

## Eastern strikers meet renewed flights with stepped-up actions

### Back Eastern, coal strikers, socialist candidates urge

The following statement was issued June 29 by Ernest Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New Jersey State Assembly and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1018 at New York's La Guardia Airport, on strike at Eastern Airlines; John Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor of Birmingham, Alabama, and striking member of the United Mine Workers at Jim Walters No. 5 Mine in Brookwood, Alabama; and Jim Little, SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh and member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3246.

"We've got to be as one — all over. We can't be United Mine Workers or Steelworkers. We can't be Eastern workers. . . . We've got to be as one." This appeal for union solidarity was made by striking Pittston miner James Gibbs, at the June 25 "Women's Day" on the Eastern picket line at National Airport near Washington, D.C.

He was speaking for many thousands of workers — foremost among them the 17,000 Eastern Airlines workers and 44,000 coal miners now on strike — who are looking for ways to defend and strengthen their unions and back up the fighters involved in these two important strike battles.

Around the country, Eastern strikers and miners are taking steps to support and reinforce each others' strikes. In many cities, miners are joining the Eastern workers' picket lines and other activities. Eastern strikers are attending miners' rallies and speaking to UMW local meetings.

For the Eastern strikers, who have been on the picket lines for more than 17 weeks,



Some 500 Eastern strikers and supporters attended June 17 rally at Los Angeles International Airport. Eastern walkout, now one of longest in recent years, is most significant development indicating upturn in U.S. class struggle.

broadening solidarity now is especially important.

Working people in cities from Newark to Seattle have an important opportunity to show their support for the Eastern strikers by helping to build and participate in the round of solidarity rallies, bigger picket

lines, and airport "drive-throughs" being organized for the end of June and beginning of July.

Called to respond to Eastern's attempt to start up more scab flights, these activities will be the biggest round of strike support

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### Bigger picket lines, 'drive-throughs' held at airports

BY SUSAN LaMONT

When Eastern Airlines tries to resume service to a number of U.S. cities July 2, many of the flights will be met by expanded picket lines, airport "drive-throughs," and rallies organized by striking Eastern workers and their supporters.

Thousands of airport passengers traveling during the busy holiday weekend will be asked by strikers to sign an AFL-CIO-sponsored pledge not to fly Eastern or Continental Airlines. Both are owned by Texas Air Corp., headed by Frank Lorenzo.

This stepped-up strike activity on and around July 2 comes after 17,000 Machinists' union members, flight attendants, and pilots have been on the picket lines at airports around the country for four months. It will be the biggest round of strike support actions since the first few weeks of the walkout.

"The Eastern strike is alive and well! Join the picket line July 2," says a leaflet issued by International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 796 at Washington, D.C.'s National Airport. "Eastern has tar-

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## Miners' walkouts attacked by courts

BY DAN FEIN

CLEVELAND, Va. — The 44,000 union coal miners who have walked off the job in 11 states are under intensified attack from federal courts and the National Labor Relations Board. The workers acted to support a 13-week strike by miners employed by the Pittston Coal Group, which has refused to sign a contract with the United Mine Workers of America.

ers of America.

On June 27 Federal District Judge Dennis Knapp issued a preliminary injunction on behalf of more than 50 coal companies. His order barred the union from taking action against companies doing business with Pittston or filling Pittston's orders. Knapp is legally authorized to enforce the injunction nationwide and can impose jail sentences and fines on union officials who don't comply.

Knapp acted the day after the NLRB issued a "broad order" against solidarity walkouts, prohibiting the union from picketing or striking any coal company with which it does not have a primary labor dispute. The board ordered union officials to end the walkouts and report back in 10 days on the steps they have taken.

"Any tactic union members use that proves effective in putting economic pressure on the company is generally found to be illegal by the court," Cecil Roberts, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, said of the federal court order.

Solidarity walkouts in support of 1,900 miners at Pittston began June 12. Pittston Coal Group, the largest U.S. ex-

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## Prison officials launch new attack on Curtis

BY SAM MANUEL

In response to a new attack by prison authorities on Mark Curtis, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee has called for an emergency international protest campaign. A political activist, Curtis was framed up and beaten by the Des Moines, Iowa, cops and is serving a 25-year sentence at a state prison in Anamosa. He is appealing the conviction.

In a June 27 letter to the defense committee in Des Moines, Curtis reported that he has been moved to a new cell block where he is not allowed to have a "radio, tape player, or typewriter." The prison officials "took two days of Good Conduct Time, and will make me serve two weekend lockups," he wrote. During those weekends, Curtis will not be allowed out of his cell.

Curtis was also removed as secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Organization by prison authorities.

Curtis received a major write-up for spitting on the sidewalk during a summer Basketball League game sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Organization. Curtis explained, "I was playing at the time, and my mouth got dry and I spit. A guard

immediately got me and wrote me a major report."

"This is a blatant act of retaliation by prison officials against Mark because he won't stop fighting for his rights and the rights of other prisoners," explained Stu Singer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

An international protest forced authorities at the prison to relinquish to Curtis on June 13 two books that had been denied to him — a Spanish-English dictionary and 501 Spanish Verbs. Two magazines that had also been denied to Curtis, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* and the French-language *Lutte ouvrière* were referred to the prison's Publications Review Committee for decision as to whether Curtis can receive them.

Prison officials had argued that there were not enough personnel to review materials in other languages. Curtis was told by prison official Jerry Metternach that for that reason non-English materials represent a "security" risk. Metternach screens the Spanish-language literature received by Mexican and Salvadoran prisoners at Anamosa.

Curtis is appealing the write-up he received. "This is not only an attack on Mark but also on all those who protested prison officials denying him and other prisoners access to materials in languages other than English," Singer stressed.

Protests should be addressed to: John A.

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## Steelworkers at National vote 'no' on union-weakening contract proposal

BY PETER BRANDLI

GRANITE CITY, Ill. — Steelworkers at National Steel Corp. mills voted down a tentative contract agreement June 19 by a 61 to 39 percent margin. The vote was 3,239 against and 2,054 for the 50-month proposal.

Buddy Davis, president of District 34 of the United Steelworkers of America and chief union negotiator with NSC, said, "I don't expect either the company or the members to change positions significantly, so, that being the case, everybody needs to be getting prepared for a strike."

The proposal was voted down at National's

Granite City and Great Lakes divisions. The Great Lakes Division is near Detroit. It passed at the Midwest mill in Portage, Indiana.

Here at the Granite City Division, near St. Louis, the proposal was widely viewed as a concession contract that would have gutted many work rules and scheduling practices won over past decades.

If approved, the company would have been able to schedule production on Labor Day, Christmas Eve, and Christmas Day throughout the plant.

Stiff opposition was also voiced to the

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# Candidates urge solidarity for Eastern strikers

Following the appearance of an Eastern Airlines employment ad in the May 28 *Salt Lake Tribune*, Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council, 1st District, in Salt Lake City, issued a statement denouncing East-

new challenge as Lorenzo tries to restart the airline as a smaller, restructured, nonunion operation," the candidate said.

"Now is the time for all those who support the labor movement to adopt the Eastern strike as if it were

## CAMPAIGNING FOR SOCIALISM

ern Airlines boss Frank Lorenzo for "insulting all working-class Utahans by bringing his union-busting campaign to Salt Lake."

Warshell cited the Sunday employment want ads featuring an announcement for a "flight attendant open house" at the Salt Lake Airport Hilton.

"This kind of flagrant scabberding demands a response," Warshell, a chemical worker and member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-591, said. "The strike against Lorenzo's airline has been an inspiration to millions of working people across the country and beyond the borders. This impressive display of labor unity and solidarity has effectively shut down the operations of the seventh-largest airline in the United States."

"Now the Eastern strikers face a

our own."

The statement was quoted in the May 31 *Deseret News*, and by the June 4 *Salt Lake Tribune*.

More than 50 people attended a rally in Newark, New Jersey, on June 10 to launch campaigns of Cathy Sedwick for governor and Ernest Mailhot for New Jersey State Assembly on the SWP ticket.

Sedwick is a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 401. Mailhot is an aircraft service worker on strike at Eastern at La Guardia Airport and a member of the International Association of Machinists.

The gubernatorial candidate began her talk with a question posed frequently in the major news media: Is communism in crisis? Her reply was no, it is capitalism



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
**Cathy Sedwick is running for New Jersey governor.**

that is in crisis.

Sedwick pointed to the social explosions in Argentina and Venezu-

ela as examples of how severe the crisis is getting.

Among those attending the rally were coworkers of Sedwick who got into a lively discussion after the program about how to promote the socialist campaign in their plant at White Consolidated Industries in Edison.

Socialist candidate for mayor in Atlanta, Elizabeth Ziers, is a strong supporter of striking auto workers who walked out of Daniel Radiator Corp. on March 1. After laying off half the work force of 50, the company demanded a \$3-an-hour wage cut.

Ziers, a member of United Transportation Union Local 511, walked the picket line on June 8 and has been urging other workers to back the strike.

The company started bringing in scabs three weeks after the strike began. Following the company's claim that strikers were responsible for a carload of scabs being fired upon with a shotgun, a judge issued a restraining order limiting the pickets to two per plant gate.

Pickets at the plant gate had no knowledge of the shooting. "I first found out about it by reading the

newspaper. It's nothing but a pack of lies," said picket Bobby Parker, a machine operator with 18 years at Daniel.

Although they began their strike only three days before the Machinists' strike at Eastern Airlines, the United Auto Workers strikers had little information regarding that struggle.

"By reading the paper, I thought their strike was going nowhere. But after I read the garbage they printed about us, I see how the newspaper would give us the wrong idea about the Eastern strike," said Tyro Parrish.

The pickets expressed support for the Eastern workers' fight against union-busting. "You start out giving them concessions," said picket Wallace Daniels. "First they take a couple of fingers. Then they take your whole hand," he added. "You can't work, and by then your union is busted, and you can't fight back."

Most of the scabs the company had brought in were Vietnamese.

The pickets agreed with Ziers that unions need to fight for a shorter workweek so that all workers, including immigrant workers, can have a job at a livable wage.

# International socialist conference set for August

BY JIM WHITE

Hundreds of working people and students from around the world are now laying plans to come to Oberlin, Ohio, for an International Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference in early August. Hosted by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the conference will begin on Saturday, August 5, and end on Wednesday, August 9.

The YSA will also hold its 26th national convention on August 10-11 in Oberlin.

Groups and individuals who circulate Pathfinder books and the *Militant* in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States will be organizing and participating in the conference. They will be joined by other class-struggle fighters, including members of the International Association of Machinists on strike against Eastern and miners on strike against Pittston Coal Group.

Revolutionaries from southern Africa, the Caribbean, Central America, and the Middle East have been invited to attend.

Initial plans for the conference have been set. The week's activities will provide participants an opportunity to discuss the central

questions facing class-struggle fighters around the world.

A feature of each day's activities will be a talk by a central leader of the SWP.

The first of these, on Saturday evening, will take up the crisis of imperialism, from the intensifying competition among the imperialist powers to their inability to overthrow the workers and farmers in power in Nicaragua.

Other presentations will discuss the political weight and historic importance of the communist leadership in Cuba, the sharpening class conflict in the United States, and how carrying out communist political activity and an orientation to industrial unions is combined in the process of building revolutionary parties today.

Additional special presentations are in the planning stage, including a panel on the liberation struggle in southern Africa, and another featuring fighters from the Caribbean and Central America.

Every conference participant will be able to join the political discussion in classes and workshops.

The main classes will cap off the education program the SWP and YSA are engaged in this summer.

That program includes three class series. The first is on the political and organizational lessons of the founding and early years of the Socialist Workers Party. The second takes up the workers and peasants' fight for their own government, based on the experiences of the Cuban, Algerian, Grenadian, and Nicaraguan revolutions. The third set of classes is on the rectification process in Cuba, the fight launched by the Cuban Communist Party in 1986 to place working people at the center of the revolutionary process.

Workshops will provide an opportunity to share experiences among activists who have been carrying out common campaigns in different cities and countries over the last year. Socialists who work together in industrial unions will also meet on the last day of the conference.

**Curtis, Cuba, Pathfinder rallies**

In the evening, a series of special events will take place, starting Sunday night with a rally celebrating Mark Curtis' fight for justice. Prominent endorsers and activists, reflecting the international breadth of the defense effort, are being invited to speak.

Participants will also celebrate 30 years of the Cuban revolution at a rally focusing on

support for the revolution among fighters in the United States and around the world.

The conference will close Wednesday evening with a rally for the continued international expansion of the Pathfinder publishing house and for the effort to complete the Pathfinder Mural Project this fall.

Translation to Spanish and French will be available for all conference sessions, workshops, and evening events.

Throughout the week, there will be many opportunities for informal discussion. Evening social events and other recreation is planned.

Housing is provided in the Oberlin College dormitories; meals are served in the cafeterias. Inexpensive housing is available for those who need it. Child care is organized by parents in collaboration with conference staff.

Those who would like to find out more about — or who would like to join — the SWP and YSA are invited to attend the conference and the YSA convention.

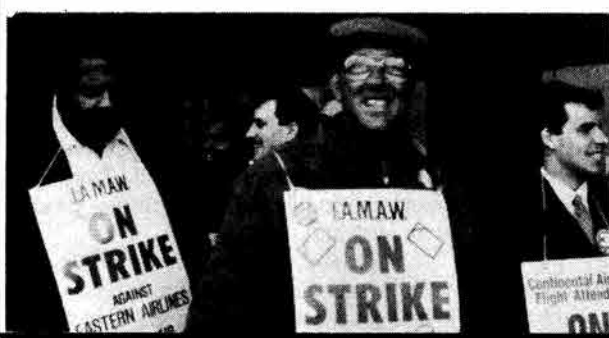
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# Cuban gov't probe reveals role of military officers in drug trade

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

Cuban general Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, who led military missions in Ethiopia and Angola and was awarded the medal Hero of the Republic of Cuba in 1984, went on trial in Havana June 25 for embezzlement and drug smuggling.

The tribunal hearing the case is made up of 45 army generals and two admirals. On the first day of the trial, Raúl Castro, head of Cuba's armed forces, testified against Ochoa.

Ochoa was arrested June 12 along with six other top-ranking officials of the army and Ministry of the Interior on charges of corruption. An inquiry into possible connections with international drug traders quickly followed.

A June 22 editorial in *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba, reported on the results of the investigation.

The editorial, according to *Granma*, expressed the opinion of the Communist Party Central Committee, President Fidel Castro, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the Ministry of the Interior.

*Granma* said it was complying with a promise to "inform the Cuban people and the international public of all the facts related to drug trafficking" uncovered by the exhaustive probe.

Ochoa and Col. Antonio de la Guardia Font, "the two main figures involved," cooperated very little, the editorial noted. But when presented with proof, they "admitted responsibility."

The facts were obtained independently of Ochoa and La Guardia, from others who took part and "made detailed statements on everything that occurred."

## Smuggled cocaine

Ochoa and La Guardia worked with Colombian drug traders to help smuggle cocaine to the United States between 1986 and '89. Traffickers linked to La Guardia carried out 19 operations between January 1987 and April 1989, 15 of which were successful.

La Guardia's collaborators "themselves calculate that they helped move six tons of cocaine, for which they received \$3.4 mil-

lion," *Granma* reported.

The editorial explained that since 1982 La Guardia had been head of Department Z, later renamed Department MC, of the Ministry of the Interior.

The division is charged with circumventing the U.S. economic blockade to acquire such products as medical and computer equipment and medicines and health supplies that Cuba is prevented from obtaining from the United States.

To carry out this task, it has established connections with U.S. citizens or residents who have the means to transport these products to Cuba by air and water. Department MC was authorized to engage in commercial arrangements with them, *Granma* explained, carrying out "absolutely moral and just activity" against the "criminal blockade."

But department members were obligated to work "under norms strictly prohibiting any links with elements who were in any way connected with drugs."

The department had the power to coordinate its work with the Cuban coast guard and aviation authorities, and "everyone gladly assisted them," *Granma* continued.

But it was "precisely through this authority and wide latitude for operations that La Guardia and a group of operatives close to him were able to begin cooperating with drug traders, deceiving other departments of the Ministry of the Interior."

