conquests of the Cuban revolution, and essential foundations for any progress — could not lead toward socialism unless Cuban working people were mobilized to use these tools consciously and politically to advance that goal. While these revolutionary measures were necessary to break the domination of capitalist social relations, they were not in themselves sufficient to advance the construction of socialism. Reliance on the automatic functioning of mechanisms was having devastating political and social consequences among growing social layers in Cuban society, Fidel explained at the December 1986 session of the party congress. "And I want to know," he said, "whether those methods weren't leading us to a system worse than capitalism, instead of leading us toward socialism and communism."

That historic task, he emphasized, can only be advanced

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through the conscious activity of Cuba's working people, led by the Communist Party. "The construction of socialism . . . is fundamentally a political and revolutionary task," he explained, echoing one of Che's most important themes. "We must help raise people's consciousness. The other mechanisms, the economic factors, are means, or auxiliary tools for political and revolutionary work required by a genuine revolution, and, especially, required for the construction of socialism and the path to communism."

Layer of administrators

In the years leading up to the launching of the rectification process, Fidel explained in December 1986, a layer of administrators had emerged in state enterprises who "dressed up like capitalists, began to act like capitalists, but without the capitalists' efficiency." They set easily achievable annual production goals in order to garner

The most self-sacrificing vanguard of working people, organized in a communist party, must lead their class in taking control over political direction of the state and economy

unearned "overfulfillment" bonuses for themselves and layers of relatively privileged workers. They were obsessed by surpassing quantitative quotas, but couldn't care less about the quality of goods for use by the Cuban people. They hoarded and wasted raw materials, and sold shoddy, overpriced goods to other state enterprises, institutions, and individual consumers. They cooked their ledgers in order to appear "profitable" in money terms, while paying no attention to the true costs to society in terms of squandered resources and labor time. Their own self-seeking, petty-bourgeois example in turn undermined many workers' consciousness, discipline, and full use of the working day to advance production for the benefit of society.

"Whenever there is a clash between the interests of an enterprise and the interests of the revolution and society," Fidel explained in April 1987, ". . . the interests of the revolution and of society must prevail."

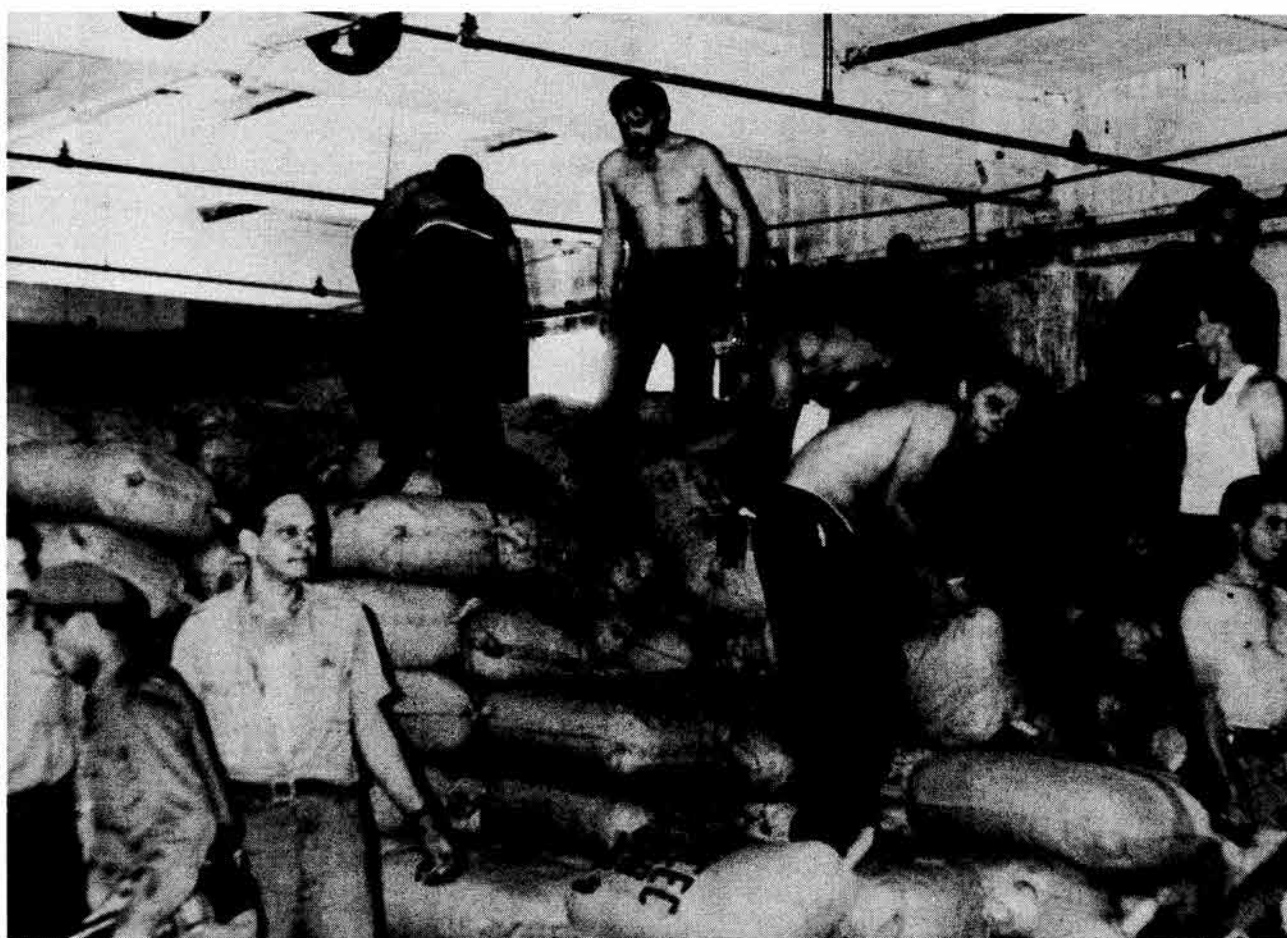
"We are not going to have our socialist enterprises competing with each other," he emphasized at the 1986 party congress, "because that has nothing to do with the idea and conception of socialism; it has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. They can emulate each other but that's not competition in capitalist fashion, with its dramatic consequences." Instead of factory administrators who operate along these lines, Fidel said, a goal of the rectification process should be that the person in charge of a state enterprise, whether a member of the party or not, "must truly be a communist . . . a revolutionary! And not a communist playing at capitalism, a communist dressed up as a capitalist, or, mark you, a capitalist dressed up as a communist."

This alone would not solve the problems even at the factory level, however. The workers and unions must no longer leave decisions about costs, quality, and performance "to the wise men, the brains, the technocrats," Fidel Castro explained to a conference of Cuban trade union leaders in January 1987. "It is time for every worker to know about the problems of his factory," he said. "You are the party's most important force in the battle to rectify errors, struggle against negative tendencies and build socialism and communism in our country." But this does not mean that workers should join with administrators in seeking to maximize the "profitability" — and accompanying bonuses — of a particular enterprise at the expense of other groups of workers or of society as a whole. In the transition to socialism, Fidel explained to the trade union leaders, workers are not the collective owners of the factory or enterprise in which they happen to be employed. "The workers own all the factories in the country and it is in the interests of all workers to have all factories, schools, and services functioning well."

Che's confidence in working class

This will not happen automatically, without communist leadership of the working class. In his speech on the 20th anniversary of Che's death, Fidel stressed Che's political confidence in the capacities of working people to deepen their communist consciousness as they mobilize to transform the economic and social conditions in which they live. "Che was a realist and did not reject material incentives," he said. "He deemed them necessary during the transitional stage, while building socialism. But Che attached more importance — more and more importance — to the conscious factor, to the moral factor."

While egalitarian conditions cannot be achieved short of communism, Fidel explained at the January 1987 trade union conference, society will march away from rather than toward that historic goal if conscious steps are not taken to narrow inequalities in wages and living conditions. According to *Granma Weekly Review*, "Fidel said



Guevara (top right) working in waterfront warehouse

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that the wage reform [of the early 1980s] raised the salaries of those who were already earning a lot but forgot about the modest worker." If this were not corrected then "little by little we will fall into a society based on a hierarchy, with a series of social categories of all kinds and follow in the footsteps of capitalism in this respect."

To correct this situation, the Cuban government has given priority to raising the minimum wages and living conditions of the lowest-paid sections of working people, thus narrowing the gap with the highest-paid workers. Since the opening of the rectification effort, for example, the wages of agricultural workers have been raised by 40 percent, as well as the wages of hospital orderlies. In addition, the revolutionary government has given increased priority to allocating resources and labor to expand social programs — such as housing, education, health care, and child-care centers — that benefit the Cuban people.

At the same time, a new attitude toward work is being fostered. As working people are drawn into the administration of the state and economy, they are increasingly motivated to work for the benefit of society, both nationally and internationally, not just for themselves and their families. "We can safely say," Fidel said at the December 1986 session of the party congress, "that we have achieved our best results working with the pride and honor of people, with their consciousness, and instilling ideas. . . ."

Che stressed the inseparable interrelationship between the transformation of social relations and transformation of the political and social consciousness of working people carrying out revolution

The same can be said for party members and cadres of the mass organizations. The best things we have, to tell the truth, have been obtained with political and revolutionary work, through the development of consciousness. These are not illusions, they are examples which are clear to all." He pointed to a congress delegate who had twice fulfilled internationalist missions in Angola. "I wonder, what bonus could we give him," Fidel said, "what mechanisms could we utilize with him and the many thousands of others like him who have done their duty there?"

The brainchild of Che

In order to advance along this communist political course, Cuban revolutionists have placed right at the center of the rectification process the revival of collective voluntary work on the most needed social projects. In his speech on the 20th anniversary of Che's death, Fidel Castro explained that during the previous decade:

Voluntary work, the brainchild of Che and one of the best things he left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution, was steadily on the decline. It became a formality almost. . . . People would sometimes run around and do things in a disorganized way. The bureaucrat's view, the technocrat's view that voluntary work was neither basic nor essential gained more and more ground.

The political retreat inside Cuba on fronts such as voluntary work during the latter half of the 1970s, however, was counterbalanced by the internationalist response of hundreds of thousands of Cubans to new revolutionary victories elsewhere in the world: the overthrow of the feudal monarchy in Ethiopia in 1974; the crumbling of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa in 1975; the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam that same year; and the triumphant revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada in 1979. These victories inspired hundreds of thousands of Cubans to volunteer for internationalist duties in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Grenada, and elsewhere. In response to escalating U.S. military pressure in the wake of the revolutionary gains in Central America and the Caribbean, millions of Cubans mobilized for the Marches of the Fighting People and joined in the newly established Territorial Troops Militia in 1980.