Drugs were flown to Varadero, on Cuba's northern coast, from Colombia. They were packed in tobacco boxes and picked up by boats from Miami. The boats also collected cocaine dropped in fluorescent bags from planes flying over Cuban waters.

La Guardia made contact with drug dealers through an official of his department in Panama. Also, Ochoa first became involved in drug trading through a contact in Panama.

## Medellín

*Granma* reported that Ochoa's aide, Capt. Jorge Martínez Valdés, met with the head of the Medellín cartel, Pablo Escobar, in Colombia in May 1988. "An understanding was rapidly reached between Martínez and Es-

cobar for trafficking cocaine through Cuba," the editorial noted, "to be paid at the rate of \$1,200 per kilogram."

This meeting "was one of the most serious acts" committed by the two military officials, reported *Granma*. "If this aide to as well-known and prestigious a general as Arnaldo Ochoa had been captured and presented before world public opinion as some sort of representative of the country or of our armed forces, meeting with the Medellín cartel, there would have been a storm of slander against the revolution that would have been very difficult to refute."

"It is important to point out," the statement noted, that when Ochoa and La Guardia were arrested June 12, "nothing was known of their activities related to drug trafficking." The first indications surfaced a few hours after the arrest when a search of Martínez's house turned up a letter that, in Martínez's words, he had "stupidly" neglected to destroy.

However a probe into drug trafficking was already under way in Cuba. In April Fidel Castro had asked the Ministry of the Interior to carry out a "thorough investigation to determine if any Cuban officials were implicated in drug trafficking," reported *Granma*.

It is now clear, the editorial continued, that no sooner was this probe begun than "La Guardia's group suspended its operations and began to dismantle its apparatus and cover its tracks."

Ochoa and La Guardia claimed they intended only to help the country. But "helping" the country this way amounted to "thrusting a dagger in its back," *Granma* explained.

The officials' cynical lie that they were going to turn over all the money to the Cuban government was exposed, the Communist Party paper stated, when "hundreds of thousands of dollars started to appear" in the houses of their close friends and relatives and in various hiding places — stuffed in a freezer, hidden under a cement headstone.

Investigators confiscated more than \$1.3 million in dollars and pesos — most of it dollars — stashed away by La Guardia and five of his and Ochoa's collaborators.

The Cuban people "will find a humanitarian use to dedicate these funds to," *Granma* stated.

In addition to his "earnings" from drug trafficking, Ochoa was discovered to have \$200,000 in a bank in Panama. Twenty-five thousand dollars was found at his home.

Aside from violating revolutionary principles, the manner in which Ochoa and La Guardia conducted themselves was "repulsive," *Granma* stated. They acted "like vulgar bandits of international drug trafficking, selling out their country."

## Policy on drugs

The editorial concluded with a detailed explanation of the Cuban government's policy on drugs.

Cuba is one of the few countries in the hemisphere, *Granma* explained, that is not involved in the growing and manufacture of drugs — in a continent where this has become a "cancer."

The U.S. government has proved itself incapable of preventing consumption and trafficking in drugs inside its own borders. And all its measures against drug-producing countries in Latin America are "repressive in character," refusing to understand that the economic and social crisis in Latin America has "driven millions of people into the cultivation and processing of drugs."

The absence of effective measures to prevent drug use in the United States, the foreign debt, and the crisis and growing poverty of hundreds of millions in Latin America and the Caribbean, *Granma* stated, render useless the millions spent in efforts by the U.S. and Latin American governments against drug trafficking.

For years Cuba has been "irreproachable in complying with its international duty" to not allow its territory to be used for drug trafficking. "Dozens of boats and planes and hundreds of drug traffickers... who accidentally landed here or entered our territorial waters have been apprehended," *Granma* reported.

"We have been dealt a heavy blow" for the first time by international drug trafficking, the report continued, but we will get rid of the problem by "uprooting it completely." Not-



Gianfranco Gorgoni, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder  
Raúl Castro, head of Cuba's armed forces, presented evidence against Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa.

ing that "we are the only country in this hemisphere capable of doing this," *Granma* stated that "it won't be a difficult task" for Cuban citizens, members of the coast guard, and members of the army and Ministry of the Interior.

The editorial explained that drug traders now know that Cuba will take "drastic measures" against traffickers, "as hard as it may be to have to shoot down a plane that refuses to comply with an order to land."

The conduct of Ochoa, La Guardia, and their collaborators "shows to what extent a consumer society with its flashy fake jewelry is capable of dazzling and influencing certain people; how necessary it is to be more vigilant and exacting and raise our revolutionary consciousness."

What the two military officials did was "deal a blow to Cuba's international prestige and moral standing," *Granma* explained. "Our prestige is the fundamental way we defend ourselves against U.S. imperialist aggression and how we make the voice of our people heard in every corner of the world."

Ochoa and La Guardia "endangered not only our prestige, but our security," the statement concluded, "because in today's world a small nation without prestige and moral standing is defenseless. To dishonor a heroic people is to rob it of its strength. To deal a blow to its confidence is to deal a blow to its fighting morale."

## State Dept. denies U.S. entry to well-known Cuban ensemble

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — In May the U.S. State Department denied visas to the internationally known Cuban band Orquesta Aragón, which was invited to perform at the first annual Latin music festival here June 3-5.

A May 6 editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* called the decision "inconsistent to the point of hypocrisy."

It is "absurd," the editorial stated, for the U.S. government to welcome "the Bolshoi Ballet and other artistic groups, athletic teams, orchestra conductors and assorted Olympic champions from the Soviet Union, China, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc. etc." and "turn away a Cuban dance band."

"Freedom has been denied to organizers of Viva Chicago, who have been subjected to telephone threats," the *Tribune* noted, "as surely as it has been denied to the Hispanic festival audiences who will miss the music Orquesta Aragón provides."

Along with other well-known Latin Amer-

ican performers, Aragón was invited by the Mayor's Office on Special Events to participate in the festival of Latin American and Caribbean music. The 14-piece band is celebrating its 50th anniversary.

As soon as the invitation was issued, right-wing forces in the Cuban community launched a campaign to pressure the city to tear up its contract with the group. For months, the right of Aragón to participate was debated in the city's press.

Prior to the visa denial, some 100 people attended a meeting at City Hall to show support for the appearance of the band. None of the gala's sponsors withdrew their backing in the face of the right-wing campaign.

A May 15 article in the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* noted that the denial was the third time this year that Cuban artists have been refused visas, indicating "a clear and open policy on the part of the United States against Cuban performers."

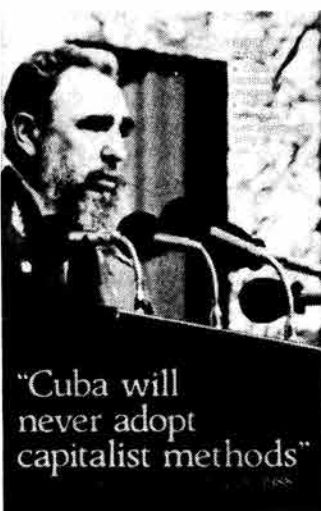
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## 'Militant' will cover world youth festival in Korea

*Militant* editor Margaret Jayko is on her way to Pyongyang, capital city of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to cover the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students.

This is the first time the festival will be held in Asia, and more than 20,000 young people from well over 100 countries are expected to attend. A delegation of 100 was scheduled to leave from the United States June 27.

The festival will run from July 1 to July 8. Since 1947, 12 youth and student festivals have been held.

The festival is being held under the banner of "Anti-imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship."

The U.S.-backed regime in South Korea is trying to prevent youth from that country from attending the festival in the northern part of their homeland.

The Korean Preparatory Committee for the festival has announced that the North Korean government will open the border between the two parts of divided Korea to youth from the south who want to participate in the festival "and guarantee them personal safety and all conveniences till they go back after attending the Pyongyang Festival."

Holding the festival in Pyongyang is a blow to Washington's decades-long policy of politically and economically isolating North Korea.

Korean youth living in Japan and North America are also being encouraged to attend.



# Push needed to raise \$100,000 in fund drive

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail term on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Com-

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

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

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

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is on an international drive to raise \$100,000 by September 14, the first anniversary of Curtis' conviction.

According to the latest mailing from the committee, signed by steering committee member John Studer, "This projection is significantly higher than the last two fund drives, reflecting the expanded work of the defense committee. To successfully complete it will require serious attention from all defense supporters."

"The heaviest expenses this fund are aimed at meeting fall due in the first two months — June and July. Fund-raising efforts must be launched quickly."

Unlike previous defense committee fund-raising efforts, this one cannot be met largely through substantial donations by those who are

already defense activists. "To reach the \$100,000 requires all supporters to place fund-raising at the center of their activities over the summer," explained Studer. The defense committee has set up a committee to coordinate fund-raising efforts, both those undertaken directly from the office as well as helping to coordinate fund-raising with supporters around the world. Defense committee treasurer Julia Terrell, Sandra Nelson, John Studer, and Mary Nell Bockman are the members of the fund-raising committee.

The letter from the defense committee suggests two central methods to organize fund-raising, which are linked the broadening support for the defense effort.

- Drawing up a list of individuals and organizations to talk to about political and financial support. Requests for funds can be combined with appealing for support to the protest campaign against the censorship of non-English language materials to Curtis and other prisoners, as well as continuing the crucial effort to win new endorsers of the defense committee.

Local areas can also put out a fund letter. The Des Moines office projects putting out a national mailing to all endorsers and contributors at the beginning of July. This

can be followed up by calls and visits.

"Anyone interested in making a larger contribution," Studer said, may desire to have the donation be tax deductible. "Such contributions can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.," which has agreed to handle tax deductible donations for the defense.

- The second category of fund-raising is organizing events over the summer that can attract supporters and potential supporters to hear about the latest developments in the case and win deeper backing, including financial.

Such events have been held recently in New Zealand, Britain, and several cities in the United States. They include rallies, teach-ins, theater and poetry-reading benefits, and other types of events.

The committee is urging supporters to phone in their fund-raising plans so the committee has a picture of how this international fund will be successfully carried out.

Peter Heathfield, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, endorsed the defense committee last month. In doing so, he wrote a statement explaining his support. Given the important role of the NUM in the fight of the British and international labor movement against employer and government attacks, we are reprinting it here:

"I have been following the Mark

Curtis case since before the trial in the *Militant*. Everything about this case says the same thing — it is a frame-up.

"Mark has been framed because of his involvement with Central America and his defence of Latin American workers.

"To us in the National Union of Mineworkers, this situation is familiar — the media and the establishment combining against those determined to defend the rights of working people and a trial conducted on the basis of the defendant's politics.

"In the case of the British miners, in the case of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four [Irish independence activists in jail for their political activities], and throughout the capitalist world, we are witnessing a drive to victimize and crush people defending their rights. Mark Curtis is a *trade unionist* — this is the fundamental point — a fellow worker is under attack. It is our duty and our obligation to close ranks and defend trade unionists in struggle.

"Please convey my support and the support of thousands of miners for Mark and the campaign. This is another cause for justice trade unionists must take up."

Supporters of Curtis in New York received a good response at the table they set up at a June 17 rally for Joe Doherty.

Doherty is an Irish freedom

fighter imprisoned in New York who the U.S. government is trying to deport.

Curtis supporters told demonstrators they were there to support Doherty, as well as publicize the case of another U.S. political prisoner, Mark Curtis. Eighteen copies of the pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* were sold, with some people giving donations in addition. Quantities of other defense literature were given out as well.

The defense committee is asking for protests to continue against the ban on non-English language magazines and correspondence to Curtis and other prisoners at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, as well as against the policy of preventing prisoners from exchanging written materials.

Protests should be addressed to John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205. Copies should be sent to Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa 50319; Paul Grossheim, Director of the Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Marc Lichtman from New York contributed to this column.

# One-day strikes shut down British rail, subways

## Workers got a glimpse of potential strength of their unions

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON — On June 28 more than 100,000 transport workers in Britain conducted their second 24-hour strike. A week before, the first of these walkouts brought the capital to a halt in a way not seen since the general strike of 1926.

Nationally, the rail strike was solid. Management was unable to move a single train. After four years of defeat and quiescence in the wake of the 1984-85 miners' strike, workers got a glimpse of the potential strength of their unions.

The action has involved 75,000 members of the National Union of Railwaymen employed by British Rail and 20,000 on the London Underground network. A third one-day action has been announced by the NUR for July 5, including the possibility that the action will be broadened to other unions involved in rail if management refuses to concede on the union's key demands.

Separate issues face the two groups of rail transport workers and the London bus system workers. But they all point to the squeeze felt by working people as the bosses drive to increase their rates of profit. On British Rail, workers are resisting two attacks.

First, are management measures to undermine the bargaining power of the union by

ending national negotiations over wages and conditions. With the five new separate bargaining units based on job categories, wages and conditions will soon drift apart and the unity of workers — and the power of their unions — will be weakened. This is coupled with plans to scrap union representation procedures, leaving members who require union assistance increasingly at the mercy of local managers.

Secondly, rail workers are rejecting the low pay, long hours, and massive increases in productivity extracted from them since the early 1980s.

Low base rates — from £96.80 (£1=US\$1.56) for a 39-hour week — force rail workers to work an average of 54 hours each week to get a living wage. Twenty percent of the work force puts in more than 60 hours a week.

Since 1979 railway jobs have been cut by 27 percent. Over the same period productivity has increased by 30 percent. This explains the record profits achieved by British Rail this year, estimated to be £500 million and due to be announced on July 5. It also explains why rail workers are angered by the 7 percent pay increase British Rail has imposed in their wage packets, especially at a time when inflation rates nationally are 8.5 percent, but are estimated in London to be more like 16 percent.

### Bus and subway workers

The Transport and General Workers Union members employed by the London Bus Co., including drivers, ticket collectors, and maintenance staff, rejected a recommendation by union officials to accept the latest 8.3 percent pay offer, plus improved holiday and bonus allowances. They decided to hold out for a 14 percent increase.

On the Underground, the issue is opposition to management plans to bring in the "Action Station" concept. This involves doing away with seniority rights and gives management an open door to discriminate against subway workers going forward for promotion.

The union is fighting to defend the right of any worker — regardless of color, creed, sex, or political activity — to be promoted strictly on the basis of how long they have worked on the job, thus proving they are capable of performing their duties.

Many Caribbean workers who started work in the lowest job categories on the tube system in the 1950s consider they will be



G.M. Cookson

A National Union of Railwaymen contingent at 1987 London anti-apartheid march.

most victimized by the proposals. And indeed, the union has produced figures confirming these fears. For example, on the London buses, which were part of the Underground until two years ago, the number of Black workers holding supervisory positions is 14 percent of the work force, compared to 37 percent on the tubes where seniority has been maintained.

The union's approach in championing the rights of these Black workers has deepened unity among the membership. However, this unity is being undermined by the so-called coordinators of unofficial action taken by drivers and train operators (drivers on trains without brakemen) on the Underground.

These 3,000 workers — half are members of the craft union of train drivers, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and half are in the National Union of Railwaymen — have staged seven one-day unofficial strikes on the tubes since April. A ballot by ASLEF is currently under way to make these actions official.

These workers are demanding compensa-

tion of £64 a week for the removal of guards on the tube trains and £23,000 in back pay. The £64 represents half the wages of the guards. While these actions have successfully shut down the network on every occasion, the stance of the "coordinators" has been to confine involvement to only the train crews.

NUR activists heading up the District Council for London Underground workers argue that only through united action of all rail workers — from the lowest-paid cleaning and catering staff through the train operators — will jobs and rights at work be successfully defended.

However, the coordinators view any broadening of the action on the Underground as weakening what they see as "their" dispute.

### Courts try to stop action

In the final days leading up to the first nationwide one-day walkout, British Rail turned to the courts to stop the action. Employers have repeatedly challenged threatened strike action in recent months, claiming the unions have failed to comply with anti-union legislation. However, this time the basis was so flimsy that, on appeal, the court found in favor of the union and refused to grant British Rail an injunction.

Fueling this conflict are plans to shut down whole sectors of the 11,000-mile railway network deemed unprofitable by the government and BR management, especially in rural areas.

A deep well of sympathy for rail workers exists in the broader labor movement. Not only is the £96.80 basic weekly pay seen as outrageous, but in the wake of several major transport accidents, there is broad concern in the working class for railway safety. Many people, for example, were shocked by the accounts of long working hours and intolerable conditions submitted to the inquiry over the December 1988, railway disaster at Clapham Junction in South London.

Several newspaper articles have commented on the muting of the hostility — if not even sympathy — toward rail workers, who often are on the receiving end of frustration expressed by passengers over the dangerous levels of overcrowding and high travel costs, as well as over delays due to faults in a system neglected through cuts in maintenance staff.

Doreen Weppeler works as a guard (brakeman) for British Rail and is a member of the NUR.

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# Regime's economic policies spur tense social polarization

BY FRED FELDMAN

(Last in a series)

The student-led protests in China and the brutal repression of them by the government of Deng Xiaoping took place in the midst of widening social polarization. On one side, increasingly wealthy government officials, capitalists, and rich peasants confront, on the other, masses of workers, peasants, and other toiling people who today face a tightening economic squeeze.

The officials, capitalists, and rich farmers have been the primary beneficiaries of economic policies implemented by the government and ruling Communist Party over the past decade.

Putting forward such slogans as, "to get rich is glorious," the Communist Party officialdom appeals for the support of the best-off sections of Chinese society.

Wide layers of workers and farmers, on the other hand, had to settle for small gains at best

## BEHIND CRISIS IN CHINA

in the first years of the decade and now face growing unemployment, declining buying power due to inflation, and even the possibility of hunger.

The shift in economic policies began in the late 1970s when Deng Xiaoping emerged as the central figure in the government.

### Private farming instituted

Under Deng, the Chinese government and ruling Communist Party reversed the late Mao Tse-tung's policy of imposing collectivized agriculture on the peasants. Forced collectivization aimed to maximize control over the peasants' labor and product.

Beginning in late 1978, the regime announced a series of increases in the price it paid for grain that eventually amounted to a jump of more than 100 percent over the pre-1978 price. The opening of village markets, formerly banned, was authorized and within a few years 44,000 of them dotted the countryside.

Over the next five years, the cooperatives that peasants everywhere had previously been required to join were effectively dissolved in favor of what became known as the "responsibility system."

Under this system, the land formerly owned by cooperatives and collectives was divided up among the peasant families belonging to the group. The families now operated them independently.

Often machinery and other goods that had been owned cooperatively were also sold off. By 1985 one-third of all power cultivators and tractors were owned by single families.

The regime continued to reject, as it had since 1955 when Mao launched the drive to force the peasants into collective farms, a course based on the voluntary, gradual extension of cooperation among the peasants.

By 1983 more than 90 percent of peasant families were operating under the new system. Heavy administrative pressure was brought to bear to assure that remaining cooperatives such as Dazhai and Long Bow, where cooperative organization was preferred by many peasants, broke up their holdings.

Like the Mao regime, Deng's government represented the privileged bureaucratic caste that holds the top positions in the party, government administration, and armed forces. This caste fears the workers and peasants as a potential threat, and treats them not as makers of their own history, but as objects of the policies adopted by the bureaucratic machine.

### 'Responsibility system'

Under the "responsibility system," individual peasant households now signed contracts with the state. They agreed, in exchange for the right to use land, to turn over a fixed amount of grain to the state. An additional amount was to be sold to the government at

prices set by the regime. The rest of the product could be sold on the market.

In addition, the peasant families were to pay local and national taxes.

Peasants were allowed wider leeway in determining what to grow on their land. Many switched from rice or wheat to vegetables or other crops where higher market prices could be obtained. Those who used their land for something other than growing grain could meet their grain quotas by purchasing rice or wheat on the market and then turn it over to the government.

Partly to reduce rural unemployment and to spur some poorer peasants to shift from agricultural production into industry, the regime encouraged the development of rural industries owned by individuals, groups of peasants, and various institutions. Peasants who took jobs in such factories were authorized to rent the land they held to other peasants.

Today, factories in rural areas employ some 90 million people.

In 1979 the regime announced wider leeway for peddlers, small businesses, and capitalist enterprises to operate in the cities. In 1984 state-owned firms were authorized to keep the surpluses they produced above costs, while requiring them to pay a 55 percent tax to the state. Formerly, the enterprises had to turn over their entire surpluses to the state.

In 1985 a two-tier pricing system was set up. The production quota set for a state enterprise had to be sold at the price set by the government. Any surplus could be sold at market prices.

To attract foreign capital, the Chinese government established four special zones in



Deng Xiaoping

coastal areas where foreign capitalists can start up businesses and exploit cheap labor with a minimum of government control and charges. In Shenzhen, near the British-held city of Hong Kong, more than 1,000 small capitalist enterprises had been started up by 1982. Most were small shops set up by Hong Kong capitalists, but Pepsi Cola, Goodyear, and other large U.S. firms set up shop there too.

Foreign capital was also sought by offering capitalists from other countries the opportunity to establish joint ventures with the Chinese government. U.S. companies such as American Motors and McDonnell Douglas, along with Japanese and West German firms, were among those involved. The number of such ventures jumped from 1,000 in 1984 to 7,000 today.

The law barring private employers from hiring more than eight workers is now widely ignored, and the owner of one factory in the southern coastal region has hired 900 workers.

As the expansion of capitalist commodity production in cities and rural areas picked up steam, the percentage of the country's factory goods produced in state enterprises has declined from 81 percent a decade ago to 59



Shenzhen, one of four zones set up to attract foreign investors to southern China. International Trade Center is China's tallest building. Skyscrapers and other symbols of wealth multiplied in such areas, but masses of workers and farmers face worsening conditions.

percent today. In some coastal regions, the percentage of production represented by state firms is even smaller.

### Economic growth

China's foreign trade soared. Exports of manufactured goods zoomed from \$3.6 billion in 1978 to about \$15 billion in 1984. Clothing and textiles replaced oil as the country's number one export. Industry rose to represent 41 percent of the country's gross national product.

Agriculture also appeared to surge forward initially. Grain production rose 34 percent to 400 million tons from 1978 to 1984.

Economic growth rates averaged nearly 10 percent a year for the 10 years after 1978. Average incomes in the countryside grew by 85 percent from 1980 to 1984. The rising living standard of many peasants in these years softened the immediate impact of the widening gap between rich peasants and the mass of agricultural toilers.

A layer of workers also scored immediate material gains, as factory managers were encouraged to offer bonuses to spur production.

Bonuses enabled the regime to move toward institutionalizing a reduction in the job security of employed factory workers. Previously, they were supposed to be guaranteed lifetime employment, but this began to change with the decentralization of industry and expansion of capitalist relations. Like the growth of class differentiation in the countryside, the undermining of workers' job security was obscured for a time by the economic growth.

### Working conditions

The workers have paid in other ways as well for the changes. "At some small, Hong Kong-owned factories in southern Guangdong Province, employees work 12 hours a day, seven days a week — and workers line up to get the jobs because the pay is relatively high," reported Nicholas Kristof in the Jan. 1, 1989, *New York Times*. "The factories hire children even though it is nominally against the law. . . ."

"Asked about minimum-wage laws and other regulations, a Communist Party official seemed genuinely puzzled. Why, he asked, should the state interfere if both the worker and the employer are happy with the arrangements?"

The regime sought more popularity for its measures among the wealthy, the urban middle classes, and also among better-off workers and peasants, by encouraging a surge of imports. Ownership of television sets, refrigerators, cars, video cassette recorders, and other consumer goods became more widespread.

At every step in this process, the top officialdom were among the main beneficiaries. Bribery, speculation, theft, and other forms of corruption spread.

In some cases, family members of top officials have become capitalist businessmen. Deng Pufang, son of Deng Xiaoping, founded and operated for a time the Kanghua Co. that was involved in business activities in the special zone of Shenzhen.

The son of Communist Party Political Bureau member Wan Li is a deputy director of the Hong Kong branch of the China Investment and Trade Corp.

### 'Scandalous ripoff'

William Hinton, a visitor to China who generally supports the policies that were followed during Mao's years in power, has charged that the breakup of the agricultural cooperatives was the occasion of a "scandalous rip-off" by the officialdom.

"When the time came to distribute collective assets," he wrote in the March 1989 *Monthly Review*, "people with influence and connections — cadres, their relatives, friends, and cronies — were able to buy, at massive discounts, the tractors, trucks, wells, pumps, processing equipment, and other productive property that the collectives had accumulated over decades through the hard labor of all members. Not only did the buyers manage to set low prices for these capital assets (often one-third or less of their true value), but they often bought them with easy credit from state banks and then, in the end, often failed to pay what they had promised."

By 1985 conditions began to acutely worsen for millions of workers, peasants, and other toilers. Popular discontent began to rise.

The production of rice and wheat — the basic food crops — declined in 1985, and again in 1988. The regime imported 16 million tons of grain last year. The production record set in 1984 has not been equalled since.

### Problems in countryside

The proportion of government investment devoted to agriculture plummeted from 10.6 percent in 1978 to 3.3 percent in 1986.

The officially sponsored dismantling of many cooperative institutions among the peasants may also be undermining those aspects of agricultural production that often require common social effort. According to a March 31, 1986, dispatch from the New China News Agency, a delegate to the National People's Congress — the legislature — warned of "degeneration of the land, aging of machinery, deterioration of irrigation, and worsening of the seeds."

Other reasons for stagnant or declining grain production include the shift of many peasants to producing crops that draw higher prices and the shift of many peasants to factory work.

Fertilizer production has been falling short of goals and market prices have soared, while the prices the government set for grain remained comparatively stable. The widening gap between prices of agricultural inputs and those peasants received for grain placed a tight squeeze on the income of many peasants.

"Big price differentials between market and subsidized prices tempted well-connected officials to intercept supplies of subsidized fertilizers to farmers and sell them at higher prices," reported the May 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "This they did ruthlessly." A government survey found that offi-

Continued on Page 13



# Unionists picket scab hiring session in Alabama

The International Association of Machinists struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the unions at Eastern and impose massive concessions on the workers.

Backed by the 5,900 flight attendants and 3,400 pilots at Eastern, the strike by 8,500 Machinists has crippled Eastern's operations since then. It has also won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

Coal miners, steelworkers, and others joined striking Eastern workers on a picket line at the Hilton Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, June 16, to protest an Eastern Airlines "open house" for flight attendants.

Although the scab hiring session had been widely publicized through ads in local newspapers, only a handful of applicants showed up.

United Mine Workers members back from the June 11 Charleston, West Virginia, demonstration in solidarity with striking coal miners and Eastern workers held signs that said, "Stop Lorenzo" and "Honk if you're union."

Steelworkers from Trinity Industries — who had heard an Eastern striker at their union meeting earlier this month — handed out "Stop Lorenzo" stickers to passersby and hotel workers. The steelworkers have decided to organize a plant-gate collection for the Eastern strikers.

A letter from United Mine Workers District 20's Coal Miners Political Action Committee recently went out to all mine union locals in the district encouraging them to join the Eastern strikers' picket lines at the

Birmingham airport and to invite strikers to local meetings.

Three days earlier, miners helped picket a similar scab "open house" held in Charleston, West Virginia — the second such event Eastern strike supporters in that city have picketed.

Meat-packers in Albert Lea, Minnesota, heard striking Machinist member Don Danberger explain the issues in the fight at Eastern at three meetings of their union local on June 6. Most members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 6 work at the Farmstead Foods meat-packing plant.

Workers at the Farmstead plant have started wearing "Stop Lorenzo" buttons. The local purchased 100 of the buttons and is selling them for \$2 a piece, with all proceeds going to the Machinists. The local's June newsletter also featured a back-page article on the Eastern strike.

Steelworkers in the iron- and steel-producing parts of LTV's Cleveland Works contributed more than \$900 at a plant-gate collection for the Eastern strike on June 16.

Four Eastern strikers — three IAM members and a pilot — were on hand to help United Steelworkers Local 1157 members with the collection.

Collectors were at five gates during two shift changes. Almost all the workers who passed by reached into their pockets and pulled out a dollar or more. Some who had given in the morning stopped again to give in the afternoon.

One driver of a giant coke-hauling truck stopped, opened his door, and said, "I don't work for LTV, but I'm for the union" as he pulled some bills from his pocket. Many workers stopped to talk with the strikers and pick up literature and "Stop Lorenzo" stickers.

By the end of the day, stickers had appeared on many hard hats, on machines, in washrooms, and elsewhere in the mill.



Militant/Matt Munroe  
Eastern Machinists union members at June 11 miners' solidarity rally

More than 200 delegates from around the United States and Canada attending the national legislative conference of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union in Washington, D.C., June 1 heard Eastern worker Lee Russell report on strike developments. Russell is a member of Machinists Local 796 at National Airport near D.C.

OCAW locals from Boston to Los Angeles have invited Eastern strikers to address local and regional union meetings and have made con-

tributions and organized plant-gate collections for the strike fund. An impromptu collection at the conference raised \$871 for the strikers.

Many locals also reported sending delegations to help walk the Eastern strikers' picket lines.

About a dozen striking IAM Local 1445 members from Newark International Airport and several Eastern pilots joined striking Pittston coal miners and other unionists at a June 14 picket line in Morristown, New Jersey. The action tar-

geted F.M. Kirby, a member of the board of directors of the Pittston Coal Group, whose office is located in Morristown.

"Whether it's Eastern or Pittston, we have a lot in common," said Machinists Local 1445 Secretary-treasurer Frank DeMaria. "The enemy is the same: corporate greed."

The June issue of *Trade Winds*, published by IAM Local 1781 in California, has a number of items relating to the Eastern strike. One of the most inspiring is a photo centerspread that shows the "welcome" given by hundreds of unionists to Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo when he spoke at Stanford University in Palo Alto in mid-May.

A member of the United Stanford Workers union saw a program listing Lorenzo as a speaker at Stanford's Graduate Business School the following day. The unionist put in a quick call to the San Mateo Central Labor Council, which in turn reached Local 1781.

Hundreds of students, campus union members, Local 1781 members, and other strike supporters turned out the next day. They surrounded the auditorium where Lorenzo spoke. He was forced to make his way through the jeering crowd, with the aid of his bodyguards, in order to speak to the assembled business students, *Trade Winds* reports.

Local 1781 represents United, Eastern, Northwest, and other airline workers at San Francisco International Airport. Most of the local's 9,000-plus members work at United's big maintenance base facility there. Many Local 1781 members are active in backing the Eastern strike.

Alyson Kennedy and Betsy Farley from Birmingham; Phil Norris from Austin, Minnesota; David Marshall from Cleveland; Claire Moriarty from Philadelphia; Nick Gruenberg from Newark; and Malik Miah from San Francisco contributed to this column.

# Machinists at Trump Shuttle to vote on contract

BY SUSAN LaMONT

NEW YORK — Several hundred members of the International Association of Machinists, now working at the Trump Shuttle after being on strike at Eastern Airlines, will be voting June 29 on a proposal for a new contract with the company. The workers are IAM members in New York, Boston, and Washington, D.C.

The Machinists union members have been working without a contract since they returned to work June 7, a day before the New York-Boston-Washington, D.C., shuttle restarted under the ownership of Donald Trump. Trump, a New York real estate and gambling casino speculator, bought the shuttle from strike-bound Eastern Airlines for \$365 million under an agreement made last fall. Most of the workers at Trump were hired from among Eastern workers, on the basis of seniority, as part of that deal.

The flight attendants, represented by Transport Workers Union Local 553, and members of the Air Line Pilots Association went to work for Trump under six-month agreements that are basically the same as their prestrike contracts at Eastern. ALPA, however, has gone along with Trump's demand for a 90-day relaxation of work rules.

By June 7 no contract had been reached with the Machinists union members. Despite misgivings and opposition by many IAM members, those hired by Trump went in to work after being told by union officials that an agreement with the company was imminent. The Eastern strikers' picket lines were taken down at the shuttle.

### Union-weakening measures

The proposal being presented to IAM members is also for six months. If ap-

proved, it will expire December 31. It is presented as a series of modifications to the previous IAM contract at Eastern.

The proposal contains most of the concession demands workers were told to expect in a series of company-organized "orientation" sessions in the weeks before start-up.