"During this period," Fidel explained at the Communist youth congress in April 1987, "I would say that the revolutionary spirit found shelter in defense activities, in the Territorial Troops Militia mobilizations, in military training, in the millions of hours dedicated to these activities." The response of Cuba's working people to defense of their own revolution and to revolutionary advances beyond their borders laid the basis for the deepening of the Cuban revolution marked by the rectification process today.

Minibrigades

Since 1986, voluntary social labor has been revived on a level comparable only to the early years of the Cuban and Russian revolutions—but on a qualitatively larger scale and with greater centrality to the revolution than even these earlier experiences. In addition to voluntary mobilizations to carry out special projects on selected "Red Sundays," hundreds of thousands of Cubans volunteer after school or work and on weekends to help out full-time workers on "minibrigades" building day-care centers, housing, clinics, hospitals, and other projects. The full-time minibrigade members are in their majority workers who ask to be released from their jobs for a period of time in order to participate in various construction efforts, receiving whatever wage they had been getting in their workplace. These *brigadistas*, however, are themselves engaged in voluntary work in two important ways: first, all of them volunteer to join these special construction teams; and second, they work longer hours and many more weekends on these social projects than they would in their regular jobs. The minibrigades have taken on the character of a growing social movement comprised of Cuba's most conscious, disciplined, and self-sacrificing working people.

The minibrigades were first launched in Cuba at the opening of the 1970s. Like voluntary work efforts in general, however, these projects were abandoned by the end of that decade because of "supposed contradictions between the minibrigade movement and the Economic Management and Planning System," as Fidel explained it. Their revival has been among the most outstanding accomplishments to date of the rectification process in Cuba. "The minibrigades, which were destroyed for the sake of such mechanisms," Fidel said in the speech that serves as the prologue to this book, "are now rising again from their ashes like a phoenix and demonstrating the significance of that mass movement, the significance of that revolutionary path of solving the problems that the theoreticians, tech-

nocrats, those who do not believe in man, and those who believe in two-bit capitalism had stopped and dismantled."

Consequences for Cuban women

Fidel Castro has called special attention to the grave consequences for Cuban women of the snail's pace in constructing new day-care centers during the pre-rectification period. He told delegates to a November 1987 Havana provincial meeting of the Communist Party:

Those who advocated reactionary ideas within the revolution argued that building a day-care center was a social expense. Social expenses were no good, investing in production was good; as if those who work in the factories were ... male and female mules and not human beings, not men and women with their problems, especially women with their problems. ...

And whenever they say no day-care center, you can be sure there is a technocratic, bureaucratic, reactionary concept at work.

Before rectification only five new day-care centers in Havana had been planned over a five-year period, for example — one per year. Through the minibrigades, more than 50 were constructed in one year! This has made it possible for thousands more women to join the work force, use their labor and skills to advance the building of socialism in Cuba, and participate more fully as equals in the political life of the revolution.

In his November 1987 speech, Fidel contrasted the vanguard working people who have accomplished these tasks to "those who are allergic to strong things, to things worthy of the peoples, to the proletarian spirit—and proletarian spirit means, first of all, work spirit and work discipline.... Let the petty bourgeoisie worry about their fears and their doubts! Our working people are not afraid of anything. Our working people are not afraid of any effort. Our working and revolutionary people are not afraid of the rigor of work."

The lessons of the voluntary work brigade movement, like other aspects of the rectification course, are important not only for Cuba but "for the whole of international revolutionary thought," as well. As Fidel put it after spending a day visiting various minibrigade projects, "They're

"Che didn't reject material incentives, but he attached more and more importance to the conscious factor, the moral factor..."

— Fidel Castro

not only capable of building a new Havana; I'm convinced that the people I saw can build a new London, a new Paris."

None of the goals of the rectification process, Fidel has emphasized, can be accomplished without continuing to transform the Communist Party, which encompasses in its membership and leadership the vanguard of Cuba's working people. "You know very well what it means to be a member of the party," he told hundreds of thousands of Cubans on July 26, 1988. "He or she must be the first in everything when there's a difficult job, an internationalist mission, a sacrifice to be made, a risk to be taken. ... It's not a party of privileged people but a party built from among the people, whose members must set an example." He continued:

"Socialism cannot be built without the party. Without the party one can build capitalism, which stands for chaos. Capitalism does not need anyone to organize it, it is self-organized with all its barbarities. Socialism is not created by spontaneous generation. Socialism must be built, and the basic builder is the party."

That is why Fidel and other Cuban Communists have given such great importance to advancing the proletarian composition of the party's membership and leadership as central to the success or failure of the rectification process. Important progress in this regard had been registered by the party's second congress in 1980. "The most revolutionary thing" about that gathering, Fidel told a public rally in December of that year, "was the composition of our Central Committee. The leadership of our party was given a strong injection of worker cadres, a strong injection of women, and a strong injection of internationalist fighters." He also pointed out that "the number of workers in our party has almost tripled, which means that our party has become more proletarian and, therefore, more Marxist-Leninist and more revolutionary."

Further strides were taken at the February 1986 first session of the Communist Party congress that immediately preceded and opened the way to the rectification course. In his report on the new Central Committee elected at that congress, Fidel said:

The second congress gave the candidate list for the Central Committee a strong injection of both women and workers — steps it was magnificent to take. Now we have to continue along the same lines, adding workers, and not just workers who have become leaders but workers from the factory floor.

We had to continue along this course, we had to stress three questions, three categories requiring promotion, three injections — a strong injection of women, a strong injection of blacks and of mestizos. ... And that there also had to be an injection of youth. These were the three principles we wanted to follow in the



Mario Ferrer, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia
Author Carlos Tablada

process of selecting a slate of candidates for the party Central Committee.

Communists, Fidel said in that report, "can't leave it to chance to correct historical injustices" such as the legacy of race and sex divisions within the working class inherited from capitalism. He explained:

To really establish total equality takes more than simply declaring it law. It has to be promoted in the mass organizations, in the youth organization, in the party. And that's why we said in the report that we should reflect the ethnic composition of our society, that we can't leave the promotion of women, blacks, and mestizos to chance. It has to be the work of the party. We have to straighten out what history has twisted.

On this question, too, the lessons are important not just for Cuba, but for "the whole of international revolutionary thought." Because, as Fidel emphasized in his speech to the Communist youth congress, "in the world of today and tomorrow being revolutionary means, and will increasingly mean, being communists, and being communists in the full revolutionary sense."

Completed in 1984 after some 15 years of research, Carlos Tablada's manuscript was submitted to the annual literary competition of the Havana-based Casa de las Américas. It received Casa's special 1987 prize for works dedicated to Ernesto Che Guevara. This prize, cosponsored by Cuba's Center for the Study of the Americas, was awarded to mark the 20th anniversary of Che's death in combat in Bolivia in 1967. At the ceremony where Tablada was presented with the award, he donated his prize money to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador—an act entirely in the spirit of Che's own internationalist commitment and that of the Cuban revolution.

A first edition of Tablada's manuscript was published in Cuba in 1987 in two limited printings with the title *El pensamiento económico de Ernesto Che Guevara* (The economic thought of Ernesto Che Guevara). When a second edition was published under the same title by the publishing house of Casa de las Américas in early 1988, the initial run of 250,000 was sold out within a few weeks. The book became a best-selling title in Cuba. A third Cuban edition, from which this English translation has been done, will be published by the Office of Publications of the Council of State. Tablada's book has appeared in editions in several Latin American countries, as well.

The José Martí Publishing House of Havana, which collaborated in the editorial preparation of this English-language edition, is also helping to prepare Tablada's study for publication in eight other languages. José Amieva and Valentina Porras of the José Martí Publishing House worked closely with Tablada in preparing the third edition of the book.

The translation into English of the manuscript was done by Michael Baumann of Pathfinder in New York.

Footnotes to the quotations used in the text indicate an English-language source when one exists and is currently in print; English translations that are out of print are indicated in the list of further reading. The translation of quotations from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has been taken from those in *Marx Engels Collected Works* (New York: International, 1975–), unless otherwise noted. Translations of quotations from V.I. Lenin that appear in the text are taken from the English-language edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers). Minor editorial improvements in these translations have been made in a few cases.

The most complete edition of Che's writings and speeches currently in print is the nine-volume *Ernesto Che Guevara: Escritos y Discursos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1977). Translations of many of the quotations from Che found in this book are taken from *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* (Sydney: Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia, 1987), which is the most comprehensive English-language selection of his writings and speeches currently in print. It contains complete English-language translations of several of the articles and speeches by Che that are most often cited by Tablada.

All other quotations from Che have been newly translated for this English-language edition. A number of these quotations appear here in English for the first time. Others, however, are taken from articles or speeches that have been previously published in English in *Man and Socialism in Cuba: The Great Debate*, edited by Bertram Silverman (New York: Atheneum, 1971); *Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara*, edited by John Gerassi (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); and *Che: Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara*, edited by Rolando E. Bonachea and Nelson P. Valdés (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969). All three collections are now out of print but can be found in some libraries.

Photographs for this edition have been made available by Prensa Latina and *Granma* newspaper.

Finally, we are grateful for the enthusiastic cooperation of Carlos Tablada, who was a constant source of encouragement and advice as this English-language edition was being prepared.

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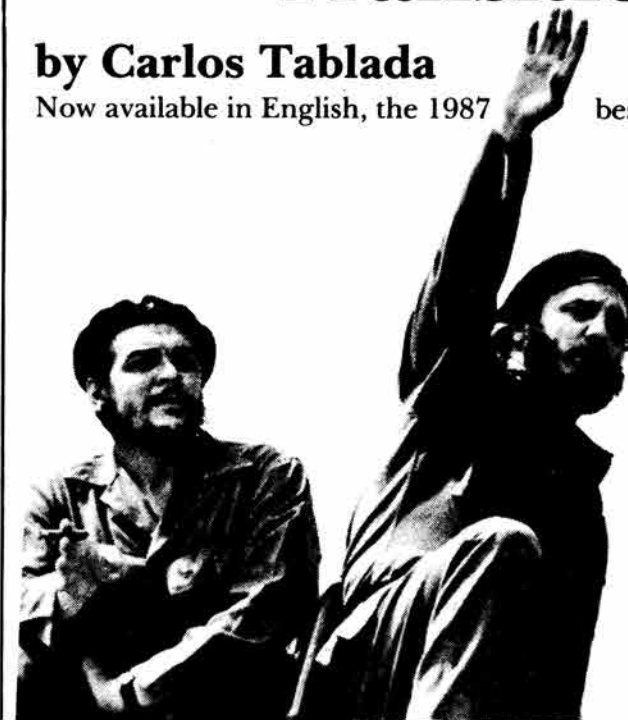
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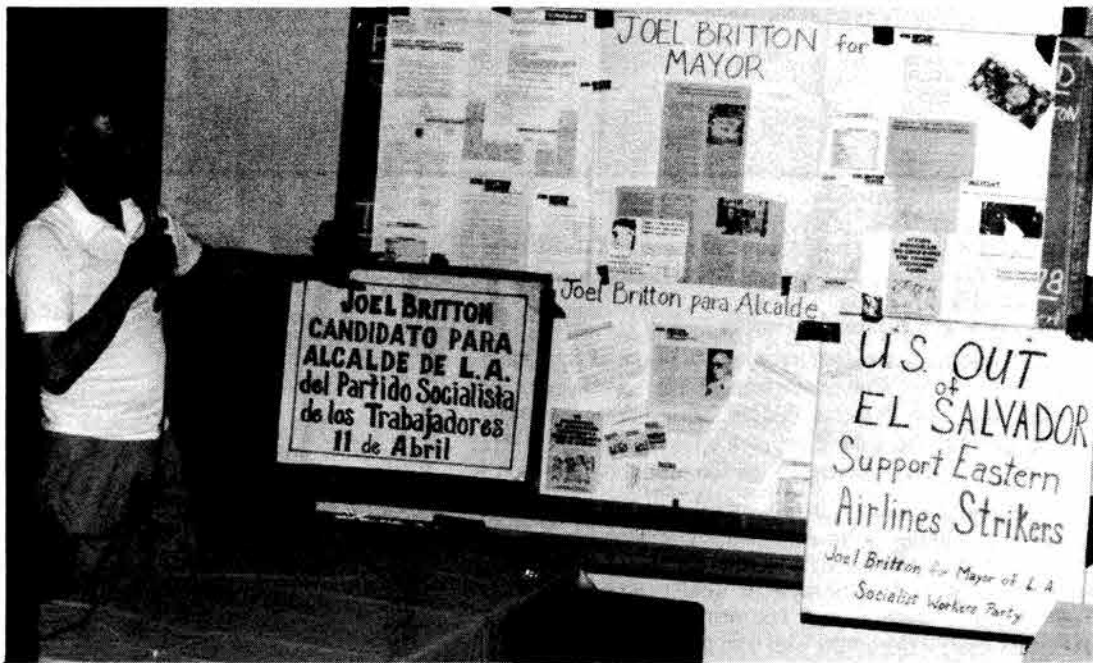
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Britton wraps up campaign for Los Angeles mayor



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist candidate Joel Britton explains gains of campaign at meeting held in headquarters of oil workers' Local 1-547.

BY ELIZABETH STONE

LAWNDALE, Calif. — A barbecue and discussion at the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547 hall here April 8 capped off the campaign of Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. The meeting was sponsored by the Britton for Mayor Committee.

Workers from various industries, including a dozen oil workers, were among the 75 people who attended the gathering, which featured a sharing of experiences by participants in the fightback against employer attacks.

An operator at the nearby Chevron refinery, Britton is a member of Local 1-547 and was introduced by Mike Gehring, vice-chairman of the Chevron unit of the local.

Gehring told how workers at Chevron had recently organized to more than double the number of union members at the refinery. Now that the union has enrolled more than 90 percent of the operators and maintenance workers who can be represented by OCAW, the company "has to show us more respect," Gehring said.

Eastern strike

Britton reviewed some of the highlights of his campaign and commented on recent discussions with young Eastern Airlines strikers. The unity among Eastern pilots, flight attendants, and Machinists, and their near-total shutdown of the airline, Britton said, is an inspiring example of labor solidarity and the potential power of united labor action. And, he said, it is an example of how unions are beginning to recover from years of being pushed back without much resistance in the face of the employer offensive.

Britton pointed out that the offensive against wage levels and working conditions in the airlines is just one of the many examples of attacks by employers, backed up by the Democrats and Republicans in public office.

A theme hit by speakers at the meeting was the need for union members to build solidarity with the unorganized, the unemployed, immigrant workers, and workers in industries such as meat-packing, who feel the attacks the most.

Karen Newton, a member of the United Teachers of Los Angeles, emphasized the importance of the fight for bilingual education in the current contract confrontation between the teachers' union and the Board

of Education. She said the union's recent steps toward a stronger endorsement of bilingual education is a step forward for both the union and students in Los Angeles, where many students do not speak English as their first language.

She said that pressure from Latino communities and the Chicano Educators Caucus within the union was responsible for the change in the union's position.

Workers at gathering share experiences in fightback against employer attacks

Pedro Pardo, a veteran of farm worker and construction union battles in Mexico, reported on a fight he helped initiate at Unibrite, a Los Angeles-area meat-packing plant. The workers, many of them women from Mexico, have won representation by the United Food and Commercial Workers union and are fighting for a decent contract.

Britton pointed to the international character of the fight to shorten the workday and workweek with no cut in pay to create more jobs, citing the examples of struggles in Germany and Korea. He introduced a participant in the struggle for a 35-hour week led by striking metal workers a few years ago in Germany. A political debate ensued, she said, over whether such a struggle could win. Proponents of a shorter workweek described how previous campaigns to shorten the workweek to 60 and then 40 hours had won.

Ban on homework

Sonja Galan, a garment worker and member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, reported on efforts to retain the legal ban on homework in this industry and explained how it was in the interests of all workers. Formerly a garment unionist in El Salvador, Galan testified for the ILGWU during recent government hearings in Los Angeles on homework, pointing out how even with the ban many immigrant workers must do homework to survive.

A group of Guatemalan workers attended the meeting, including two who had participated in the one-year strike and occupation of the Coca Cola plant in Guatemala City in 1984. One gave greetings and pointed to the

broad solidarity with their struggle that exists in the labor movement of many countries.

LOS ANGELES — On April 11, Joel Britton received 1,240 votes, about one-half of one percent of the vote, while Democratic Mayor Thomas Bradley was reelected to a fifth four-year term. Britton was listed on the official "non-partisan" ballot as "oil refinery worker," but campaigned as the Socialist Workers party candidate.

The socialist was one of nine candidates who opposed Bradley and who nearly forced him into a runoff election. To win outright, Bradley needed 50 percent plus one and squeaked through with 52 percent. Only 20 percent of registered voters cast ballots, thought to be an all-time low.

"We accomplished in this campaign what we set out to," Britton commented. "In a modest way, we helped to deepen the discussion among working people about what needs to be done in the face of the employer offensive and the capitalist economic crisis that is developing."

"In this campaign we took up many of the issues that are reflections of this crisis in Los Angeles — from supporting the sit-in at the county hospital demanding better

treatment for AIDS patients; to protesting police brutality and opposing the 'more cops' solution to gangs, drugs, and crime problems; to opposing the 'ditch' along the U.S.-Mexico border, counterposing the need for working people to freely travel, work, and communicate across national boundaries."

Abortion rights march

During this three-month campaign, Britton participated in the March 18 demonstration demanding an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, in activities building the countermobilization to anti-abortion rightists who attempted to shut down Los Angeles-area clinics, and in publicizing the April 9 march on Washington to keep abortion legal.

Britton popularized the central elements of the Socialist Workers Party's Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis — the demand for a shorter workweek to provide jobs, and the demands for affirmative action and for canceling the Third World debt.

In addition to participating in discussions with workers at plant gates and on picket lines, Britton was interviewed on radio station KIEV, on KCET-TV, and in the *LA Reader* newspaper.

West Virginia socialist 'differs from rest of field'

BY MARK SATINOFF

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — "The campaign approach of the Socialist Workers candidate Dick McBride differs from the rest of the field," wrote Lee Chottiner, a staff writer for the *Dominion Post*. The *Post* is this town's main daily.

"Last week he went to a rally at Marshall University protesting campus racism. Today, he is joining thousands of marchers in Washington, D.C., for a prochoice rally on abortion."

"McBride himself wants to see more working men and women turn to politics as a realignment of the nation's power structure. 'We have to get more workers and farmers in government,' he said. 'The next recession is going to be very severe and it's going to open up politics in a big way.'"

Chottiner's coverage of the campaign is typical of the friendly and often supportive response from students, workers, and the media to the first socialist campaign to achieve ballot status here in decades. The election is to be held April 25.

McBride, 46, is running for Morgantown City Council from the 6th Ward. He is a food stocker at a local supermarket and a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 347. He works the midnight shift and often has discussions about the campaign with shoppers.

Recently a woman came into the store looking for buckwheat pancake mix. While McBride was escorting her to the appropriate aisle, she commented, "My, look at all those big bags of flour. You'd think there's a depression coming."

The socialist candidate introduced himself and explained that the international stock market crash in October 1987 signaled the inevitability of a depression. They spent

the next 30 minutes discussing the socialist campaign.

Building the April 9 national abortion rights march initiated by the National Organization for Women was an important aspect of the campaign. McBride attended and spoke at several of the NOW organizing meetings leading up to the march. He said the forces opposed to abortion rights need to be answered boldly and publicly.

In response to a series of racist incidents on some college campuses in West Virginia, a statewide protest rally was held in Huntington on April 1. McBride spoke at the rally.

To help remedy the intolerable situation where less than 3 percent of the 18,746 students at West Virginia University in Morgantown are Black, McBride called for "affirmative action" with quotas in hiring, housing, and student enrollment.

"Racism only benefits the rich. It should be punished in full," he said. His remarks were very well received. One older woman who attended the rally donated \$50 on the spot to the campaign.

Phil Carter, president of the Huntington National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, expressed his support for the socialist campaign. He invited McBride to address an upcoming NAACP statewide conference.

In the final week before the election, two articles on the socialist campaign will appear in the West Virginia University campus newspaper. McBride will be a featured guest on two radio call-in talk shows. The socialist candidate is scheduling visits to a coal mine and two factories to discuss politics with workers. He will also speak to three college classes and campaign among high school students.

COMING SOON!

The FRAME-UP of MARK CURTIS

A packinghouse worker's fight for justice

By Margaret Jayko

This new pamphlet, published by Pathfinder, tells the story of how and why Mark Curtis was arrested, beaten, and sentenced to 25 years in jail, and why thousands of people around the world are fight-

ing this frame-up. In telling that story, the pamphlet describes a little piece of what the future has in store for working people as a whole as times get rougher and workers and farmers fight back more. 64 pp. \$2.50.

To obtain a copy, contact the Pathfinder Bookstore nearest you. See list on page 16. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add 75 cents for postage and handling.

Troops occupy foundry in El Salvador

BY SETH GALINSKY

SANTA ROSA, El Salvador — "Please, no pictures!" the machine gun-toting soldier shouted at the photographer. Along with other soldiers, he quickly moved out of sight of the camera.

The troops were occupying the Sarti foundry. They had been here since March 30 when the owner locked out 45 union members.

Sarti produces parts for sugar refineries in El Salvador and other Central American countries. The factory is 20 miles northwest of San Salvador near the town of Santa Rosa. Just one-half mile away lies the barracks of the army's Atlacatl Battalion.