The most important of these are:

- Cross-utilization of workers. Workers in a given job category may be forced at any time to perform work in "any equally paid or lower paid IAM-represented job classification."

- Elimination of the job classification of "aircraft servicer." The new "ramp service" classification will now include work previously done by both ramp service and aircraft service workers, with many added duties as part of the job description.

- Significant loss of vacation time. High-seniority workers will lose up to two weeks of vacation time each year.

- Performance of union work by management employees. "Specific tasks may be assigned to and performed by Trump Shuttle employees outside the bargaining unit on an exception basis," the proposal states. In addition, the operation of the jet ways (passenger ramps) — previously done by IAM members — will be done by management personnel.

- The right of the company to force union members to work overtime.

- Loss of paid meal breaks for the afternoon and night shifts.

- Erosion of seniority. The company will have the right to choose lead workers for crews, and to assign overtime to whom it chooses.

- The right of the company to contract

out work at its discretion. The vague wording in this section of the contract opens the door to further contracting out of work now being done by IAM members.

One concession Trump had demanded earlier — significant wage cuts by ramp service workers — is not part of the proposal. However, workers who were aircraft cleaners at Eastern will continue to receive their former wages, even though cleaners are now doing ramp service work as well as cleaning at Trump.

### Union activists fired

Eastern and Trump workers at La Guardia Airport in New York, where the shuttle is based, have learned that eight workers there who had been on the Trump hiring list and who were fired by Eastern for union activity before and during the strike, have not been hired by Trump.

One of the blacklisted workers — who include IAM members, flight attendants, and pilots — is the president of Local 1018, John DiPaola. He was fired by Eastern for union activity in January.

### 'No reason for concessions'

The proposal is getting a mixed reaction from workers at Trump. Many are relieved that even more drastic takebacks are not in the contract, especially workers who expected to be asked for substantial wage cuts.

Others, however, are concerned about the concessions that are there, such as cross-utilization.

Some also fear that the six-month duration of the pact is an effort by Trump to set up the union: Trump is putting forward a proposal that many union members will go

along with now, and in six months begin pressing for more drastic concessions. By then, he may figure, the Eastern strike will be over and the workers less likely to resist whatever he demands.

"There's no reason why IAM members should accept the concessions and union-weakening measures Trump is pressing for," said IAM Local 1018 member Ernest Mailhot. Mailhot is on the local's strike committee.

"The IAM members at Trump, and the striking workers as a whole at Eastern, would have been in a stronger, more united position if we had not gone along with Trump's blackmail to return to work June 7 ... or else, even though we hadn't reached agreement on a new contract," Mailhot said. "Once union members went in without a signed agreement that they had discussed and voted on, we had a de facto one — one imposed by Trump. That's what union members are being asked to ratify now."

"Workers at Trump and strikers who remain out on the picket lines at Eastern would be in a stronger position if this proposal, with all its union-weakening provisions, were rejected," Mailhot continued. "After nearly four months on strike at Eastern, we can do better than this."

"In addition, we should oppose Lorenzo and Trump's blacklisting of workers for union and strike activity," he added. "We have to fight to restore the jobs of the eight workers Trump is now refusing to hire. If Trump is allowed to get away with this, what kind of precedent will it set for the hundreds of other union activists fired by Lorenzo before the strike began and the dozens more fired during the strike?"



# Coal miners' strikes attacked by courts

Continued from front page

porter of high-grade metallurgical coal, refused to sign the national coal operators' contract with the UMWA, which went into effect in February 1988. Miners struck the company April 5 after working 14 months without an agreement.

West Virginia has 16,000 strikers; Illinois, 8,500; Pennsylvania, 6,900; Alabama, 5,000; Ohio, 2,500; and Kentucky, 2,325. Miners are also out in Virginia, Indiana, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kansas.

On June 23 miners in western and central Pennsylvania expanded pickets to other union shops in the region. They shut down two coal-fired generating stations, Fisher Scientific and Season-All in Indiana, Pennsylvania; Eljer Plumbingware in Ford City; and Bethlehem's Freight Car Division in Johnstown.

The pickets at the freight division were called off after the United Steelworkers of America issued a letter stating, "It is illegal to engage in a sympathy strike on behalf of any other union."

Carloads of striking miners from Illinois and Alabama poured into Russell County, Virginia, on June 25. They joined the union's Camp Solidarity, set up for out-of-town miners, and prepared for a week or two of support activities.

"Since the breakup of our national contract, we have not been the United Mine Workers, just the Mine Workers. We're down here to put the U back in front of UMW," said a young man from Illinois who identified himself as a fourth generation coal miner.

## Car caravan

Strikers from the camp joined a car caravan the next day in front of Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant. The vehicles crawled by, slowing down trucks that haul coal from the surrounding mines to the preparation plant.

Miners in hundreds of cars gave the thumbs-up sign and honked horns as they passed the entrance to Moss No. 3.

All of the company's union-organized miners are now on strike: 1,500 in Virginia, 200 in West Virginia, and 200 in Kentucky. Paramount Mine, owned by Pittston, is still running coal. The UMWA there was broken by the company some years ago.

A mine union official said the strike "is solid. No union members have crossed." Tax records, he noted, "indicate only 30 to 35 percent production. Pittston can't fill its orders." The company has hired 100 to 150 scabs, and some management people are mining.

"The number of coal trucks coming in and out of the plant is down by two-thirds," strike captain Fred Wallace, who has worked for Pittston 19 years and is a member of Local 1259, explained as the caravan crept by.

"Before the spread of the strike, Pittston was buying coal from other companies to fill its orders," he continued. "Now these other companies are being struck."

The strike captain was optimistic. "Eastern says it will start up again. Pittston says it's running coal. We'll do whatever it takes to win this strike."

## 'By and for company'

In front of the picket shack at Moss No. 3 Wallace said, "This is no longer just a UMWA thing. This is a movement of all labor people, whether in a union or not." The courts are "just by and for the company," he stated.

The *Herald-Dispatch*, a local paper from

Huntington, West Virginia, reported June 22 that CSX railroad, which moves coal from the Appalachian coalfields, is loading 1,000 fewer coal cars per day and has furloughed 300 engine and train crews.

Hundreds of Virginia state and local police have been mobilized to ticket, harass, and intimidate strikers. Vance Securities, a union-busting private outfit, has been hired by Pittston to follow and film union activities. The Vance rent-a-cops are armed.

On June 26 federal Judge Glen Williams fined the union and its officers \$240,000 for June 21 and 22 car caravans at Pittston's Clinchfield mine and Moss No. 3 preparation plant.

Earlier in the month Williams enjoined the union from "obstructing, hindering, preventing, or stopping or attempting to obstruct, hinder, prevent, or stop any employee of the Charging Party (Pittston) or persons doing business with the Charging Party from going to or from their place of employment or working."

Williams' June 26 ruling termed the car caravans a deliberate violation of his previous order. He required the union to pay \$100,000 per day for every day after June 23 that its members or supporters block or impede traffic. UMWA Vice-president Roberts and International representative John Cox must pay \$10,000 a day.

Virginia State courts have fined the union \$3 million for picketing in April, and limited the number who can legally picket at a mine entrance — permitting a total of only 20 at the three entrances to Moss No. 3. Altogether, fines imposed on the mine workers are heading into billions of dollars.

## Governor's move

West Virginia Gov. Gaston Caperton proposed June 23 that contract negotiations resume at his Charleston mansion. He placed four conditions on talks: that both parties come in good faith; the union end solidarity strikes; the company end litigation against strikers; and third party opera-

# British Airways workers demand contract

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — British Airways workers stepped up their fight for a contract with a 7:30 a.m. informational picket line outside the sprawling British Airways terminal at Kennedy International Airport here June 17. Similar events took place later that day at BA offices on Long Island and in midtown Manhattan.

Members of International Association of Machinists locals 2656 and 1894 at British Airways have been working without a contract since June 1987. They organized the picket lines "to show the company we intend to fight to maintain our wages and working conditions," said Local 2656 President Carol Creamer.

Negotiations for contracts covering 1,400 workers — including mechanics and ramp, cargo, and service workers — began in September 1987. British Airways, the largest foreign-owned carrier operating in the United States, has its biggest U.S. facilities in New York.

The company, which has made record profits in the last two years, initiated bargaining by demanding "total flexibility," Creamer explained. That means the unlimited right to use part-time employees, contract out work, and change job classifications. The carrier also demanded a 20 percent wage cut and sought to impose forced overtime.

The carrier took the wage cut and overtime demands "off the table," she said, but substantive talks began only recently. The union is seeking improved health and pension benefits, but has not yet presented wage demands. The workers haven't had a raise in two years.

On June 9 some 500 Machinists' union members who work as British Airways reservation officers in a building near La Guardia Airport pulled plugs on computer terminals and began chanting and clapping for a contract.

At the same time, Occupational Safety and Health Administration inspectors called by



Militant/Mary Imo

Food caravan organized by West Virginia Labor Solidarity Committee brings donations to striking miners' families.

tors stop shipping coal to Pittston.

The union accepted. Pittston's owners refused.

A few days later Caperton again asked for both sides to talk unconditionally. The union again accepted. The company refused.

"Our members," declared a statement issued by UMWA International President Richard Trumka, "perceive the specter of hostile governmental and judicial intervention — the arrest of the brothers, sisters, and supporters, the jailing of their leaders and the levying of massive fines against their organization — and they have responded by protesting these actions."

On June 22 the 18-year-old son of a coal miner was shot in the head while participating in a peaceful picket line at a Mingo County, West Virginia, mine owned by James Harless. About 60 miners are on strike at two mines in the county owned by Harless, who is prominent among those de-

manding a crackdown on striking West Virginia miners.

Harless has refused to sign the national coal agreement with the union.

On June 17 some 30 unionists from the West Virginia Labor Solidarity Committee led a caravan of 13 food-laden vehicles to the coalfields to aid striking miners and their families.

More than 600 striking UMWA members, including eight busloads from Alabama, and their supporters held a rally in Richmond, Virginia, June 21. They were joined by a delegation of striking Eastern Airlines Machinists and by flight attendants and pilots who have honored Machinists' picket lines.

The union has scheduled a rally for July 4 in St. Paul, Virginia, to support the strike and protest the court rulings.

Maggie McCraw and Mary Imo in Charleston and Holly Harkness and Kipp Dawson in Pittsburgh contributed to this article.

the union were touring the site.

Suddenly, water pressure from a leak caused two panels from the ceiling near the inspectors to collapse. Spontaneously, hundreds of union members stood and began shouting, "Contract!"

British Airways workers have been buoyed

# Navajo Nation: miners' rally backs Pittston, Eastern strikes

BY ELLIE GARCIA AND TONY DUTROW

KAYENTA, Ariz. — Unionists from Peabody Coal Co.'s mines in this area hosted a Unity Rally June 10, attended by 200 miners and their families. United Mine Workers locals 1620 and 1924, which organize Peabody's Kayenta and Black Mesa surface mines, held the rally to prepare for contract fights coming in 1990.

In the spring of 1987, all three UMWA-organized mines on the Navajo Nation were forced into hard-fought strikes by Peabody in the Kayenta area, and Pittsburgh and Midway Coal in Window Rock, Arizona.

The June 10 rally was attended by a delegation from Local 1332 at the P&M mine; officers from UMWA District 22, based in Price, Utah; an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 269 representative from the power plant in Page, Arizona; and a delegation from the Navajo Tribal Council.

A miner and his wife from Decker, Montana, traveled 800 miles to participate. Also attending was an Eastern striker from Phoenix.

Referring to the Pittston strike in Virginia and West Virginia, District 22 President Mike Dalpiaz told the rally, this "is the worst fight the UMWA has faced in 30 years. We will continue to fight. We will not give up to Pittston Coal. We will not give up to Peabody Coal."

Dalpiaz reported on probes by Peabody

against the union. Workers in the coal slurry pipeline local have been forced to work without a contract while Peabody engineered a decertification election among coal samplers. On June 8 the samplers, who test and grade the coal, answered Peabody by voting to keep the UMWA.

Other officials from District 22 also spoke, including International Executive Board member Wally Oviatt. All the talks were translated into Diné, the language of the Navajo people.

Although not scheduled to speak, interim vice-chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, Irving Billy, gave greetings to the miners. During the 1987 strikes, the UMWA miners — most of whom are Navajo — won the Tribal Council to their side and gained broad support among the Navajo people.

Gerald Watson, an Eastern striker and member of International Association of Machinists Local 2559 in Phoenix, thanked the UMWA for its national support to the Eastern strike. He made himself available to aid the struggles of the Navajo miners.

Following Watson's speech, Dalpiaz kicked off a joint collection for the Eastern and UMWA strikers by donating \$500. The coal samplers challenged other locals to match their donation of \$150. More than \$1,000 was raised.

# Attack on Curtis

Continued from front page

Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

Copies should be sent to: Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319; Paul Grossheim, Director of the Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.



# Nicaragua: campaigning opens for February 1990 elections

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — With the appointment of a Supreme Electoral Council and the granting of legal recognition to eight additional political parties, the pre-election campaign period has officially opened here.

Twenty opposition parties are now eligible to compete against the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the February 1990 elections for president, vice-president, and national assembly. Municipal governments, previously appointed, will be elected. Voters on the Atlantic Coast will also elect regional governments for the first time as part of the autonomy process.

In the last elections, held in 1984, six opposition parties participated, and three, under pressure from the U. S. government, boycotted or withdrew at the last minute. The FSLN won with 67 percent of the vote.

On April 18 the National Assembly amended the election law.

Included in the amendments are the following:

- Nicaraguans living abroad may register in their country of residence. They must return to Nicaragua to vote.
- Contras who have put down their weapons can participate in the elections

both as voters and as candidates. Several contra leaders have already returned to Nicaragua, with the encouragement of the U.S. government, since the law was approved. Nicaraguan Resistance leader Alfredo César returned to the country on June 11 to join the Social Democratic Party (PSD). Others are expected back soon.

- All parties are entitled to equal minimum time on radio and TV during the campaign period. Under the old law, all parties received broadcast time, but under a formula that favored parties with the most votes in the last election.

- The formula for distributing government funds to all parties or slates that run candidates was revised. This will increase campaign funds for parties that did not participate or achieved low vote totals in the last election.

- Parties are allowed to receive foreign financing on the condition that 50 percent go to the Supreme Electoral Council to help fund the contest. Previously all outside financing was prohibited.

The Supreme Electoral Council has two members representing the FSLN, two from the opposition parties, and a fifth "notable" member, who is considered to be "neutral." The council will soon be setting an election calendar with deadlines for forming alli-

ances and naming candidates.

Parties are already allowed to organize rallies and begin campaigning, although candidates will not be officially registered and recognized until after August.

Opposition parties have talked about forming a united electoral slate. *La Crónica*, a self-described "moderate" opposition paper, has published opinion polls that it claims show that a united opposition could beat the FSLN at the polls.

The number of opposition parties has doubled through splits and divisions since the 1984 election. There are four "conservative," four "liberal," four "social Christian," two "social-democratic," and five "socialist," "communist," or "left" parties. Most of the groupings are known more by the personalities they revolve around than any particular programmatic position or class difference.

Even though all the groups are opposed to the FSLN and the government, differences over how to approach the elections and other disputes have been the source of numerous public spats.

Some 15 opposition parties in the United National Opposition (UNO) have demanded permission for Nicaraguan exiles to vote abroad, prohibition of voting by soldiers and military officers, suspension of



Militant/Seth Galinsky  
FSLN Directorate member Bayardo Arce.

the military draft during the elections, and authorization to open a private TV station. UNO includes most of the opposition parties, with the exception of the Revolutionary Workers Party, Marxist-Leninist Party, Movement for Revolutionary Unity, and one or two others.

They also demand the right to invite teams of international observers during the campaign — the government says that only the election council and the government can invite observers — and the raising of the voting age from 16 to 18. Some hold open the possibility of boycotting the elections.

Other parties, including some that are part of UNO, have indicated that they plan to run in the elections regardless of whether any of these changes are made. The Social Christian Party (PSC), which boycotted in 1984, has already announced its intention to run.