The union at Sarti, an affiliate of the Federation of Independent Union Associations, began negotiations with the owner in November. The workers wanted to win improvements in conditions they had achieved at the factory in previous contracts. In 1979 workers won a strike after locking the factory administration in its office until an agreement was reached.

Today, skilled workers at Sarti, including lathe operators, make one-and-a-half times the official minimum wage. Wages range from \$5 to \$6 a day.

The workers are demanding:

- An end to wage differentials. Wages for the same job vary by as much as 75 cents a day. The workers want equal pay for equal work.
- Drinking water. The only water available now is from a contaminated well.
- Improved life insurance and death benefits.
- Paid leave for union representatives for union business.

"Our most important demand is to end the wage differentials," the local union president explained. "We were willing to give in on the other demands." The union has not been asking for a wage increase.

In El Salvador, strikes are legal only after a lengthy procedure that often takes six months or more. This includes obligatory "conciliation" and "cooling-off" periods, along with direct participation in negotiations by government representatives. Representatives of several union federations said that there have been few strikes, legal or illegal, in the last several months.

"We followed every step in the law," the Sarti union president said. "When we had



Locked-out metal workers at Sarti factory in Santa Rosa

exhausted other possibilities for reaching an agreement, we decided to go on strike." They convinced 50 other workers at the plant, who are employed by an outside temporary agency, to honor the strike.

But on the second day of the strike, the boss of the temporary workers came to the plant along with the lieutenant colonel of a nearby army unit. They took the temporary workers aside and convinced them to return to work.

The union workers went to the Ministry of Labor to hand in official notification of their decision to strike. Ministry officials told them that the owner had already visited the ministry and was willing to negotiate an end to the conflict. The ministry officials convinced the union to end the strike.

The next day, when the unionists arrived at the factory ready to work, they found it was occupied by troops. There were also soldiers in the surrounding coffee fields. The temporary workers were allowed in, but the union members were told they could not enter.

"The workers are planning to stay in front

of the factory until they win their right to return to work," union representative Mario Vásquez Torres said.

In a visit to the factory, Vásquez addressed the workers. "We are going to bring other unionists out here to support you," he said.

In the meantime, Vásquez said, the workers should talk to the soldiers. "They are workers and peasants just like you," he stressed.

They are just obeying orders, Vásquez added. "Our struggle is against those who exploit us, not against the soldiers."

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

Taiwan to send first delegation to China

The Taiwan government announced April 6 that it would send its first official delegation to China since the Taipei regime was established some 40 years ago. The 12-person delegation will take part in the annual meeting of the Asian Development Bank, which will take place in Beijing beginning May 4. Taiwan's delegation is to be headed by Finance Minister Shirley Kuo.

Capitalist forces headed by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek fled to China's coastal island of Taiwan following the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. They established the Taipei regime, which still claims authority over all of China. But today only 23 countries recognize that government.

Taiwan's foreign ministry said in a statement released in Taipei that it would maintain its policy of no official contact with the mainland, adding that the delegates would have no contact with authorities in Beijing during their three-day visit. But among those included in the delegation are officials from the foreign ministry and from banks with close connections to the government.

Pretoria drops charge against Mayekiso

Moses Mayekiso, secretary-general of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), won a round in court when the apartheid regime was forced to drop charges of treason against him. Mayekiso still faces charges of subversion and sedition.

The Metalworkers' leader was arrested and imprisoned in June 1986 after returning from a union solidarity meeting in Sweden. He was not charged until April of the following year. The 163-page indictment against Mayekiso includes charges based on his activity in Britain where he raised support for his union's strike against the British conglomerate BTR at its Sarmcol plant in South Africa.

Mayekiso is also a prominent leader in the Alexandra township near Johannesburg, where he helped to lead rent and consumer boycotts against the South African government. The protests forced the township police to withdraw from Alexandra. Pretoria has charged that these activities constitute an attempt to

overthrow the government.

NUMSA, an affiliate of the 1 million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions, is the counterpart in South Africa of the United Auto Workers union in the United States. Both unions are affiliated to the International Metalworkers Federation. UAW President Owen Bieber has convened a Jurist Committee, which is monitoring the trial of Mayekiso and his codefendants.

Mayekiso is being tried along with his brother Mzwanele, Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane, and Obed Bapela. The five were released on bail last December. The home of a white coeditor of a leading anti-apartheid newspaper, *The Weekly Mail*, was firebombed January 6. Bapela had been staying there, but was not injured in the attack.

Protests hit arrest of S. Korean dissident

Protests erupted in at least five South Korean cities April 13 as news spread of the arrest of prominent dissident Moon Ik Hwan. Moon, who is an adviser for the National Alliance of the Movement for the Nation and Democracy (Chonmin-ryon), was arrested upon his return from North Korea. He had been arrested on four previous occasions for his leading role in the fight against the regimes of Park Jung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan.

In Pyongyang, Moon met with North Korean President Kim Il Sung. They discussed the reduction of tensions between the north and the south and prospects for reunification of the peninsula. South Korean authorities have said that Moon's trip was an attempt to undermine Seoul's authority. They charged that dissidents were aiding the north in an attempt to control the country.

While Moon was still in North Korea, a senior South Korean prosecutor was quoted by the state radio as saying that Moon would face legal action for his unauthorized trip to the north. "The visit violates the National Security Law," the prosecutor said. Under South Korean law the maximum punishment for Moon's action is execution.

Following the prosecutor's threat, thousands of students and workers rallied in support of Moon's visit to the north. Students from 13 universities rallied in Kwangju. Some 5,000 students and workers attended a rally in Taegu.

Canadian Communist Party member wins U.S. entry

BY MARGARET JAYKO

On March 17 Danny Goldstick, a philosophy professor at the University of Toronto in Canada, was able to cross the U.S.-Canada border for the first time in many years.

Goldstick had been told previously when he tried to come into the United States — "technically you're not admissible." In a telephone interview from his office at the University of Toronto, he explained he had always assumed that the so-called technicality was his membership in the Communist Party of Canada.

According to Bert Rizzo from the Central Office of Immigration in Washington, D.C., Section 212 (a) (28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952—better known as the McCarran-Walter Act—made people like Goldstick excludable. This ideological exclusion applied to both immigrants and nonimmigrants—that is, people who want to move to the United States and people who want to enter on a temporary basis.

This section of the immigration law was modified in 1988 so that individuals could no longer be excluded simply for ideological reasons. ("Known terrorists" could still be kept out, said Rizzo.)

This change expired at the end of September, and Congress made another modification on Oct. 1, 1988, in the direction of restoring some of the previous restrictions. These were included in Public Law 100-461, which specified that for fiscal year 1989 (which ends on September 30), only visitors would be covered by the nonexclusion clause. Those who want to immigrate to the United States can once again be excluded for their political ideas.

On Sunday, March 5, armed with this

new legal weapon, Goldstick applied to travel to the United States. But he was turned back at the Immigration and Naturalization Service pre-clearance office at the Toronto International Airport.

According to Goldstick, "They asked me, 'Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?' I said yes. And he said, 'Oh, then you're not admissible.' I said, 'What about the new law?' He said, 'Oh, well we heard some rumors of that, but we haven't been told anything.' " The immigration officer then told Goldstick he would be denied entry.

When his lawyer called the next day, immigration officials said they were "re-viewing" Goldstick's file.

Goldstick had been scheduled to speak at the 1989 Marxist Scholars Conference at the University of Louisville in Kentucky. The conference was organized by the Marxist Educational Press, which is based at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

MEP leader Erwin Marquit, a physics professor at the University of Minnesota, informed students in his Introduction to Marxism class on Monday, March 6, about the undemocratic exclusion of Goldstick. They sent a joint letter of protest to the U.S. Justice Department, demanding the INS obey the law. The university newspaper printed a letter from Marquit about the case.

Marquit also called the offices of Sen. David Durenberger (R.-Minn.) and Rep. Martin Sabo (D.-Minn.). Both offices contacted the INS, inquiring into Goldstick's exclusion. By Tuesday afternoon, the INS had backed down and said they would admit Goldstick.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Cuba Today: What's Been Accomplished? Where is Cuba Headed? Speaker: Betsy Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 22. Reception 6:30; program, 7:30. St. Mark's Episcopal Church, 2300 Bancroft Way. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165 or 282-6255.

Oakland

Democracy and the Cuban Revolution. Who rules in Cuba? What's the role of elections there? What's the role of the Cuban Communist Party? Speaker: Betsy Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 23, 11 a.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165 or 282-6255.

San Francisco

Honduras Peace Tour. Gladys Lanza, president Honduran National Electrical Workers Union, president Coordinating Committee of Popular Organizations; Dr. Juan Almeyda, former rector, University of Honduras, president Honduras Peace Committee. Tues., April 25, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin St. (at Geary). Donation: \$2 to \$5. Sponsors: NICCA, EPOCA, Barricada USA, others. For more information call (415) 255-7296.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

Classes on "The Communist Manifesto Today — A Tool for Change." Sun., April 23 and 30, 2 p.m. Dwight Hall, Yale University Old Campus (near New Haven Green). Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance.

FLORIDA

Miami

Exxon Oil Spill: The Fight to Protect Our Environment. Speakers: representative Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., April 22, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

South Africa and the Crisis in Namibia. A panel discussion. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

Mark Curtis v. City of Des Moines and Cops. Teach-in on suit filed by frame-up victim Mark Curtis against cops who brutally beat him in city jail after his arrest. Sat., May 13. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For time and location call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Struggle for a Free Namibia. Speakers: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27; Shawnta Watson, University of Maryland Divestment Coalition, College Park. Sat., April 22. Dinner 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3; program \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

South Africa and the Crisis in Namibia. Speakers: Nels J'Anthony, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., April 23, 7 p.m. 605 Massa-

chusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Dearborn

Democratic Rights Under Attack in Israel. The Case of Michel Warshawski and the Alternative Information Centre. Speaker: Michel Warshawski. Sun., April 23, 6 p.m. Littlefield Blvd. United Presbyterian Church, 7560 Littlefield Blvd. (2 blocks northwest of Warren and Wyoming). Sponsors: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Rev. William Gepford, Littlefield Blvd. United Presbyterian Church; Palestine Aid Society; others. For more information call (313) 841-0160.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Abortion is a Woman's Right. A report back and slideshow from the April 9 March on Washington, D.C. Speakers: Ramona Olson, member United Auto Workers Local 879; Sylvia Giesbrecht, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 6803. Sun., April 23, 6:30 p.m. 4071/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

Working People's Stake in the Fight Against Censorship and Thought Control. Panel of speakers. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Police Brutality: Its History, Cause, and Cure. Speakers: leaders of Minneapolis Ad-Hoc Committee to Prevent Police Brutality, representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 22, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Democratic Rights Under Attack in Israel: Defend Michel Warshawski. Hear Michel Warshawski, Israeli journalist and political activist on trial for opposing Israeli government's anti-Palestinian policies. Tues., April 25, 12 noon. Terrace Room, Essex County College. Sponsors: Nelson Mandela Club; Organization of Arab Students; Frank Askin, professor of law at Rutgers University; Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (201) 653-5937 or 481-1233.

Exxon Oil Spill: The Fight to Protect Our Environment. Speaker: Mary Roche, Socialist Workers Party, member of Teamsters Local 877 at Exxon in New Jersey. Slideshow on oil spill. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

New Brunswick

Democratic Rights Under Attack in Israel: Defend Michel Warshawski. Hear Warshawski; Uri Eisenzweig, professor of comparative literature, Rutgers University; Valerie Caffee, chair, New Jersey Anti-Apartheid Mobilization Coalition; Mary Ellen Kluxen, chairperson, Central Jersey Rainbow Coalition, 6th C.D.; representative of Palestine Solidarity Committee. Tues., April 25, 7:30 p.m. Graduate Student Lounge, Student Center, Rutgers University. For more information call (201) 653-5937 or 481-1233.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Exxon Oil Spill: How Can We Defend Our Environment? Speakers: Mary Roche, Socialist Workers Party, member Teamsters Local 877 at Exxon in New Jersey; others. Slideshow on oil spill in Valdez, Alaska. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 28, 7 p.m. 464 Bergen St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

Strategies for Solidarity in Central America and the Caribbean: A Working Conference. Panels on Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Grenada, and the Caribbean. Sat., April 22, 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Hunter College West, 68th St. and Lexington Ave., 5th and 6th floors. Donation requested. Sponsor: Nicaragua Solidarity Network. For more information call (212) 226-7171.

The Fight for Political Rights in Israel. Panel discussion featuring Michel Warshawski, Israeli journalist and political activist on trial for opposing Israeli government's anti-Palestinian policies. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., April 22, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave., 2nd fl. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

Benefit Concert for El Salvador. Music by Cutumay Camones; host Peter Yarrow; with Human Condition. Sun., April 23, 7 p.m. Hunter College Assembly Hall, 69th St. betw. Lexington and Park aves. Donation: \$12 in advance, \$15 at door; students and low income, \$8. Sponsors: El Salvador Media Project, Hunter College Sister University Project, MASPS. For more information call (212) 279-4200 (Ticket Central).

Music of Friendship: An Evening in Concert with Dinh Thin and Nguyen Xuân Hoach, Pete Seeger, and Bev Grant. Special presentation by the UN representative of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the occasion of the 14th anniversary of the liberation of Vietnam. Renowned musicians from Hanoi will perform traditional Vietnamese folk music. Thurs., April 27, 7:30 p.m. The New School for Social Research Graduate Center - Swaydick Auditorium, 65 Fifth Ave. (at 14th St.) Donation: \$10 (\$5 low income) Sponsors: Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; and Economic Student Union, New School of Social Research. For more information call (718) 624-8173.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Satanic Verses: Why Working People Need to Fight Censorship. Speakers: Dr. Jeffrey Elliot, interviewed Fidel Castro for the book *Nothing Can Stop the Course of History*, which has been banned in Grenada; others to be announced. Sun., April 23, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

AIDS: What It Is and How to Fight It. Speakers: Jack Ben-Levi, AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) Oberlin College Chapter; Jim Wright, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Report from Valdez: The Alaskan Oil Spill, an Exxon-Made Disaster. Speaker: Janet Post, reporter for the *Militant* newspaper, just returned

from one-week fact-finding trip to Alaska. Sat., April 29, 7 p.m. 2730 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Capitalism in Crisis: The Battles Ahead for Working People. Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Morgantown City Council, 6th Ward. Sat., April 22. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m., party to follow. 221 Pleasant St. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

The Crisis of Homelessness in the U.S. Speakers: Rich Dickerson, Coalition for a Permanent Home for the Homeless; Max Monclair, Young Socialist Alliance; Don Timmerman, Casa Maria. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 22, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

BRITAIN

London

Struggle for a Palestinian Homeland. Speaker: Karma Nabulsi, Palestine Liberation Organization representative. Fri., April 28, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum. For more information call 01-401-2293.

Sheffield

May Day Banquet in Aid of the Pathfinder Bookcenter Fund. Speaker: Roberto de Armas, first secretary Cuban embassy, London. Entertainment by North Staffs Miners' Wives Action Group. Sat., April 29, 7 p.m. Donation: £6. Tickets available from Rich Palser, 12 Machom Bank Rd., Sheffield 7. Tel: 0742-583641.

CANADA

Montréal

Québécois National and Linguistic Rights — The Stakes for Working People Today. Speaker: Michel Prairie, candidate, Revolutionary Workers League in constituency of Bourget, editor of *Lutte ouvrière*. Sat., April 22, 7:30 p.m. Donation \$3. 4274 Papineau, Suite 302. Sponsor: Revolutionary Workers League. For more information call (514) 524-7992.

Toronto

Nicaragua: After The Contra War, the Challenge Facing the Revolution. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, reporter for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* newspapers in Nicaragua for past 3 years. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. Alexandra Park Centre, 105 Grange Court (1 south of Dundas, 1 west of Spadina). McArthur will also present two classes: 1. "Indians and Blacks in the Revolution: The Autonomy Process" Sat., May 6, 2:30 p.m. at address above. 2. "The Peasants' Fight for Land." Sun., May 7, 9:30 a.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: Saturday dinner, \$5; \$3 each event, or \$7 all three. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum in Toronto and Montréal. For more information call (416) 861-1399, or (514) 524-7992 for transportation from Montréal.

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NEW ZEALAND

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

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

SWEDEN

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

Value added — Dr. Bill Sanders, a Dallas veterinarian, is into cosmetic surgery for dogs. "People don't want to be apologetic for their pet's looks," he explains.



Harry Ring

Also, he adds, it curbs pet abuse. Someone coughs up for surgery and "the pet is more than just something you kick around."

Safety first — After the British

ferry the *Herald of Free Enterprise* capsized off the Belgian coast in 1987 with a toll of nearly 200, the British government recommended new safety standards. Now it has named seven ferries that don't meet those standards, but assures that the owners will not retain these ships more than "about another three years."

Don't breathe — A first national audit indicated that industry spewed at least 22.5 billion pounds of toxic waste into the environment in 1987. This was "far higher" than the Environmental Protection Agency expected. The agency also noted the reports were only partial and the actual amount is probably

far higher.

The healthy society — Of the 3.8 million U.S. children born in 1987, 40,000 will have died before their first birthday.

Judges do? — A federal appeals court ruled last month that churches can sue the government for damages done by federal infiltrators. The ruling stemmed from the 1986 Arizona church sanctuary case. It reversed an Arizona court that held that constitutionally protected religious liberties apply only to individuals, since churches "don't go to heaven."

Big eyes — "You decide to

look in on Sue's computer screen. She's new, and you need to keep an eye on her work.... You monitor her for a while without interfering with her work. In fact, Sue doesn't even know you're there!" — Ad for Close-Up, a computer program.

Annual crystal ball — If you're worried about where to invest, check out the 1989 *Political Risk Yearbook*. Covers globe in seven volumes. Nutshell political and economic data and estimates — percentagewise — of risk of political turmoil. The set, \$1,000.

Cost-effective therapy — Artist Steve Gianakos used to do drawings entitled, "How to murder your

pet." Now he's offering a deluxe dog bed, with end table, lamp, and a portrait of the pooch. He attributes the change of heart to "a post therapy love of animals." The beds start at \$5,000.

Oh? — "British police looking for burglars pulled over a Range Rover driven by Prince Philip. They let him go when they realized who he was." News item.

Thought for the week — "I don't think that you can predicate a sound national energy policy on an aberration that seems to have taken place in Prince William Sound." — President Bush on why he's still for turning the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge into an oilfield.

Military regime in Lebanon escalates civil war

Continued from front page

based militias then moved to cut off access to the areas Aoun controls.

In the early morning hours of March 14, Aoun's forces launched a devastating artillery barrage against West Beirut. The general's backers also shelled a village in the Bekaa valley, where Syrian troops are stationed, and a village near Beirut where Druse Muslims live.

Aoun proclaimed this to be the start of "the battle for liberating the land from the Syrians." An estimated 35,000 Syrian troops have been based in Lebanon since the 1970s. Many are stationed in West Beirut.

As their positions came under attack, Syrian forces joined the Muslim militias in firing on the areas Aoun controls. The predominantly Muslim brigades of the Lebanese army have also entered the battle against the would-be military ruler.

The destructive artillery war drew wider international attention after April 16, when Spain's ambassador to Lebanon was killed as explosives rained on a predominantly Christian suburb of Beirut.

Aoun becomes prime minister

Last September 22, Aoun was appointed prime minister of a military government set up by outgoing President Amin Gemayel, whose term ended minutes later. This move challenged the existing civilian government headed by Selim Hoss, a Sunni Muslim who became prime minister in 1987.

Hoss — and virtually all Muslim-based political and religious organizations — refused to accept the authority of the military regime. So did the army commanders who were Muslim, as well as the Syrian government.

Aoun's takeover attempt marks another stage in the breakdown of a political setup in Lebanon that was formalized shortly before French colonial rule ended at the close of World War II.

The French colonialists had long exercised control through an alliance with those sections of the merchant and landlord classes that belong to the Maronite Christian denomination. The political system sponsored by the French government when it was forced to concede independence preserved the domination of the Maronites.

The arrangement called for the president to come from the Maronite Christian minority, as did the commander of the armed forces. The prime minister was to be a Sunni Muslim, and the speaker of parliament a Shiite Muslim. Parliament was to be divided 6-5 in favor of the Christian communities, based on a 1932 census — the last official census ever taken in Lebanon.

Today the population, estimated at 3.3 million, is more than 60 percent Muslim. Adherents of the Shiite denomination of Islam, the grouping accorded the least political power, are the single largest religious grouping in the country. In effect, the Muslims, who include most of the country's workers and farmers, were largely disenfranchised by the system.

By formalizing divisions based on religious affiliation, the system blocked the forging of a unified, independent Lebanese nation. There was wide leeway for the French government and other imperialist powers to use divide-and-rule tactics.

In 1958 thousands of U.S. troops were sent to Lebanon. They helped a Maronite-dominated regime push back a Muslim-based revolt.

Civil war begins

The current civil war began in 1975, when the Maronite-led army and ultrarightist militias were confronted with growing Muslim-based militias, inspired in part by the example of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Some 400,000 Palestinian refugees live in Lebanon.

Syrian troops entered the country in 1976, initially to prevent an outright victory by the Muslim-based opposition.