The FSLN has been gearing up for the elections. According to Bayardo Arce, a member of the National Directorate of the FSLN, "We are revising the whole party structure to adapt it to the electoral process." In a breakfast press conference with reporters, Arce said that the elections are the "perfecting of democratic institutionalization."

It is estimated that the cost to the Nicaraguan government of the elections will be \$25 million. On June 9 the president of the electoral council began a two-week trip to Western Europe to seek funding for the project.

## Philadelphia doctor who performed abortion convicted of infanticide

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

PHILADELPHIA — Obstetrician Joseph Melnick was convicted of infanticide here on June 12. In September 1984 Melnick had performed an abortion on a 13-year-old.

He was convicted on the felony charges after 13 weeks of testimony in a nonjury trial for allegedly failing to provide medical care to a live infant after performing the abortion. He faces up to seven years in prison.

Sentencing and appeals motions are set for September before Common Pleas Court Judge Lynne Abraham, who issued the guilty verdict.

The doctor testified that he had believed he was aborting a fetus of about 18 weeks gestation. But during the abortion, he realized the fetus had developed at least 26 weeks. The fetus was stillborn, asserted Melnick.

Charges of homicide and involuntary manslaughter were dropped in preliminary hearings in 1985. Early in the trial Abraham dismissed one of the charges of violating the state's restrictive Abortion Control Act: "knowingly aborting a viable fetus." She said it couldn't be proved.

However, the judge's verdict of infanticide contradicted the results of an autopsy, which revealed no evidence of air in the lungs, and the testimony of several medical

experts who did not find evidence of a live birth.

Melnick's attorney, Richard Sprague, said, "The opinion of a number of medical experts was that it had been stillborn."

The Pennsylvania State Board of Medical Licensure is expected to move to a decision on whether to suspend Melnick's license to practice medicine.

Abraham offered no explanation of her decision. Instead, she took the opportunity to assert the constitutionality of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act, which is under challenge by abortion rights advocates. Sprague had argued that the state law violates the U.S. Constitution.

Second-trimester abortions account for only 5 percent of abortions in Pennsylvania. But they have become more common as restrictions are imposed on the constitutional right to abortion, according to Mary Ann O'Connor of the National Abortion Rights Action League of Pennsylvania.

Most affected by these limitations, such as those imposed by the Abortion Control Act, are the young and the poor, who also have least access to safe, effective contraception.

For example, Pennsylvania State Health Department statistics reveal a 21.5 percent decrease in the number of abortions since

1980: 51,630 in 1987, down from 65,777 in 1980.

At the same time, the number of later, second-trimester abortions has steadily increased. Likewise, the birth rate and the infant mortality rate have gone up as more restrictions are imposed on the right to abortion and contraception.

And despite the decline in the number of abortions over the past decade, the number of teenage women who have abortions continues to rise. Of the 51,630 abortions performed in 1987, 27 percent (13,908) were women under 19; that's an increase of 2.5 percent above the figures for 1986.

Press accounts of the Melnick case make no mention of the age of the pregnant woman. The fetus was almost invariably referred to as the "infant," the "child," or the "3-pound 9-ounce girl."

## Innu people in Canada fight for recognition of homeland

BY JOAN CAMPANA

TORONTO — "This fight is not just about a land claim. It is about our Indian identity. It is a fight about freedom from domination by another culture and the right to live our own life."

The speaker was Rose Gregoire, a leader of the Innu people who are fighting what they describe as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invasion and destruction of their homeland.

Gregoire, along with Kathleen Noonan and Elizabeth Penashue, spoke here on May 16 to 150 people at the Friends House.

The Innu name for their homeland is Nitassinan. It lies in the Canadian subarctic — in Labrador and northeastern Québec — the home of some 9,000 Innu. For years they have been fighting for legal recognition to their land, which they never ceded by treaty to the Canadian government, and to protect their traditional hunting and fishing way of life.

The Canadian government began introducing programs to lure the Innu off the land and into settlements in the late 1950s, promising houses, running water, and a better life. Instead, what awaited them was poverty and degradation. They received substandard housing. In many communities today their diet is largely starch; other foods are too expensive.

The Innu face violence, recurring infec-

tions, joblessness, alcoholism, prostitution, and a suicide rate five times the Canadian average. Infant deaths are common.

"If we allow it to continue, we will be defeated," Gregoire stated.

Instead the Innu began to fight back.

Their immediate target is the Canadian armed forces base at Goose Bay, Labrador, located just 20 miles from the nearest Innu settlement. In the 1980s the Canadian government made more than 40,000 square miles of the land available to NATO to test supersonic military planes.

The 30 to 50 flights a day, some as low as 100 feet, create terrifying booms. The Innu say this has turned their land into a war zone, chasing away their animals and creating havoc with their lives. And it is potentially worse. Ignoring Innu protests, the government has bid for a new NATO weapons flight-training center that would boost the number of flights from some 8,000 annually to 40,000.

The Innu have drawn up petitions and occupied the Goose Bay runway time and again. Increasing numbers have been arrested and jailed. And they are reaching out for support.

"If you have come to help me," Gregoire concluded, "you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us walk together."

New from Pathfinder

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# U.S., Europe firms want to turn Africa into toxic waste dump

The following article appeared in the February 1989 issue of *Coumbite*, a magazine published by Africans in Paris. David Gakunzi is the editor.

Translation from the French is by the *Militant*.

BY DAVID GAKUNZI

Greedy merchants, in connivance with irresponsible political leaders, have almost transformed certain sites in Africa into fields of death. Toxic wastes from Europe and the United States were supposed to be dumped in Africa last year in exchange for a few dollars. Fortunately, some tongues started to wag, copies of contracts came out, and the drama, apparently, was avoided.

The export of dangerous wastes to the Third World is nothing new. A few examples include:

- In 1980 Nedlog, an American company, offered the president of Sierra Leone \$25 million to take toxic wastes;
- One year later, illegal imports of 5,000 tons of mercury wastes and PCBs from the United States were discovered in Mexico;
- In 1987, in the United States, the Colbert brothers were found guilty of having exported to Zimbabwe toxic wastes relabeled cleaning products.

The first country mentioned in the wastes

scandal was Guinea-Bissau. Enticed by offers from two foreign firms, Intercontract of Freiburg and Lindaco of Detroit, acting for British parent companies, Export Ltd. (London) and Hobday Ltd. (Isle of Man), the government officially acknowledged that it had concluded an agreement with them.

Guinea-Bissau agreed to accept in its northern region, near the border with Senegal, 15 million tons of toxic wastes over five years, averaging \$40 a ton! This toxic residue would have brought the "country" \$600 million. The damage it would have caused the Guinean population and the environment are incalculable.

The Portuguese press, when it got wind of the affair, exposed the scandal, which was soon disseminated by the international press. As a result of international pressure, Guinea-Bissau backed out of the agreement.

## \$2.50 a ton for Benin

After it refused Intercontract's offer to store 100,000 tons of wastes per year for a price of \$40 a ton, Benin concluded an accord with the SESCO Gibraltar company. In January 1988 a representative contacted the Benin government and proposed burying one to five tons of wastes per year in the Zou province for \$2.50 a ton. Of course, there were no safety measures for the population and the

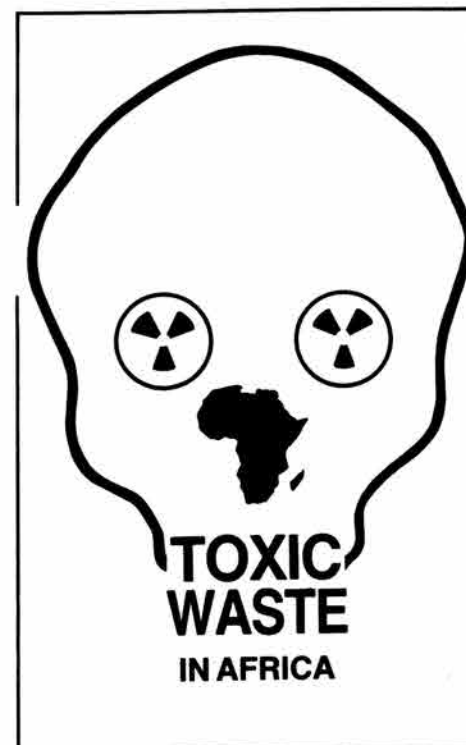
continent's environment.

The storage was to consist of digging a hole 35 meters deep and depositing the barrels of wastes, and covering it with a layer of fresh earth! The first ship was supposed to dock at Cotonou in April. Nothing came of it.

## 'Household garbage' dumped in Guinea

Several businessmen contacted the Norwegian firm Bulkhandling to store off Conakry [capital of Guinea], on the island of Kassa, more than 15,000 tons of "household garbage" ash. An import license was properly obtained for the "household garbage" ash, issued by the Ministry of the Interior, which was told that it was to be used for making bricks. Although these wastes were sent back to Norway, they had already caused perceptible harm: burned vegetation, poisoned population.

The exports of toxic wastes are not limited to these three countries. The Bauwerk company in Liechtenstein and Van Santen in Holland negotiated with the Congolese authorities to bury a million tons of toxic wastes at Diosso — for \$37 a ton! The contract was exposed in time. In Nigeria, 1,200 tons of Italian toxic wastes were unearthed and sent back to their place of origin thanks to information furnished to the government by Nigerian students in Italy.



The revelation of these scandals elicited a strong reaction among the African and international public. But with the initial reaction passed, isn't there the danger of this business starting up again? All the more since the world production of wastes has risen to 600 million tons a year.

Eighty percent of this production comes from OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries. The environmental protection laws of these countries have become more and more strict under the pressure of ecology movements and general opinion, so the cost of eliminating these wastes continues to rise. In the United States, for example, they have increased from \$10 a ton in 1976 to \$160 in 1986. They reach and sometimes surpass \$300 for highly toxic wastes. So it is understandable that certain money-grubbing merchants turn unscrupulously to Africa to make out like bandits, as they already do with pesticides and medicines banned in the West.

In fact, numerous dangerous pesticides are dumped in Africa every year. The long-term harmful results, such as sterility, deformities, and cancer, to name a few, are known. Their massive use often results in the insects' resistance increasing, hence the pesticide's ineffectiveness.

This affects not only agriculture but also the fight against malaria, for example. Furthermore, their proper usage is not assured in an illiterate milieu. It is said that in one country the farmers, who mixed their own insecticides by combining a concentrated powder of active agents with a liquid, perfected an ingenious but dangerous method to test the quality of their mixture: they tasted it! If one finger, stuck into the solution and placed against the palate, caused the tongue to swell, then they had found the right proportions!

Medicines are also not spared of this hardly scrupulous commerce. Products that are banned but that will produce a quick profit are often presented as the panacea for all the ills of Africa. Two examples by way of testimony:

- In some countries stimulants containing steroids are administered to children to enhance their appetites, often without regard to the risk this may present to continued growth or to irreversible effects on sexuality.

- Clotiquinol, a medicine sold without prescription and used to treat diarrhea, is the source of more than 10,000 cases of progressive neurological disorders that can cause blindness and even death. Even though Japanese courts have established that this medicine was the direct cause of this disorder (subacute myelo-optic neuropathy), it is still freely sold in several African countries.

What is at stake with all this commerce is the fate, the very future of the African peoples. That is why vigilance and enactment of laws forbidding such commerce is such an urgent necessity. We survived slavery, colonization, famines — we must not be swept away by the poison merchants.

*Coumbite's* February 1989 issue with article on toxic waste dumping in Africa, as well as "Cuba: The Latino and African Revolution" and "Thomas Sankara and the Question of the Debt," is available for \$3.50 from bookstores listed on page 12. It is a French-language publication.

# Meat-packing union officials form group

BY WENDY LYONS

MINNEAPOLIS — Officials of 13 United Food and Commercial Workers union locals have come together to form a group calling for reforms in the union. This development comes in the wake of the firing of Lewie Anderson as director of the union's Packinghouse Division by UFCW President William Wynn last January.

The group calls itself REAP — Research, Education, Advocacy, People. Its aim is to fight growing pressure from top UFCW officials on locals and union members to take a more conciliatory approach to the packinghouse bosses and their continuing demands for concessions.

A number of the locals involved in REAP were part of the strike wave that swept the meat-packing industry in recent years. These strikes were in response to employers' wage takebacks and the increasingly brutal job conditions that have made meat-packing one of the most dangerous industries in the country.

Locals that waged strikes at the Patrick Cudahy plant in Cudahy, Wisconsin, and

John Morrell & Co. plants in Sioux City, Iowa, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, are part of REAP. So is the UFCW local that reorganized the Excel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, that was formerly owned by Geo. A. Hormel & Co. Union members there walked out in support of UFCW Local P-9 during P-9's 1985-86 strike at Hormel's Austin, Minnesota, plant.

## Fired for criticism

Anderson says he was fired for criticizing two concession contracts that were concluded by UFCW officials without consultation with the Packinghouse Division.

Just before the contract at Morrell's Sioux City, Iowa, plant was due to expire in early 1987, a contract was signed at the company's Ark City, Kansas, plant that included a wage cut of \$1.25 per hour.

Workers at Morrell's Sioux City and Sioux Falls plants went on strike shortly after in an effort to hold the line on wages. Replacement workers were brought in. After seven months, the strike was called off, an unfair labor prac-

tices suit filed, and workers began to return to work.

Today, they are fighting to regroup the union. Since being removed as packinghouse director, Anderson has become business agent for the Sioux Falls local.

In addition to the Ark City contract, Anderson criticized the contract covering workers at Iowa Beef Processing's plant in Dakota City, Nebraska. This pact was negotiated in mid-1987 after a lengthy strike. It includes a permanent two-tier wage set-up. Moreover, the union's negotiators put the union on record as embracing IBP's notoriously low Beef Wage Index.

The IBP agreement was signed while the Morrell strike was taking place.

## Pullback from IBP drive

Another issue raised by Anderson and other REAP supporters is the UFCW officials' pullback from the nationwide campaign to organize IBP, one of the biggest packing companies in the country. The IBP organizing campaign has always been considered important by meat-packers. UFCW members voted around the country to help finance the organizing drive by having money taken out of their weekly paychecks.

IBP was the company that began the process leading to the restructuring of the meat industry by opening nonunion plants in the countryside, away from the old packing centers. The majority of IBP plants remain non-union, but serious organizing committees had come together in a number of them before the pullback.

Several locals that support REAP recently pooled resources to continue the organizing drive at the Storm Lake, Iowa, IBP plant.

President Wynn replaced Anderson as packinghouse director with Phillip Immesote, formerly the director of UFCW Region 11 that is based in Chicago. An editorial in the packing industry's magazine *Meat and Poultry* expressed the packing bosses' satisfaction with the new appointment. "Immesote is noted for his ability to compromise with the meat industry," the magazine's editors said, "and is expected to bring a more 'reasonable' approach to the industry than Anderson."

REAP has put out several "briefing papers" on its view of concession bargaining, the IBP organizing drive, and its opposition to allowing lower wages for kill-floor workers at Hormel's Austin plant. The kill floor there was recently leased out to another company.

Wendy Lyons is a meat-packer at Rueben Meats in Minneapolis, and a member of UFCW Local 653.



A May 1987 rally in support of striking meat-packers at John Morrell & Co. in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. United Food and Commercial Workers local officials there are now part of REAP grouping in union.



# C.L.R. James, major figure in Caribbean radical politics

BY DON ROJAS

Several lengthy obituaries have appeared in major newspapers and magazines around the world in past weeks indicative of a widespread recognition of C.L.R. James' life and work.

He was referred to at memorial ceremonies in his homeland as a "renaissance man of the 20th century."

John Arlott, writing in the *Guardian* of Britain, said he was "one of the few West Indians who have become, beyond question, appreciable international figures."

Superlatives flow easily when speaking or writing about this man of prodigious talents and extraordinary scope and diversity who was born in 1901 in Trinidad.

As a prolific man of letters and a brilliant public speaker, James produced an array of books, essays, newspaper articles, and speeches on history, philosophy, politics, culture, art, and sports.

His most famous book, *Black Jacobins*, is about the revolt of Haitian slaves in the late 1700s and early 1800s who were deeply influenced by the French revolution. The book, a classic in applying historical materialism, describes the struggle against French domination and the conquest of Haiti's independence led by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

## A writer on cricket

Before moving to Britain in 1932, James taught high school, lectured publicly, edited a literary journal, and played cricket. He continued his political lectures in Britain and became a writer on cricket for the *Manchester Guardian*.

Arlott, himself an outstanding writer and commentator on the game, wrote that James' *Beyond a Boundary* is "the best book ever written about cricket."

In the 1930s James cultivated a keen interest in Marxism and collaborated with George Padmore, also of Trinidad and Tobago, who had been a member of the Communist International until 1935 when he broke with the policies and practices of the Stalinist leadership of that organization.

Reading the *History of the Russian Revolution* by the revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky convinced James that Stalinists were, in his words, "the greatest liars and corrupters of history."

During his first years in Britain, he wrote *Minty Alley*, a novel about working-class life in Trinidad. He also wrote *The Case for West Indian Self Government*, *The Life of Captain Cipriani*, *The Black Jacobins*, and *World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*, among other works.

While always writing, he also found time for political activism. He joined the Independent Labour Party and collaborated with Amy Garvey to form the International Friends of Ethiopia at a time when that African country was under siege from the Italian fascist government headed by Benito Mussolini. In 1935, he joined the Fourth International and was later elected to its International Executive Committee.

## Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-determination

Includes transcript of discussions that Trotsky had with C.L.R. James and others in 1939 about the Black struggle in the United States. An appendix contains articles by Trotsky, James, and others.

\$5.95. Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$1 for postage and handling.

At the end of 1938 James moved to the United States where he was to spend the next 15 years writing, lecturing, and organizing auto workers in Detroit and sharecroppers in the southern states before being deported as an "undesirable alien" at the height of the anticommunist witch-hunt spearheaded by Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s.

Arriving in the United States, he became part of the Socialist Workers Party and spoke around the country on its behalf. He presented the resolution on the Black struggle adopted by the SWP's July 1939 convention.

## Discussions on Black struggle

Shortly before the convention James traveled to Mexico as the main figure in an SWP leadership delegation to hold discussions with Leon Trotsky, who had been a central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution before being banished into exile by Joseph Stalin.

Those discussions on the Black struggle in the United States played a major role in helping prepare the SWP for the struggles of Blacks during World War II and the rise of the civil rights movement following the war. They were later published by Pathfinder as part of a pamphlet, *Black Nationalism and Self-determination*.

James left the SWP in early 1940 as part of a major split in the party on the eve of Washington's entry into World War II. He became part of the Workers Party headed by Max Shachtman. The split centered on disagreements about the class nature of the Soviet Union and on the need to defend it against attacks by imperialism.

James argued that the Soviet Union was essentially similar to the existing capitalist countries, but with a higher degree of state ownership, which he designated as "state capitalist." The SWP held to the view that the USSR was a degenerated workers' state in which the preservation of nationalized property and a planned economy constituted progressive achievements that should be defended from imperialist attack in spite of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

## Rejoins SWP

James split from the Workers Party and rejoined the SWP in 1947 along with a group of his followers who still held their views on the Soviet Union but agreed on a broad range of other questions and to loyally build the SWP. He remained a member until 1951 when his "state capitalist" tendency split to initiate the publication of a journal called *Correspondence*.

During the 1950s and '60s, James spent most of his time in Britain, but in this period he visited Africa and returned twice to Trinidad.

On the first occasion he worked with his former high school student Eric Williams as editor of the party organ of the People's National Movement and as secretary of the West Indies Federal Labour Party. When Williams was a student at England's Oxford University in the 1930s, James had assisted him in researching and writing his well-known study *Capitalism and Slavery*.

During his second visit, James launched the Workers and Farmers Party of Trinidad (WFP) but soon ran into political conflicts with Williams who was then prime minister and had become openly procapitalist. Williams placed him under house arrest and later allowed him to leave the country to live in exile. The WFP did not survive his departure from Trinidad, but its concepts influenced the politics of the now-defunct United Labour Front as well as the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union.

## Pan-Africanist

James was an early advocate of West Indian and African independence movements, a passionate patron of Pan-Africanism and the recognized leader in a circle of political thinkers and organizers in London who exercised considerable influence on Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Jamaica's Michael Manley, and Guyana's Forbes Burnham.

Stemming from these associations, James later wrote *A History of Negro Revolt and Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*.

His ideas on Pan-Africanism along with

his contributions to the anticolonial and anti-racist struggles influenced millions of people living under colonialism and apartheid in the Caribbean and Africa.

For the 1960s and '70s generation of Black activists in the United States, Africa, and the Caribbean, James was viewed as an elder statesman and mentor. Some even considered him a sort of cult figure. His books were avidly read by a wide range of radical figures, such as Stokely Carmichael, Walter Rodney, Maurice Bishop, and Tim Hector.

James spoke and wrote eloquently about the interconnections of the anticolonial, anti-imperialist, and anti-apartheid movements. He supported the Black power movement in the United States in the late 1960s and early '70s but insisted on relating this to the broader struggle for human liberation and for socialism.

In 1974 the Sixth Pan-African Congress was convened in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, and although James was unable to attend, the presence of his ideas was very much in evidence in the debates and discussions.

In 1967 he attended the Havana Congress of Intellectuals in Cuba and in 1982 he visited Grenada as a guest of Maurice Bishop's People's Revolutionary Government. He later wrote positively about these two Caribbean anti-imperialist revolutions.

## Opponent of Leninist view on party

James was an opponent of the Leninist view that a revolutionary vanguard party was necessary to lead the working people and he counterposed this position with a concept of the "self-organizing and self-acting capacity of the masses." His ideas on this topic stimulated considerable debate within left circles in the imperialist countries, as well as in the Third World.

In his most important philosophical writings contained in *Notes on Dialectics*, first published in 1948, James attempts to uphold the influence of Hegel's writings on dialecti-

## James honored by hundreds at funeral in Trinidad & Tobago

BY DON ROJAS

Pat Bishop, one of Trinidad and Tobago's leading cultural figures, said at the graveside: "We've come not simply to bury him but to praise him."

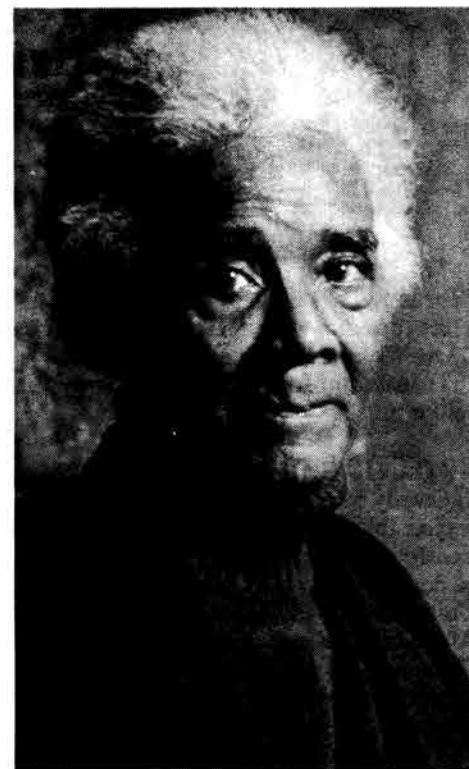
And so they did. Hundreds of his friends, admirers, and comrades from all over Trinidad and Tobago, from Britain, North America, Africa, and the Caribbean gathered June 8-12 to honor C.L.R. James, who died in London on May 31 at the age of 88.

In his legal will, James had made three specific requests regarding his funeral: that he be buried in Tunapuna, the village in central Trinidad where he was born; that there be no religious element in the ceremonies, and that the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU) be solely responsible for making all the arrangements.

The procapitalist government of Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson sought unsuccessfully to give James a state funeral and to recognize him officially as a national hero. In 1987 he was awarded the country's highest honor, but he turned down an offer to go home and live at the government's expense, opting instead for a six-month visit that was to have been made later this year.

At a brief airport ceremony on June 8 when his body was flown to Trinidad, 300 persons heard Errol McLeod, president general of the OWTU, accept responsibility on behalf of the union to fulfill James' wishes as expressed in his will. They also heard popular calypsonian David Rudder sing a tribute, and Errol Jones, the country's premier actor, read from Martinican poet Aimé Césaire's *Return to My Native Land*.

From June 9 to 11, James' body lay in state at the Palms Club in San Fernando flanked at all times by an honor guard of OWTU officers. Hundreds of working people, as well as scores of youth and students, filed past his coffin each day paying their last respects to the man considered by so many in the Caribbean as one of the region's finest sons.



C.L.R. James

cal logic on the development of Marxism. On one occasion he publicly debated the famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell on this subject.

His *Facing Reality*, published 10 years later as a further elaboration of the theses outlined in *Notes*, became a reference book for radicals of the so-called New Left in the 1960s and '70s.

For a brief period in the 1970s, James taught at Federal City College in Washington, D.C., and lectured at other academic institutions after being allowed back into the United States by immigration authorities. He returned to London in 1981 where he lived out the last years of his productive life in the Black community of Brixton surrounded and cared for by a group of young activists connected to the journal *Race Today*.

Last year when he accepted Trinidad and Tobago's highest order, the Trinity Star, he told the country's high commissioner to Britain that he was proud to be a Trinidadian but that he always believed in a wider Caribbean federation of socialist states.

In a two-hour memorial program on June 12 entitled, "Celebration of a Life," tributes to James were given by several outstanding political and artistic figures.

Distinguished Caribbean writer George Lamming offered one of the main eulogies. Tim Hector, leader of the Antigua-Caribbean Liberation Movement read a message from Vivian Richards, captain of the West Indies cricket team.

The Mighty Sparrow, the world's most heralded calypsonian about whom James had written an essay some years ago, sang "Memories" as well as his classic calypso, "Federation." Other cultural renditions included the Pan Berry Steel Orchestra playing Igor Stravinsky's *Rites of Spring* and a choir that sang a Russian folk song.

Among the more than 1,000 persons attending the memorial were members of the James family, government representatives from Jamaica, Guyana, and Barbados, members of the Trinidad and Tobago parliament, religious leaders, trade union representatives, and prominent academics.

Leaders and representatives of progressive and revolutionary parties throughout the Caribbean were also present including Eusi Kwayana of the Working People's Alliance in Guyana, Terry Marryshow of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement in Grenada, and Roderick Thurton of the Coalition for Caribbean and Central American Unity.

At the cemetery in Tunapuna, the final ceremony dubbed, "An Innings Has Ended," featured parting words from a number of James' closest comrades and associates among whom were Lennox Pierre, Richard Small, Bobby Hill, John LaRose, Darcus Howe, Martin Glaberman, and Selwyn Cudjoe.

Trinidadian artiste Pearl Springer read Guyanese poet Martin Carter's celebrated piece, "Death of a Comrade", and as the casket was lowered into the grave old standards from the trade union movement in Trinidad and Tobago were sung.



# Back strikers, urge socialists candidates

Continued from front page

actions since the rallies and mass pickets held during the first few weeks of the strike.

Building these events as broadly as possible will help serve notice to Texas Air Corp. head Frank Lorenzo and others in U.S. ruling circles that the strike against Eastern remains strong.

At the same time, the labor movement needs to protest the attacks on the miners' walkout by the federal courts and National Labor Relations Board. Unionists at Eastern strike support actions can also demand that the injunctions against the miners' strikes be lifted, along with the NLRB order to end the walkouts.

## Upturn in class struggle

The strike by workers at Eastern, who are determined to see their battle through to the end, is the most important sign that an upturn is taking place in the U.S. class struggle.

But it's not the only one. The wave of strikes and walkouts by union coal miners, the recent decision by steelworkers at National Steel to reject a new proposed contract, and the huge April 9 mobilization in defense of legal abortion — all of which have taken place in just the past six months — also indicate a mounting resistance among working people to the capitalists' offensive against our rights and living standards.

This growing motion in the U.S. class struggle is the most significant since the mighty battles for civil rights for Blacks in the 1950s and '60s, and the movement to end the war in Vietnam — and related struggles by Blacks, Latinos, and women's rights fighters — which peaked in the early 1970s.

Eastern, along with Continental Airlines,



Militant/Sam Manuel

Socialist Workers Party candidates Ernest Mailhot (left), for New Jersey State Assembly; John Hawkins, for mayor of Birmingham, Alabama; and Jim Little, for mayor of Pittsburgh. Mailhot is a striking Eastern worker; Hawkins a striking miner; and Little is a Steelworker.



Militant/Robert Kopec



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

is part of Texas Air, the third largest airline corporation in the world. The nationwide strike by Machinists' union members, flight attendants, and pilots has succeeded in keeping the carrier's operations basically shut down for some 120 days — something no recent major strike has been able to achieve.

The walkout is the longest U.S. labor battle with such national significance since the 116-day steelworkers' strike in 1959 and the 110-day coal miners' strike of 1977-78.

After years of attacks on their wages, working conditions, and union rights — attacks that millions of other workers also

experienced — the Eastern workers decided to stand up and say "No more." That decision has become the most serious challenge to the U.S. rulers by the labor movement in a decade.

The same decision has also lifted the spirits of working people way beyond Eastern and even the airline industry as a whole and inspired them with new confidence in themselves and their unions.

## Decision to fight

The Eastern workers' determination to take on this fight marks a further step away from the long retreat by the working class in face of the capitalists' austerity offensive.

Following the 1981-82 recession, this retreat turned into a wholesale rout of the labor movement. The utter capitulation of officials in one union after another to the bosses' concession demands resulted in workers backing away from any fight to resist the pressure for givebacks. In many industries, unionists went along with, and even voted for, cuts in their wages, weakening of job safety, and drastic speedup — under the mistaken idea that accepting the bosses' demands would "save jobs."

This collapse by the labor movement was the payoff for the decades since the end of the 1930s in which the union officialdom echoed the bosses' propaganda that "we" — the bosses and workers of "America" — are "in this together," against the rest of the world.

This propaganda misled working people, served to cut workers in this country off from our fellow toilers around the world, and fostered the idea that what happened to the billions of working people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America really wasn't of much concern to us.

Union officials also cooperated with the bosses in wrapping the unions in red tape. Lawyers, courts, government boards, mediation panels, antiunion legislation such as the Railway Labor Act, the whole rigamarole of collective bargaining — these, workers were told, were what "unionism" meant, not organizing and involving the union membership to exercise their collective power.

As a result, our unions became severely weakened. And when the capitalists' antiunion drive deepened sharply in the 1970s and '80s, it was revealed just how weak the unions had become.

## Resistance begins

Beginning in 1985, workers in the meatpacking industry undertook a series of strikes and union organizing battles that marked an important break in the half-decade long rout of the unions. These were followed by struggles of workers in other industries and workplaces, including among cannery workers, farm workers, paperworkers, and miners in the western coalfields.

Although most of these struggles were defeated, the important new development was that a fight took place. This gave the workers involved new confidence and inspired workers in other unions and industries.

Although the overall retreat of the labor movement in face of the capitalist offensive

continued, the employers had bumped into a new problem: resistance, especially from younger workers.

The current strike by Eastern workers is the most important nationwide example to date of this resistance to the takeback and union-busting drive of the bosses.

## Coal miners' strikes

United Mine Workers members on strike against the Pittston and New Beckley coal companies in Virginia and West Virginia have been some of the most active in supporting the Eastern workers' fight.

The miners themselves are fighting against the coal bosses' demands for wage and benefit cuts and the imposition of work rule concessions that would undermine the union and weaken health and safety conditions in the mines.

In mid-June, when tens of thousands of miners around the country walked off the job in support of the Pittston and New Beckley strikers, and to demand the release of three jailed mine union leaders, it was another sign that the rulers are coming up against a growing determination by workers to draw the line and say "Enough!"

When United Steelworkers union members at National Steel Corp.'s mills voted recently — by a 61 to 39 percent margin — to reject a proposed 50-month labor agreement that offered wage gains, not cuts, as in recent concession contracts, the steel bosses were surprised. The workers opposed union-weakening work rule and scheduling changes and wanted more rapid wage increases. The possibility of a strike now exists at National.

Many of the steelworkers who voted no on the contract were looking at the Eastern workers and coal miners' strikes.