In 1982 the Israeli government launched an invasion of Lebanon in order to crush the PLO and impose an ultrarightist regime allied to itself. Israeli troops occupied all of south Lebanon and Muslim West Beirut.

After Gemayel became president in 1982, however, Israeli forces had to be gradually withdrawn in the face of intense Lebanese resistance. The Israeli regime now controls an enclave in southern Lebanon along the two states' common border.

The Syrian government has attempted to maintain a strong position in Lebanon as a buffer against Israel. As part of this effort, they favor modifying the Lebanese political system in favor of the Muslim majority, and are today aligned with those resisting the attempt of the Maronite Christian forces to reassert their control.

As Israeli forces withdrew, U.S., British, Italian, and French troops attempted to prop up the Gemayel regime. This course, portrayed as "peacekeeping," included the shelling of Muslim communities by U.S. warships. The Lebanese army split, with predominantly Muslim sections going into opposition to Gemayel.

As the Muslim-based forces gained ground, the U.S. and allied troops had to be pulled out. Gemayel retained effective control only of the predominantly Maronite Christian enclave centered in East Beirut.

As the date for selecting a replacement for Gemayel approached, the Syrian government sponsored the candidacy of former president Suleiman Franjeh, a Maronite Christian. Last August, rightist militias forcibly barred Christian members of parliament, who the rightists feared might back the Syrian choice, from attending the parliamentary session that was to choose the next president. The vote was blocked.

Syrian and U.S. diplomats then reached

agreement on a candidate: Mikhael Daher, a Maronite Christian allied to Franjeh.

On September 22, with many Christian legislators again absent, parliament adjourned without voting on Daher. This set the stage for Gemayel to turn the reins of power over to Aoun.

As a Maronite Christian, Aoun's appointment as prime minister — a post supposed to be held by a Muslim under Lebanon's customary arrangement — marked a further breakdown in the traditional system.

Aoun and the other Maronite rightist leaders have turned to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq for support. He has reportedly provided Aoun and rightist militias with \$100 million in arms, including 67 tanks and armored vehicles.

U.S. officials have responded to the escalating fighting with diplomatic pressure on Syria. State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher called April 17 for "all parties, including Syria," to halt the fighting.

"We support Aoun's efforts to extend legality," an unnamed State Department official was quoted as saying, "but not through military means."

The French government attempted to intervene openly in support of Aoun. President Francois Mitterrand announced that his government would send oil, medicine, and other aid to East Beirut. A French diplomat sent to Lebanon strongly backed Aoun and criticized the failure of the administration of U.S. President George Bush to do likewise.

But when Syrian authorities threatened to sink the French ships, Mitterrand beat a retreat. He promised that the oil and other aid would be provided to both East and West Beirut.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

AN ASSOCIATED NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

April 27, 1979

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — A bloody, antilabor state of siege gripped this city on April 16, as state and local cops rampaged down the streets, attacking Steelworker pickets and trying to storm Local 8888's strike headquarters.

Some 11,000 shipbuilders are on strike against the Tenneco shipyard here.

At least 30 Steelworkers required hospital treatment. At least 63 strikers were arrested.

Many of the Steelworkers were injured when Newport News cops smashed into the front entrance of the union's strike offices. It was here also that the police apparently sustained most of their injuries, as Steelworkers stopped the cops short in their effort to break up the local's headquarters.

The police violence has not checked the fighting spirit of the Steelworkers.

Scores of strikers — including men and women injured and arrested during the cop riot — returned to the picket lines within hours.

Hundreds were on the lines again just after dawn on April 17, in a chanting, militant display of the union's refusal to be intimidated.

Soccer disaster sparks anger

Continued from front page

senior European football official, Jacques Georges, went so far as to characterize Liverpool fans as "beasts."

But the tragedy at Hillsborough has also highlighted the way fans are treated and the inadequate provisions made for their

safety.

Following the fire at Bradford a government-initiated report recommended that fans have "full access" to the field "where this is likely to be used as a place of safety." Nothing was done about that recommendation. Medical facilities at the stadiums are virtually nonexistent. The minimum medical provision required by the Football Association — not a legal requirement — is the presence of one doctor. At Hillsborough one oxygen cylinder was found to be empty, and there was no defibrillator machine available for heart attack victims.

After realizing the full horror of what had happened, the survivors' shock began to give way to anger. "We were treated like animals in a zoo," one said. As the *Daily Mirror* put it, "Travelling supporters on away-day excursions are herded like cattle by a police task force who look on most of them as trash. And they treat them as such."

Home Secretary Douglas Hurd announced April 17 that a government inquiry is to be made into the disaster.

Israeli killings

Continued from front page

ment is warranted.

Levinger responded to the indictment by saying the Israeli defense minister should be on trial for failing to crush the uprising.

The Israeli supreme court has ordered that the body of a Palestinian who died in jail last October be exhumed in the presence of a pathologist chosen by his family.

Ibrahim al-Matur, from a village near Hebron, was found dead in his cell last October. Police said he had hanged himself.

Al-Matur had been beaten by soldiers and suffered a broken arm. He was found hanging with his hands and feet handcuffed.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

April 27, 1964

Price 10c

NEW YORK, April 22 — The theme of the World's Fair opening day turned out to be the Negro freedom struggle in America. This had not been the theme intended by fair boss Robert Moses or his army of publicity agents, but was imposed on the opening ceremonies by the militants of the civil rights struggle.

Thus the countless pages of newspaper publicity and innumerable hours of radio and television time in this country and abroad arranged for by the fair's backers and touters were dominated, not by the planned hosannas to the wonders and glories of the exhibits and the sonorous commonplaces of President Lyndon Johnson's dedication speech, but by the activities and demands of the Negro freedom fighters.

This was the culmination of the campaign launched first by the Brooklyn chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, and then backed by other militant groups, to interfere with attendance at the fair's opening in order to protest the official ignoring of the Negro people's grievances.

Soccer fans versus profits

The deaths of 95 people attending a soccer match in Sheffield, England, are the direct result of the profit drive of the country's Football Association owners.

Soccer, the most popular sport in Britain, is also a multi-million dollar business. Up to half a million people, mainly working class, attend matches each week. Despite the vast sums of money generated by ticket sales, little has been done to upgrade the aging stadiums and to ensure adequate safety and medical facilities at them. In many stadiums even toilet facilities are at best primitive.

Luxurious "executive boxes" where businessmen watch the matches in comfort have been built in many stadiums.

The majority of fans watch the games while standing in fenced-in areas of terraced cement steps, often exposed to the elements. They are packed in far beyond any safe capacity. It was in just such an area that hundreds were trampled and crushed against metal barriers at the Sheffield stadium.

Many lives could have been saved had there been adequate medical personnel, equipment, and facilities. The association's minimum requirement is the presence of only one doctor. Several doctors who were attending the match attempted to set up emergency treatment areas. Fans tore down advertising signs to use as makeshift stretchers to ferry the injured and dying to ambulances. The chief executive of the Football Association admitted that no

"detailed procedure" existed for dealing with large-scale medical emergencies.

Police and Football Association officials were well aware of the potential danger to the safety of the fans. The 54,000-seat stadium had been sold out well in advance. Many fans came without tickets. Police procedures and the association's ticket allocation ensured the disastrous events.

These conditions are the source of the clashes between fans and the police — and sometimes among fans — that have given British soccer a reputation for violence. Press and TV accounts often describe football fans as "savages." Much of the violence is perpetrated by the cops themselves. In a number of cases juries have acquitted fans charged with crimes that resulted from violence instigated by undercover cops.

The government has used the violence at the matches to aid its push for stepped-up use of the police and repressive laws. The Football Spectators Act, currently before Parliament, would require all fans to carry identity cards. If enacted, it would pave the way for its extension to the entire population. In the wake of the Sheffield tragedy some have called for greater policing outside and inside stadium grounds.

The real savages in British soccer are the association's owners, who daily put the lives of thousands of working people at risk in the interest of maintaining their profits.

Solidarity with Eastern strikers

"The unity was great. The march showed how many of the common people there are. I was impressed by how many people knew about the situation at Eastern and supported us."

That's how New York flight attendant Leslie Brooks described the enthusiastic response she and other Eastern strikers received as they marched with half a million others at the abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., on April 9.

That kind of support is a central reason why, after seven weeks on the picket lines, the Eastern strike remains so strong.

The other reason is the unity of the strikers themselves. With only a handful of workers crossing the picket lines since the strike began March 4, Eastern's efforts to revive its paralyzed operations with scabs remain stymied. The unity of the airline's 8,500 Machinists, 5,900 flight attendants, and 3,400 pilots — something not seen in the airlines' industry for years — has dealt a crippling blow to Eastern's efforts to break the unions.

Eastern's owners, other capitalists, and the government are anxious to shift attention away from the success the strikers are having, away from the picket lines, away from strike support activities. To undercut the success and pop-

ularity of the strike, they seek to demoralize the strikers and demobilize support for them by focusing attention on the complex and obscure proceedings in the bankruptcy court and board rooms where Eastern's financial affairs are tied up.

The rulers also want to disabuse working people of the idea that they can affect the outcome of this struggle.

In this context, active solidarity with the Eastern strikers from workers, farmers, political activists, and others is more important than ever.

Walking the airport picket lines, attending rallies, getting out the facts about the strike, inviting Eastern workers to explain their story at meetings of unions and other organizations, and donating money and food are some of the ways working people and others can throw their weight behind the Eastern strikers. Those who fly should honor the unions' appeal not to fly Eastern or Continental, Texas Air's other airline, and they should urge everyone else to do the same.

The Machinists, flight attendants, and pilots at Eastern know that the support of other workers can and will affect the outcome of their struggle. Solidarity with the Eastern strikers!

Help distribute Action Program

We are pleased to announce that the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a pamphlet published in New York last year by Pathfinder, has just been reissued with a new preface by *Militant* editor Doug Jenness, and a new cover.

Pathfinder is maintaining the low price of \$1 for this pamphlet in order to maximize its distribution in the United States and other countries.

Readers who are participating in the international circulation drive for the *Militant* and other socialist publications know that the economic devastation faced by tens of millions of working people around the world today — and the anticipation that something even worse is in the offing — has stimulated interest in discussing what working people can do to defend ourselves.

The Action Program is indispensable for beginning to sort out the problems, their source, and possible solutions. As Jenness explains in the new preface:

"The crisis conditions ahead will generate struggles and revolts by working people, as we act to defend ourselves from the devastating effects of the capitalist crisis. More and more workers and farmers will be looking for proposals like those in this pamphlet," which center around the

demands to cancel the Third World debt, enforce affirmative action, and shorten the workweek.

When the *Action Program* was first published, it was distributed by the thousands all over the world. If anything, it is even more timely today.

Thus, we are renewing the call we made to readers last year to read, discuss, write to us about, and distribute this program. We will publish readers' comments and critical evaluations as part of the discussion on the program. Every person we talk to about buying a subscription to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière*, or a copy of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*, should also be told about the Action Program.

We should take bundles with us to Eastern Airlines, Harris Beef, and Pittston picket lines, to abortion rights protests, to Cuba solidarity activities, to demonstrations against cop racism and brutality, and to antiwar meetings. At every workplace, campus, housing project, high school, rural shopping area, demonstration, and picket line, we should be telling people about the Action Program.

There is no better tool for involving thousands of working people today in serious discussions about what can and must be done "to confront the coming economic crisis."

What's wrong with compromising on abortion rights

BY DOUG JENNESS

The April 9 abortion rights mobilization in Washington, D.C., shows that the reactionary effort to reverse the legal right of women to have abortions is being met by massive resistance.

At the same time, supporters of abortion rights are being challenged to explain their goals clearly and persuasively. In the discussion over how to do this, one of the issues posed is how to answer the charge by opponents of abortion rights that "abortion is murder."

Christopher Hitchens, a progressive-minded journalist whose column, "A Minority Report," appears regularly in the *Nation*, a weekly magazine published in New York,

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

has entered this discussion with proposals for overcoming "the dialogue of the deaf between those who shout 'murder' and those who dully reply 'no problem.'"

The leading element in "the 'right to life' movement," he wrote in his April 24 column, "is indeed composed of hypocrites, who are either indifferent to the suffering of others or in some cases positively enthusiastic about it; who are marketers of religious cretinism; and who have been thoroughly and revealingly unsettled by one of the century's most positive developments, the sexual autonomy of women."

He then takes issue with abortion rights activists who say that destroying a fetus poses "no problem because it was 'a mass of dependent protoplasm' with no more distinction or dignity than an inflamed appendix."

Hitchens says that a fetus is obviously alive and that it is a human life. "What other kind could it be?" Society, he says, can "claim a right and an interest" to the occupant of a woman's womb because it is "a candidate member of the next generation."

Does protecting the unborn child and the defense of women's rights need to "be permanently at war?" he asks. "What if there were to be a historic compromise?"

The pact he proposes is that a National Health Service be established that will make contraception free, guarantee prenatal and health care for any child, provide sex education, supervise a national adoption service, and provide free abortions to a woman who is a victim of rape or incest, or if her mental or physical health is threatened.

Conceding Hitchens' argument that a fetus is an embryonic human life doesn't tell us, however, whether or not a woman's right to have an abortion should be guaranteed.

That question can only be answered by shifting from the biological terrain of when human life "begins" and when an embryo can be considered viable to the plane of protecting women. Hitchens made this shift himself when he admitted that not all destruction of human embryos is murder, that in fact, it is "immoral and unscientific to maintain otherwise." If a woman is a victim of rape or incest or her mental and physical health is endangered, he says, abortion is justified.

Hitchens implicitly concedes, then, that in these instances the interests of the woman override those of the "candidate member of the next generation." But are these cases the only ones where this is true?

The answer is no. In fact, on the most basic issue of advancing women's equality, the legal right to be able to choose if and when to have children is essential. When women can control their own childbearing functions—without the intervention of the state, church, husband, boyfriend, or parents—it enables them to participate more fully in all aspects of social and political life. They are more easily able to become part of the work force and win economic independence.

Hitchens apparently doesn't think advancing women's equality—which is certainly on the same moral level as protecting a woman from bearing the child of a rapist or her mental and physical health—supercedes society's claim on the fetus. But that is the choice. The historic compromise he offers can't guarantee women's equality and protection for all human embryos. It is a compact made at the expense of women's rights.

Free contraception on demand is sound and just, but it doesn't mean women won't continue to have unintended pregnancies. Free prenatal and health care is also necessary, but it is for women who are bringing their pregnancies to term. The same is true for a national adoption service.

These measures don't address the women who don't want to be forced out of school or their jobs by being pregnant for nine months and then being forced to care for an infant. Nor do they address the women who don't want to face the decision of raising a child or giving it up for adoption. And they won't prevent women who don't qualify under Hitchens' exemptions from being forced into back-alley or self-induced abortions.

Society can't stake out a claim to some part of a woman's body or her reproductive functions without undercutting the opportunity for her to take a big step toward greater equality with men—and thereby advance the rights of all working people.

Babies don't cause poverty — capitalism does

BY MARGARET JAYKO

(Second of two parts)

On my way to the April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., my train was delayed so I went to the newsstand to pick up something to read. The April issue of Harper's magazine caught my eye. "The Lives of Teenage Mothers: Schoolbooks, Boyfriends, and Babies," was the title of one of the features listed on the front cover.

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The article contained interviews with several teenage mothers in the Bronx, in an attempt to probe why these women have children at a young age.

"For several years I've read about the 'problem of teenage parenthood'— children having children," wrote author Elizabeth Marek. "In New York City, teen pregnancies make up 15 percent of all pregnancies and account for more than 13,000 births each year," she reported.

Marek cited President George Bush's inaugural address, where he spoke of the need to help young women "who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love."

What Bush failed to say, and what Marek missed as well, is that the reasons these young women have children they don't want and/or can't care for stem from social causes first and foremost and can only be remedied by a political fight for social solutions.

Young, working-class women, and Blacks and Latinas disproportionately, have been hardest hit by the restrictions placed on women's right to abortion since state antiabortion laws were struck down in 1973 by the Supreme Court.

Ending federal funds for abortions, the shrinking number of medical facilities willing to perform the operation, and difficulties in gaining access to birth control and sex education all conspire to make the constitutional right to

control their own bodies difficult for young working-class women to actually exercise.

In 1981 the Supreme Court upheld a Utah law making it a crime for doctors to perform an abortion on a minor without notifying her parents first. While 25 states have enacted such laws, because of court challenges only 10 are in effect, according to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Opponents of teenage women's right to control their reproductive capacities often cloak their attacks in appeals to the need to bolster "parental authority." This is part of a broader attempt to wrap many reactionary, antiwoman moves in "defense of the family" rhetoric. This is the code word the ruling class and its mouthpieces employ whenever they want to undermine any degree of social responsibility for the health and well-being of working people.

At the same time, those in the ruling class who oppose new restrictions on the ability of teenage women to obtain abortions do so by arguing that "babies having babies" is a major source of poverty and the growth of an "underclass," especially in Black communities. Their argument in favor of greater access to abortion and birth control for teenagers is that poor women would have fewer children, leading to less poverty and less burdens on "taxpayers."

But this is simply a liberal variation on the centuries-old reactionary notion that a high birth rate, and not the domination of society by a tiny handful of exploiters, is the cause of poverty. It's an attempt to blame the poor for their poverty.

The argument is preposterous on the face of it.

For young women of the ruling class, having children at a very young age doesn't cause them to be poor, or to have to drop out of school, or to go on welfare, or to become homeless. If you belong to one of the tiny handful of superrich families that runs the United States, you have the private resources to obtain the best medical care, private education, child care, and housing, regardless of how many children you have.

But for working-class youth, especially those who come from the most impoverished layers of our class, it's quite another story entirely. Government-funded day care is minimal. For a young woman with a child, if she can find

a job it's most likely to be at the below-poverty level minimum wage, especially if she is Black. Schools make no serious provisions for students who have children, and the quality of health care and housing for those without a large income is abominable.

The difference between the fate of teenage mothers of different classes, therefore, can't be traced to having too many babies. It's the exploitative, racist, antiwoman capitalist system that is to blame.

The broadest possible access to sex education, birth control, and abortion for teenage women is an absolute must for them to have some measure of control over their lives. Such measures will prevent many of them from having children at a very young age, which puts limits on what they can do with their lives.

But the reasons young women often decide to have children are deeply ingrained by society and can't be changed overnight, no matter how easily they have access to abortion, birth control, and sex education.

That's why teenage women, like all women, should have the right to choose to have children, as well as not to have them. That means they also need 24-hour, government-funded day care; affirmative action in training, hiring, and upgrading so they can have decent-paying jobs; a livable income until they can get such a job; free, quality medical care; affordable, decent housing for themselves and their children; and access to education through college.

Through the women's rights struggle, and the civil rights movement before it, working-class women have won a degree of personal independence and potential confidence and combativity that is new in history. The ruling class fears and hates this new-found freedom, and wishes to reverse it. Part of the effort to roll back public attitudes on these questions is their propaganda around teenage pregnancies and welfare mothers.

The working class, on the other hand, welcomes women's increased confidence and rejects the rulers' view that poverty is inevitable. By pointing firmly in the direction of governmental and social responsibility for enforcing rights and taking care of children, working people can counter this ideological assault on all our rights.

LETTERS

Prochoice

In reference to the review of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, I would like to point out that the two groups in particular trying to influence opinion on the issue are not "prochoice" and "antiabortion" as has so constantly been reported of late. The fact is, they represent "prochoice" and "antichoice" advocates.

Many men and women find themselves antiabortion, but prochoice. The issue is not who, if anyone, wants to "kill babies." The issue is whether or not specific individuals should have the constitutional right to freedom of choice in this matter, as in so many others. One can only wonder how many other choices these antichoice advocates would ultimately like to make for all American citizens.

Rebecca Hensley
Macomb, Illinois

Three Mile Island

Doug Jenness' column on Three Mile Island (*Militant*, April 7) brought to my mind an article on Three Mile Island that appeared in the *New York Times* on Jan. 26, 1988. The article shows that the disaster was worse than anyone knew at the time it happened, and that it is not over yet.

The *Times* science reporter Walter Sullivan wrote: "Last summer engineers learned that molten radioactive fuel had accumulated in the bottom of the reactor's containment vessel. . . . Rather than . . . breaking through the reactor floor . . . the fuel was so hot that it melted through an inner wall. This means that the biggest riddle is why the superhot fuel did not also melt through the containment bottom and escape."

Sullivan quoted an executive of GPU Nuclear Corp., which owns TMI: "The fuel flowed like hot olive oil."

"As engineers discover more with each passing week how pervasive the invasion of the fuel was and how hot it was," Sullivan wrote, "they find themselves puzzled about why it did not do even more damage, breaching the final containment."

Sullivan's article also described the nightmare world of the cleanup process. "During the accident a large volume of radioactive cooling water cascaded into the basement . . . and much of the water is still there. It has made the basement too 'hot' for human entry." Workers are allowed to work only one week in every six to keep the dosage of radiation they receive within so-called acceptable limits.

One aspect of the cleanup that the nuclear power apologists don't talk about is the possibility of a nuclear explosion: "As the mixture of once-molten uranium fuel, fission products, and structural material is extracted," Sullivan wrote, "care must be taken that not enough accumulates to form a 'critical mass' that sets off an uncontrolled chain reaction." (That's the same thing as a nuclear explosion.) "As little as 150 pounds could become critical."