## Fight for abortion rights

The massive mobilization of supporters of women's right to choose abortion, on April 9, in Washington, D.C., was another sign of the changing mood among working people in this country.

It showed both the continuing majority support among working people for abortion rights and the growing determination to defend this gain in face of growing threats, including from the U.S. Supreme Court.

The April 9 march was one of the largest political demonstrations ever held in the United States, indicating the kind of response that could develop against new moves by the U.S. rulers to roll back this and other conquests of the working class. This includes the potential for a fightback against the recent U.S. Supreme Court attacks on affirmative action.

## Fight for unity

Workers are gaining rich experiences in how to fight and in figuring out what works and what doesn't in a serious fight. Discussions of how to strengthen our unions and overcome past weaknesses are taking place. The need to overcome the divisions imposed on us by the rulers is now understood more clearly.

The lessons we're learning now will put working people as a whole in a stronger position for the even bigger battles that lie ahead as the crisis of the capitalist system deepens.

## — WORLD NEWS BRIEFS —

### Cuba backed for UN Security Council seat

Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón said that the Latin American and Caribbean group in the United Nations has endorsed Cuba's candidacy for a seat on the Security Council, the June 11 English-language edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* reported. Alarcón explained that it is traditional for the regional groups in the UN to try to come to an agreement on who will represent them.

Alarcón called the decision of the regional group a sign of new times. He cited the Latin American governments' opposition to Britain's continued occupation of the Malvinas Islands, which are claimed by Argentina, and the region's effort to end the U.S.-backed contra war against Nicaragua through the Contadora Group. Cuba has in recent years reestablished diplomatic and trade relations with most countries of the region, Alarcón added.

The endorsement by the regional group virtually assures Cuba a seat when the General Assembly votes to fill 10 non-permanent positions on the Security Council in September. The United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union hold permanent seats on the 15-member body. Under UN regulations any one of the five permanent members has veto power on any resolution before the council.

### Addis Ababa offers peace plan for Eritrea

The Ethiopian government has offered to hold unconditional peace talks with armed groups fighting against Addis Ababa's rule over the northern provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. The Tigre People's Liberation Front accepted the offer. The Eritrean Liberation Front also supports holding the talks but has so far insisted on the participation of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which has rejected Ethiopia's offer.

The June 5 offer for talks came within weeks after the government of President

Mengistu Haile Mariam averted a coup by sections of the Ethiopian military. The attempted coup was led by military officers who oppose continuing the war against the insurgent groups. The Ethiopian army suffered severe defeats in Tigre last December and again in February. Ethiopia's 2nd Army, a force of about 175,000 men based in Asmara, located in Eritrea, had already reached some kind of agreement with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Mengistu was among a group of army officers known as the Dergue, which overthrew the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. But the Dergue continued the Selassie government's policy of opposing independence for Eritrea and Tigre.

### U.S. officials doubt imminent fall of Kabul

With growing doubts that armed rightist bands can topple the Afghanistan government, the U.S. administration may be seeking alternative means to achieve its aims.

A White House official is reported to have said the three-month-old effort by rightist forces to capture Jalalabad has been, "a disaster, a terrible mistake, a miscalculation."

"It's time for a reappraisal of our policy," he added.

A week earlier the chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Rep. Anthony Beilenson, said that continued U.S. aid to the rightist bands in Afghanistan "is no longer in our interest."

The siege of Jalalabad began after thousands of Soviet troops, sent in December 1979 to prop up the Afghan government, left the country in February of this year.

On June 21 Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman Mohammad Nabi Amani told the Associated Press that government forces had pushed the rightist bands 15 miles east of Jalalabad. "Every day we are able to destroy deserted rebel posts, bunkers, and their other hideouts," he said.



## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**Celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution!** Live television transmission from Nicaragua of President Daniel Ortega. Dance to salsa sounds and music by The Looters, with special guests Rafael Manriquez, Steven Herrick, Lichi Fuentes, Barbara Dane, Pete Sears, and Mimi Fariña. Sat., July 22, 6 p.m. (doors open at 5:30 p.m.). Longshore Hall, 400 North Point (near Fisherman's Wharf). Donation: \$12, \$5 low income. Proceeds to aid Nicaragua. (Contribute a day's wage to the "Day's Wage for 10 Years of Freedom" campaign and get in free.) Sponsors: Barricada International Support Group; Centro Cultural Nicaragüense; Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Central America, Palo Alto; Committee for Health Rights in Central America; others. For more information call (415) 626-8053 or (408) 288-6678.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Pittston Coal Strike.** An eyewitness account by Steve Marshall, correspondent for *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 1, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

tant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Big Mountain: Native American Fight for Human Rights.** A slideshow presentation by Bob Livesey, Veterans for Peace coordinator. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Support the Eastern strikers.** The Coalition of Labor Union Women is sponsoring a morning at the picket line at Twin Cities International Airport in support of Eastern strikers. Sat., July 8, 11 a.m.-1 p.m. For more information call (612) 227-7647.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**The Eastern Workers and the Miners on Strike: A Fight for All Working People.** Speaker: Susan LaMont, *Militant* staff writer

covering the strike at Eastern Airlines; others to be announced. Sat., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Cuba Today: A Report by Recent Visitors.** Panel of participants in recently returned 20th anniversary Venceremos Brigade tour of Cuba. Sat., July 15, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## UTAH

### Price

**Labor Fights Back: Eastern Strikers Plan Protest and Miners' Strike Spreads.** Speakers: Bruce Quigley, member Air Line Pilots Association, striking Eastern airline pilot; Bob Hill, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Sun., July 9, 1 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**The Crackdown in China.** Speaker: Dan Fein,

Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 1, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## AUSTRALIA

### Sydney

**In Defense of Socialism.** Public forum to introduce a new Pathfinder book of speeches by Cuban leader Fidel Castro for the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Fri., July 7, 6:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookroom, 2nd floor, 181 Glebe Point Rd., Glebe. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (02) 660 1673.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Oppose Immigration Restrictions, Support Pacific Islanders' Access to New Zealand.** Speakers: Poumāu Papali'i, Auckland Immigration Coalition; others. Sat., July 8, 6:30 p.m. Pilot Bookshop, 157 Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. For more information call (9) 793-075.

# Eastern strikers step up activities at airports

Continued from front page

ged July 2 as the day to try to increase its nationwide schedule from 80 to 226 flights. If these planes fly, they will have scab crews. Your help is needed at the picket line to make sure that everyone knows the strike is not over." The expanded picket will be from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.

More than 100 unionists from the Washington, D.C., area joined a "Women's Day on the Picket Line" at National on June 25.

In **Newark** striking members of Machinists Local 1445 have called a June 30 rally at the Holiday Inn Jetport, near Newark International Airport. The rally will be fol-

lowed by a march to the airport, where a press conference will be held.

The Industrial Union Council is urging participation of New Jersey unionists. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-575 from the Merck pharmaceutical plant in Rahway have chartered a bus. Strikers will also be asking passengers to sign the "Don't fly Eastern and Continental" pledge. The rally starts at 4:30 p.m.

On June 23 the Newark strikers held a "drive-through" demonstration that slowed traffic at the airport to a crawl for more than 90 minutes during evening rush hour.

"This is the first of a series of events running through the Fourth of July weekend designed to let the public know the strike at Eastern is not over," explained Local 1145 Secretary-treasurer Frank DeMaria. Striking Machinists, flight attendants, and pilots were joined in the 75-car drive-through by other unionists, and several strikers from New York's La Guardia Airport. The action got considerable media coverage in New Jersey.

### 'Solidarity picket'

A "Solidarity Picket," called by Eastern strikers for July 2 at Los Angeles International Airport, is being backed by the Los Angeles, Orange Counties Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO. Unionists are urged to come to Terminal 6 starting at 8:00 a.m. to protest the resumption of several Eastern flights to Los Angeles that day.

Texas Air Chairman Lorenzo's attempt to break the Eastern strike must be met by strong pickets, explains a flyer issued by IAM Local 1932. The local, which represents workers at United, Eastern, and several other carriers in Los Angeles, is urging other unionists to sign up to help expand picket lines July 2-7.

At **Detroit** Metropolitan Airport June 29,

the Eastern strikers' picket line will be swelled by other airport IAM members, many from Northwest Airlines.

The following day, an airport drive-through is planned from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. Participants are urged to park their cars when it's over, join the picket line, and help get pledges signed by airport passengers. A similar action is also planned at the **Toledo**, Ohio, airport that day.

The Wisconsin state AFL-CIO has sent out a 2,500-piece mailing to locals in that state urging participation in the July 2 strike support rally at **Milwaukee's** Mitchell International Airport. The rally will be followed by a march to the picket line. There, strike supporters are planning to organize participants into teams to walk the picket line and get pledges signed. Unionists in that city are also discussing plans to beef up picket lines after July 2 as well.

### Picket to meet resumed flights

The **St. Louis** Central Labor Council has called a strike rally for July 9, at 3:30 p.m.,

at IAM District 9's hall.

On July 2 stepped-up picketing is also planned at the **St. Louis** airport to meet the first of the resumed flights there. Other airline workers, especially those from Trans World Airlines, will be pitching in that day.

A drive-through is scheduled at the **Pittsburgh** International Airport June 30, from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. On July 2 United Mine Workers members from the area will be coming into Pittsburgh to join strikers and strike supporters for activities at the airport.

Actions on June 30 and July 2 are also planned in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Seattle, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and other cities.

Eastern's plan to resume flights, using cheap fares to lure passengers, is part of an effort to restart the airline as a smaller, non-union carrier. Lorenzo is also moving to sell \$1.8 billion of Eastern's assets. The airline has been virtually paralyzed since the strike began March 4.

## Participate in a Cuba tour

Trade unionists, solidarity activists, students, and others will be touring Cuba August 13-27. Departure is from Toronto, Canada. Program will include visits to factories, medical center, and a family doctor office. Meetings with workers and leaders of the Cuban Workers Federation, as well as participation in voluntary labor, are scheduled.

Group will stay at the Julio Antonio Mella International Center, and the program is organized by the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples.

Cost is Cdn.\$850, including Toronto-Havana airfares, lodging, ground transportation in Cuba, and three meals a day. For more information call tour coordinator Linda Grabovsky at (416) 760-8292.

## Meeting to honor life of John Wolfe

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

**SAN FRANCISCO** — John Wolfe, a member of the San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, died June 25 of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. Wolfe, 24, was a member of the YSA and SWP for a year. He was a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1781 and worked at United Airlines.

Wolfe moved to San Francisco in 1988 from Chicago. Opposed to capitalism, he joined the YSA within weeks of learning about the organization from a coworker. He joined the SWP a month later. Part of a wave

of new YSA and SWP members, Wolfe had been YSA organizer and had served on the SWP branch executive committee.

As a member of the same Machinists local as striking Eastern Airlines workers, Wolfe put in many hours of picket duty at San Francisco International Airport and was a widely recognized figure there.

The YSA and SWP will sponsor a memorial meeting to celebrate John Wolfe's life Saturday, July 1, at 5:00 p.m., at the San Francisco Pathfinder Bookstore, 3284 23rd Street.

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Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Lutte ouvrière*.

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## SWEDEN

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



**Could he mean the pastry?** — A while back, a popular stereotype of a deranged person was someone who thought he was Napoleon Bonaparte. It came to mind on learn-



Harry Ring

ing that the vice-prez read something about Napoleon's military strategy and said, "It certainly reflected the way I went about the campaign and perhaps the way I'm doing the job now."

**Effective, for sure** — "My participation was legal, moral, ethical, and effective." — Former interior secretary James Watt on the \$300,000 he pocketed for a 30-minute meeting with Reagan's housing chief to arrange a deal for a real estate shark.

**Educating America** — In light of government scandals, pediatric experts advise, the coins left under the pillow by the tooth fairy "can represent a child's crucial first lesson in financial management." Sure, take a lesson from James Watt. If the tot feels he doesn't have enough teeth to slip under the pillow, learn him to knock them out of the mouth of a smaller kid.

**Fresh or frozen?** — A morale-building regional carnival was held in Morgantown, West Virginia, for workers at the Hardee food chain. One of the more popular booths gave employees the opportunity to throw a pie at the company president.

**Let them take the rap** — The Vatican turned over management of its scandal-ridden bank to professionals, ending the 20-year tenure of Archbishop Paul Marcinkus. In 1982 Italian authorities issued warrants for the good father and two associates as accessories in the looting of a Milan bank. An Italian-Vatican treaty barred prosecution.

**Ends leave of absence** — Sen.

Lloyd Bentsen has rejoined the three all-white clubs he quit when he was running for vice-president.

**Sporting deal** — It's catching on. Buy a piece of an uncollected Third World debt from a bank at a heavy discount. Sell it back to the debtor government at a good markup, in its own currency. Then use the money to cut a deal. Like, a Dutch soccer club bought a piece of the Brazilian debt, traded it for cruzados, and, at a nice savings, bought Romario Farias, a top Brazilian player.

**Learning law 'n order** — In "riot control" training, Brooklyn cops broke up a mock sit-in by fellow officers. The sit-downers

locked arms like they've seen real-life protesters do. Eight of them were injured.

**Nothing's perfect** — A patent has been issued for a nuclear battery. The size of a garbage can, it converts strontium 90, a nuclear waste product, into electricity. But at \$25,000 each, they're not yet ready for home use. Also, there's the "potential" hazard of the radioactive waste.

**Thought for the week** — "Morally I don't have any problem with that at all." — Federal drug coordinator William Bennett, when asked if he would support beheading drug dealers.

## Economic changes in China fostered polarization

Continued from Page 5

cial speculators had made millions in this way.

"Angry farmers," the report continued, "unable to buy the cheap subsidized fertilizers as promised, resorted to violence, raiding fertilizer plants and retail outlets." The Beijing *People's Daily* reported 200 such instances involving 170,000 peasants in Hunan Province during three months in 1987.

A shortfall of some 20 percent in the production of fertilizer is expected this year.

Last year, a tightening budgetary squeeze led local and regional governments to pay large numbers of peasants for their grain in \$1 billion worth of iou's. In some areas peasants displayed red and black banners that proclaimed, "Don't sell your grain to the state."

The government is again expected to offer iou's in lieu of immediate payment for about half this year's summer harvest.

Since 1985, reported a recent issue of *People's Daily*, 13 rural tax collectors have been murdered, 27 crippled, and 6,400 beaten up.

### Workers hit hard

The regime's growing financial difficulties have largely halted the development of rural

industry. Some 2.5 million jobless people and their families reportedly poured into the city of Guangzhou (Canton) alone last year. Their chances of finding work are not very good, since cutbacks at about 80 percent of municipal enterprises is expected to lead to layoffs this year.

The official unemployment rate in China rose from 2 percent in 1988 to a projected 3.5 percent this year.

Regional differences have been heightened by uneven economic development. Wages in coastal Guangdong Province are 20-30 percent higher than in inland Hunan Province. Peasants in Guangdong earn an average of \$161 annually, compared to a national average of \$124. The income of inhabitants of Gansu Province, China's poorest, is only \$81. More than 1 million people in the province live in caves.

Inflation, fueled by the massive expansion of government credit, is now thought to be running at a rate of 50 percent per year, the highest rate since the 1949 revolution that overturned capitalist rule.

Inflation has been squeezing urban workers hard. The state's statistical bureau con-

ceded that 35 percent of urban families had suffered a decline in living standards in 1988.

These developments have heightened awareness and anger at the growing social disparities in the country. While the party hails those who "grow rich," 100 million people are admitted to be living below its official poverty line — \$54 per year.

The deterioration of education has highlighted one of the social effects of the government's policies. The student-led protests raised demands for more spending on education, in addition to calling for more democratic rights and steps to restrict corruption.

### Education in decline

While virtually all children enroll in primary school, one-third do not continue to junior high school, and high school enrollment has plunged by 27 percent in a decade. And only 1 percent of high school graduates go on to college — lower percentages than the official figures from semicolonial capitalist countries of South Korea (20 percent) and India (9 percent).

Faced with growing unrest stemming from deepening social problems, a conflict has been sharpening within the regime over what steps to take. The students, some of whose leaders were children of prominent Communist Party officials, appear to have had some knowledge of the differences, and were influenced by the atmosphere of heightening social tension and unrest.