I don't know the current status of the cleanup: Sullivan's article predicted that the fuel would be removed within six months. However, it's obvious to me that anyone who still claims that nuclear power is safe is trying to sell a pipe dream.

Tom O'Brien
St. Paul, Minnesota

Soviet elections

I subscribe to the *Militant* and find it an interesting read. It gives a good account of political and social struggles from a revolutionary viewpoint.

However I would like to disagree with the article about the Soviet elections in the April 7 issue.

You talked about the March 26 elections in the context of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's drive for *perestroika*. You referred to *perestroika* as Gorbachev's "policy of relying more on decentralized planning, market forces, and profitability" and then counterposed this to "centralized planning under



the command of the bureaucratic apparatus."

You then went on to talk about Boris Yeltsin's campaign and his advocacy of a more rapid pace of reform.

This is all very well, but you do not seem to emphasize the importance of mass struggles from below. In the last few years there has been a big growth in socialist clubs, and these have played an important role in pressuring the party bosses.

The ferment in the various republics for greater autonomy has also played a very important part in accelerating the drive for change, particularly in Armenia and the Baltic republics.

I think that socialists must support the reforms in the Soviet Union, but it must be stressed that only fundamental changes in the power structure can achieve this in the long-term.

The working class in Russia must play the key role by demanding an end to bureaucratic privileges of all kinds. Workers must not

have to pay the price of the crisis.

The system of bureaucratic rule is crumbling throughout Eastern Europe. Genuine socialist democracy is the only solution.

A.S.
Leigh-on-Sea, England

Eastern strike

The April 14 *Militant* still treats the Eastern Airlines strike in purely journalistic terms. The reporting is good, but programmatically inadequate.

The crisis at Eastern demands a call for nationalization of the airline, since private management has demonstrated its corruption. Lorenzo robbed Eastern to build Continental. European airlines that are nationalized don't suffer from that, or from inefficiency due to competition.

And the shenanigans of private ownership don't consider the social needs of air transport. Profiteering bankruptcies subordinate public service and workers' wages to their rapacity.

The solidarity of the pilots would be greatly augmented if the Teamsters were to refuse deliveries to Continental. The Taft-Hartley law must be challenged by the AFL-CIO just as injunctions were fought during the organization of the CIO — by action. That requires demands on Lane Kirkland and Co. to stop faking and really challenge the ruling class. The *Militant* has been silent on this.

If there had been a Labor Party, Reagan couldn't have broken the Air Traffic Controllers' strike. The current strike shows the need, and the demand should be raised in the *Militant*.

Nat Simon
Miami Beach, Florida

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.

Eastern strikers' "resolve is strong" Rallies back strikers; bankruptcy proceedings continue

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo announced April 17 that he would not sell Eastern Airlines, but instead would reduce the size of the airline and raise needed income by further selling off Eastern assets. Texas Air is the parent company of Eastern.

The announcement came less than a week after an offer by Peter Ueberroth and a group of investors to buy Eastern for \$464 million fell through. That deal collapsed over Lorenzo's refusal to agree to the bankruptcy court's appointment of a trustee to run the airline until the sale was completed.

Eastern filed for bankruptcy on March 9, and its affairs are under the supervision of the federal bankruptcy court in New York. The company took that action five days after a strike by 8,500 Machinists, backed by pilots and flight attendants, brought the airline's operation to a virtual halt.

Officials of the Machinists', flight attendants', and pilots' unions stood by their request for a trustee to be named to run Eastern after they agreed to accept the five-year pact that Ueberroth said was necessary to make the buyout possible. The agreement included \$210 million a year in concessions. The unionists made it clear that they would not return to work for Lorenzo even for a few months. Lorenzo's refusal to allow a trustee to be appointed torpedoed the sale.

The bankruptcy court judge, Burton Lifland, is also reluctant to appoint a trustee, a step that is supposed to be a last resort in bankruptcy proceedings. Since it means taking some control of assets away from a company's management, it rarely happens.

Also on April 17, the bankruptcy court postponed for one week hearing a motion to auction off Eastern put forward by an Atlanta attorney. Eastern is supposed to present its own business plan for becoming a smaller airline to the court-named creditors' committee on April 20. Lorenzo has 120 days from the March 9 bankruptcy filing to come up with an overall reorganization plan for Eastern.

It is still possible that Texas Air will try to sell the airline, however. Several other investors, including Trans World Airlines Chairman Carl Icahn, have indicated interest in acquiring Eastern, and a renewed offer from Ueberroth is also not excluded.

Meanwhile, on April 15 a federal judge in Miami let stand a \$1.5 billion suit brought by Eastern against the International Association of Machinists and Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). The suit was filed 11 months ago and charges the two unions with racketeering, extortion, fraud, and defamation, in an effort to take control of the airline.

Strike firm

While some strikers were disappointed that the sale of Eastern to Ueberroth did not go through, others expressed relief given the scope of concessions they were being asked to accept. Many strikers feel that their success in keeping the airline shut down for seven weeks — and the support they are winning from wide layers, especially other workers — puts them in a stronger position to continue their fight.

"Our resolve is very strong. No pilots have returned to work since the first week of the strike," said ALPA spokesperson Roger Ouellette. He was responding to a full-page ad that appeared in the April 18 *New York Times*. The ad, part of a campaign to put pressure on the pilots, was signed by 188 scab and management pilots who are currently flying the 100 or so daily flights Eastern is able to manage. ALPA is planning its own ad on behalf of the 3,400 pilots who are honoring the Machinists' picket lines.

Strike support activities are continuing



Militant/Kathleen Mickells

Philadelphia rally for Eastern strikers on April 8 drew 750 workers from area unions

around the country. Strikers have made it a point to organize visible protests in many places where Lorenzo speaks.

On April 12 a dozen Eastern Machinists, flight attendants, and pilots from New York's LaGuardia Airport joined 140 supporters — mainly campus workers and students — in picketing Lorenzo when he spoke at the Columbia University School of Business.

The next day, some 30 LaGuardia strikers picketed Lorenzo again when he spoke at the University Club, a businessmen's association located on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Early on April 19, they caught up with Lorenzo again at Rockefeller Center, where he was taping a "Today Show" segment on NBC television.

Also on April 12, some 500 strikers and supporters rallied at the Beacon Council in downtown Miami. The council, a travel industry business association, was honoring Lorenzo.

ALPA members in New Jersey held a mock funeral for Lorenzo on April 15 at Newark International Airport. The event was attended by 150 Eastern workers, including a big contingent of pilots, who served as "pallbearers."

Some 100 members of the United Mine Workers of America from central Pennsyl-

vania made up the largest contingent at an Eastern strike support rally of several hundred unionists in downtown Pittsburgh April 14. UMW Region 1 District Director Keith Barnhardt had sent a letter to all mine union locals in the area urging them to participate. Many of the union members who came were from mines where fights are currently going on between the union and the company.

In San Juan, Puerto Rico, some 300 unionists joined an April 6 rally to back the Eastern workers. It was called by the Puerto Rico AFL-CIO and two independent union federations. The rally drew postal workers, Teamsters, steelworkers, and other unionists. The next day, Eastern strikers joined a march of 1,000 organized by the teachers' union to demand higher wages.

On April 8 more than 750 strikers and supporters participated in a demonstration called by the AFL-CIO at the Philadelphia International Airport.

'Shot in the arm'

On April 14, in his nationally syndicated column, Carl Rowan wrote that "Lorenzo has given labor a shot in the arm. The unions didn't just defeat Lorenzo on the picket lines," Rowan said. "They bested him in the court of public opinion."

Detroit: Black students win demands

BY SAM FARLEY
AND KATHIE FITZGERALD

DETROIT—Under the slogan "By any means necessary" more than 100 Black students at Wayne State University here began a "study-in" on April 12 in the university administration building.

"This is a study-in, not a sit-in," said Darrell Dawsey, 21, spokesperson for the protesters. "This is also a vehicle to make a statement about the racist nature of the university. All we're fighting for is dignity and respect."

The students took over the building when the university administration initially rejected their demands.

On April 17 and 18 in negotiations with study-in leaders, university officials agreed to five points. These included the establishing of an African studies department and procedures to honor Martin Luther King Day, increasing the number of African-American courses, and the hiring of more Black instructors. Other demands put

forward by the students included financing programs to enhance the recruitment and retention of Black students, and marking the date of the assassination of Malcolm X as a holiday.

The protest action was sparked by a racist cartoon in the student paper, the denial of tenure to a Black faculty member, and what is seen as many Black students as a racist climate on the campus. The cartoon, which appeared in the campus paper *South End*, showed a drawing of a man using the word "niggeras". The paper eventually printed an apology.

On April 8 three Arab students were attacked on the campus by students identified by witnesses as members of the WSU football team. Racist epithets were shouted. Two of the Arab students required hospitalization.

Wayne State has more than 30,000 students; 28 percent are Black, Asian, Latino, Arab, or other minorities. In 1988 the university had 99 Black professors, 7.5 percent of the faculty.

The previous day, columnist Art Buchwald wrote a piece lampooning Lorenzo — his second since the strike began. Several weeks ago, television commentator and columnist Linda Ellerbee, in a column titled "Who really is stranded by airline strike," urged readers to back the unions' fight to defend themselves against Eastern's union-busting. "Friends, as fights go, this is one of the big ones. One of the important ones. So whose side are you on?"

After seven weeks on the picket lines, some strikers have had to go out and get temporary jobs. Members of the Machinists' union at Eastern are receiving strike benefits of \$100 a week. ALPA members are getting \$2,400 a month from their union. The Transport Workers Union, which organizes Eastern flight attendants, does not have a strike fund, however, and the flight attendants are receiving no weekly benefits.

New York TWU Chairperson Carmen Gonzalez urged supporters of the strike to make contributions to the AFL-CIO "Fairness at Eastern" strike fund, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Those who would like to earmark donations to the flight attendants, she said, can send contributions to TWU Local 553 Strike Fund, 656 Minola Dr., Miami Springs, Fla. 33166.

Since the study-in began, several marches and rallies in support of the students have been held. On April 16 more than 300 supporters, including parents of the students inside the building, rallied in solidarity with the demands.

"The Black faculty has decided that they support the student demonstration without condition," said Patricia Coleman-Burns, a professor at WSU, as she went to the building to express the Black faculty support for the students.

Volunteers from Operation Get Down and other church and civic groups donated food and other supplies for the students. Supporters outside formed a chain to pass the supplies to the students inside the building. Tom Turner, past president of the Detroit Metro Labor Council, declared his support for the protest.

"Black people have never gotten anything without a fight," Dawsey said. "We plan on staying here until we get a commitment to implement our demands."