In October 1988 the party Central Committee approved a two-year postponement of a measure to lift most controls on the prices of state-subsidized goods. Premier Li Peng has also called for restricting the distribution of bonuses to workers.

In March 1989 the government adopted budget cutbacks and controls on government spending. Work on some 18,000 projects under construction has been halted. New taxes were imposed on businesses and on farmers who produce crops other than grain for the market.

The new measures will mean rising unemployment, especially in rural areas where new industries have been hard hit. Xu Jue, a prominent economist in China, recently predicted that one-third of the 120,000 rural enterprises in Jiangsu Province would close soon this year and another third barely survive.

Writing from Beijing on April 5 — 10 days before the student demonstrations began in the capital city — *New York Times* correspondent Kristof said he had noted a shift in the popular mood.

"Inflation and corruption," he said, "along with fear of unemployment and resentment of the newly wealthy, seem to be fostering a reassessment among Chinese farmers and workers about the benefits of sweeping economic change. Some Chinese officials and foreign diplomats are growing concerned that the Chinese people, instead of helping the market economy along, will become an obstacle to it."

## Steelworkers reject contract

Continued from front page

proposal to end restrictions on scheduling Sunday work for hundreds of workers in units that don't operate seven days a week.

Maintenance workers would face job combinations and could be forced to work outside their department.

Many workers also opposed the timing of the wage increases in the pact. The proposal calls for an immediate 31 cents-an-hour wage increase to bring wage scales to the level they were in 1986. Further increases would not go into effect until the \$1 average wage increase in 1991 and the 50 cents average increase in 1992, however.

As news that the contract was voted down swept through the plant June 19, most workers were surprised. "I can't believe we stuck together and voted it down," was a typical response on the Cold Mill floor. "Now the union should go back and negotiate something where my family can be together on Christmas and Sundays."

Two days after the vote, the company sent a letter to every worker crying poverty and saying that the mill would be shut down unless the proposal was signed.

A discussion among union members then broke out. Some workers responded that now is the time to stand up to the company's threats. One of the 20 Granite City workers who have walked the Eastern strikers' picket line said, "What the company is doing to us is what Eastern has been doing to the Machinists." Another said, "I am glad we stood up. Now maybe we can join the miners on the picket line."

Most workers in the Granite City mill see their no vote as a way of putting pressure on the company to back off from some of its worst concession demands. Other workers think the proposal will have to be accepted, because the union is not strong enough at this time to win a strike. Some union members support the proposal, arguing that jobs will be lost unless the company makes bigger profits.

The current contract expires July 31. USWA officials are slated to meet June 29 in Pittsburgh to discuss whether to try new negotiations with NSC, resubmit the last proposal for a new vote, or authorize a strike vote.

At the end of May, workers at Bethlehem Steel voted 11,386 to 3,009 to ratify a contract similar to the NSC proposal. It called for restoration of wages to 1986 levels, plus a \$1-an-hour average raise in 1991 and 50 cents-an-hour average raise in 1992. Restoration of Sunday premium pay and of three holidays, as well as additions to medical and other benefits were included.

The Bethlehem contract also included retention of major provisions of the 1974 Consent Decree, which provided for affirmative action programs in hiring, training, and upgrading for Blacks and women in the steel industry. The USWA pressed for including affirmative action provisions in the contract, despite a federal court's recent dissolution of the decree itself. Similar provisions were included in the NSC proposal as well.

Talks are currently under way at Armco. A tentative four-year agreement with Inland Steel has been reached by union officials and will be voted on soon by USWA members. The Inland proposal contains slightly more in wages, with raises coming sooner, than the Bethlehem pact.

In 1983 the basic steel contract signed by the Steelworkers gave seven major companies an immediate \$1.25-an-hour wage cut. This was followed in 1986-87 by company-by-company givebacks in steel union contracts of \$3.15 an hour to LTV, \$1.96 an hour to Bethlehem, and 99 cents an hour to USX and National Steel.

*Peter Brandli works in the Cold Strip Department at the Granite City Division of National Steel. He is a member of USWA Local 67. USWA Local 9140 member Ed Fruit from Baltimore also contributed to this article.*

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

July 6, 1979

Carter administration plans for direct military intervention in Nicaragua were set back June 21 when the Organization of American States refused to go along with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's proposal to send a "peacekeeping force" to Nicaragua.

Under the pretext of "defending democracy," such a force would be used to try to crush the popular rebellion being led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The OAS instead voted, with U.S. backing, to call for the "immediate and definitive replacement" of President Anastasio Somoza.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

June 29, 1964

(The following are excerpts from a statement by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president in the 1964 elections.)

The atrocity against three young and courageous civil rights workers in Mississippi demonstrates the imperative need of federal action in that state. I call upon President Johnson to immediately deputize and arm the Negroes of Mississippi and to dis-

patch federal troops there to prevent further violence against civil rights workers, to restore law and order, and to enforce the U.S. Constitution.

The white supremacist forces in Mississippi include not only the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council but also the state and local officials at every level. I am a Negro from Mississippi, and I know that these racists cannot be persuaded by any moral argument. They are prepared to defend the system of segregation by any means, including the most heinous and brutal crimes.

The occupation force should arrest and throw into jail every cop or other official in any way connected with the June 21 kidnapping of Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Cheney. Just before they were kidnapped the three young men were arrested by the racist police in Philadelphia, Mississippi. It was reported that the rights fighters looked like they had been beaten by the police.

While the three kidnapped youths were in jail, their coworkers became fearful for their safety and telephoned the FBI in Jackson.

The FBI agent, a Mr. F.H. Helgeson, refused to help and told the rights fighters that he wouldn't have any more dealings with them.

The federal government is aware of the situation in Mississippi. By not providing adequate protection for these young people who are helping U.S. citizens to register to vote, the administration shares responsibility for what has happened to the three young men.



## Barbaric rulings

"Abominations."

That is what a representative of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund called the June 26 Supreme Court rulings upholding the constitutionality of executions of youths and mentally retarded persons. His choice of words was appropriate.

The decisions spotlight the inhuman and degrading methods the employing class and its government increasingly resort to in attacking the rights of tens of millions of working people.

The majority in the 5-4 decisions held that the mentally retarded or youths who were at least 16 when the crimes attributed to them were committed can be executed because, the justices said, there is no "national consensus" opposing such executions.

The rulings throw glaring light on the lack of wealth and political power or connections common to the victims of capital punishment in the United States. The exploited and oppressed are the ones electrocuted, shot by firing squads, injected with poison, or gassed in the death houses.

Under the impact of the civil rights movement and other struggles of working people and their allies, the court in 1972 had ruled that the application of existing death penalty statutes constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Since 1967, wide opposition to the death penalty had blocked any executions in the United States.

In 1976, however, the court upheld revised death penalty laws. The first of the new wave of legal murders took place in January 1977. Today, 37 states have death penalty statutes.

A total of 110 people have been executed since the 1976 ruling. As of February, there were some 2,100 people on the nation's death rows.

The latest court decisions are part of an effort to clear away obstacles to expanded use of capital punishment.

Last November, for example, President Ronald Reagan signed into law a bill permitting execution of those convicted of killing police officers in the course of a crime.

The measure also allowed execution of those convicted of murder who are held to have been involved in two criminal operations concerning drugs.

A few days before the most recent rulings, the court held that poor inmates on death row have no constitutional right to a lawyer in pursuing a second round of appeals.

Two years ago, the court dismissed as irrelevant substantial evidence that a disproportionate number of Blacks were sentenced to death, particularly when the murder victim was white. "Apparent disparities in sentencing are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system," stated then Justice Lewis Powell.

In February of this year, Chief Justice William Rehnquist complained about the slow pace of executions, calling for a reduction in the scope of appeals available to defendants. He griped that one death row inmate had managed to stay alive for nine years by utilizing the appeals process.

The death penalty is a weapon of intimidation and terror in the hands of the capitalist exploiters in this country. It helps them to legitimize broader uses of violence by the government against working people, be it war abroad or the virtually daily legal murders carried out by police on the streets of U.S. cities.

The death penalty is rooted in minority rule — a tiny ruling class's need to wield the power of life and death over the great majority they rule and plunder.

This stands in sharp contrast to the Nicaraguan government, which has abolished capital punishment, a move that has helped win it broad support from working people around the world.

The struggles of working people in the United States and around the world point toward the elimination of this barbaric penalty.

The Supreme Court's seal of approval on the death penalty's application to ever wider categories of working people in an ever more discriminatory manner is a blow to the democratic rights of all.

## Significance of gay rights fight

While it was the police raid on the Stonewall Inn on Christopher Street in Manhattan's Greenwich Village that provided the spark that ignited the fight for equal rights for lesbians and gay men, the roots of that fight run much deeper.

In the wee hours of the morning on June 28, 1969, a crowd returned some of the blows the police were used to meting out with impunity to those who frequented the homosexual bars in the area.

Mobilizations continued the entire weekend, under the banner of "Gay power." This reflected the inspiration they drew, first and foremost, from the struggle of Blacks for their civil and human rights, as well as the broader international youth radicalization that the Black struggle had helped initiate.

The burgeoning women's rights movement, with its profound questioning of the sexual stereotypes used to rationalize women's second-class political, economic, and social status, was key to opening the door to a struggle against bias based on a person's sexual orientation.

The gay rights fight challenged an array of discrimination:

- Most landlords wouldn't take homosexual tenants. Those who did often charged extra.
- Many jobs were closed to gays.
- In the military, schools, prisons, mental hospitals, and other institutions, gays faced segregation, brutality, and humiliation.
- Most states had antisodomy laws that were used to victimize gays. Many police departments carried out an active policy of entrapment whereby plainclothes cops enticed gays into committing "illegal" acts.
- Lesbians often lost their children in custody fights, charged with being unfit mothers.
- Gays were the victims of bigoted violence and harassment.

The struggles for equal rights educated many people to

the widespread rights violations gays faced and helped dispel reactionary antigay myths propagated by the religious hierarchies and reactionary politicians, doctors, journalists, and others.

Unions in some cases began to be drawn into the fight for gay rights, seeing how bigotry against gays on the job and in the community weakened labor's fight against employers' arbitrariness and violations of workers' rights.

As part of the broad expansion of rights won through the struggles of the 1960s and '70s, gays also won greater legal protection against discrimination. In many states, reactionary antisodomy laws were repealed. Antidiscrimination ordinances were ratified in dozens of cities, and court rulings tended to bolster this trend.

Soldiers victimized for alleged homosexuality have won some of their cases against the military brass. And homosexuality no longer automatically disqualifies a woman from winning custody of her children.

Although the ruling class has chipped away at the expanded rights won by gay people — as they have with democratic rights in general — the new attitudes and climate have not been reversed.

The biggest blow to gay rights to date has been the rulers' use of the high incidence of AIDS among gays, impoverished intravenous drug users, and other "undesirables" to whip up prejudice. At the same time, the government has not provided the medical care and assistance needed for the hundreds of thousands who are infected with the AIDS-causing virus, because they are concentrated among pariah layers of the population.

The curbs on the rights and dignity of gay people, as well as the obscurantist notions about homosexuality that are peddled as science and common sense, are an obstacle to the rights, dignity, confidence, and ability of working people to unite in a fight to defend our rights.

## Good news for subscribers

Good news for *Militant* readers in the western United States!

In a couple of weeks a new system for mailing *Militant* subscriptions will go into effect. This will make significant improvements in delivery to subscribers in that part of the country.

This step is in response to delays in delivery brought to our attention by subscribers on the West Coast, many of whom receive their paper a week or more after it is printed. Under the new system the papers will be picked up in New York on Thursday evening by an air freight company and shipped to several key cities. From there they will be mailed on the weekend.

For example, subscriptions for Los Angeles and south-

ern California will be delivered to the U.S. post office in Los Angeles on Saturday afternoon. Subscribers should receive their copies on Monday, or at the latest, Tuesday.

The new measure will allow all our readers to follow and be able to respond to the important events covered by the paper — the Eastern strike, the coal miners walkout, and the developments in China, Cuba, Nicaragua, and other countries — in a more timely manner.

But this new service will cost us an additional \$10,000 a year.

We appeal to all our readers for contributions to help to meet this new expense. Contributions should be sent to: The Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## The marriage between labor and nature

BY DOUG JENNESS

In his letter on the facing page, Andy Feeney argues that both human labor and nature are the source of all wealth, not just human labor as Mike Galati stated in an earlier letter.

Moreover, he objects to Galati's rejection of birth control and other measures to curb population growth.

On the first point, Feeney's argumentation is sound. Recognizing that both labor and nature contribute to social wealth is key to understanding the interrelationship between workers defending themselves and protecting the environment.

"Labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate," Karl Marx wrote in *Capital*, "and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants."

The father of material wealth, Marx noted, is labor, and the earth its mother.

By locating, experimenting on, understanding, and transforming natural substances, human beings have given rise to technology and industry.

We have dramatically changed the earth's surface, atmosphere, vegetation, fauna, and even ourselves as a result of our laboring activity. Man, Frederick Engels wrote in *Dialectics of Nature*, "has succeeded in impressing his stamp on nature, not only by so altering the aspect and climate of his dwelling place, and even the plants and animals themselves, that the consequences of his activity can disappear only with the general extinction of the terrestrial globe."

Under capitalism the means for altering nature have become far more developed than ever before. We can move mountains, redirect rivers, create lakes, make the deserts bloom, harness light with lasers, splice genes, and manipulate the molecular and atomic structure of matter.

But not all the changes in nature that human beings are able to make are constructive. In our class-divided society production is dominated by capitalists who are interested only in their immediate profits. Under their control humanity's power to transform nature has become like the sorcerer's apprentice in whose hands magical powers ran amok.

When an individual capitalist's sales result in "the usual profit he is satisfied, and he does not care what becomes of the commodity and its purchasers," Engels wrote. "The same thing applies to the natural effects of the same actions."

Regarding the wanton destruction of forests, a matter of grave importance today in many countries and especially in the Third World, Engels cited the example of "Spanish planters in Cuba, who burned down forests on the slopes of the mountains and obtained from the ashes sufficient fertilizer for one generation of very highly profitable coffee trees."

"What did it matter to them," he asked, "that the heavy tropical rainfall afterwards washed away the now unprotected upper stratum of the soil, leaving behind only bare rock?"

Engels wrote these lines more than 100 years ago. Since then the despoliation of the air, water, soil, and forests has gotten increasingly worse. Massive amounts of chemical and radioactive wastes are disposed of with little regard for the safety of people or the well-being of the environment.

As international price competition between capitalists intensifies, the drive to maintain profit levels has reinforced their resistance to measures that could help slow down the destruction of the environment.

This goes hand in hand with their efforts to squeeze more surplus value out of working people through speedup and onerous work rules and by lengthening the workday, cutting corners on safety, and driving down wages.

"Every organ of sense," Marx noted, as if he were writing today, "is injured in an equal degree by artificial elevation of the temperature, by the dust-laden atmosphere, by the deafening noise, not to mention danger to life and limb among the thickly crowded machinery, which, with the regularity of the seasons, issues its list of the killed and wounded in the industrial battle."

Labor and nature are both casualties in this industrial battle. Only as labor, the conscious partner in this marriage, organizes a powerful movement to combat the capitalist destroyers will it be possible to defend and improve the living and working conditions of workers while protecting the environment.

Next week, I'll deal with Feeney's erroneous assertion that nature's finite resources demand that socialists advocate population control.



# How an anti-Lorenzo button brought the plane back

The following is a letter reprinted from the June-July issue of *Local 647 News*, published by United Auto Workers Local 647.

Lorraine Starsky, a member of Local 647, works at the General Electric jet-engine plant in Evendale, Ohio.

Dear Editor,

At April's union meeting an International Association of Machinists member on strike against Eastern Airlines talked about the issues of the strike. He left many anti-Lorenzo buttons (Lorenzo is the union-busting head of Eastern) and strike literature. I picked up a button to wear on my jacket.

I had booked a flight for April 20 on USAir to visit my in-laws in Rochester, New York. I intended to pin my

## AS I SEE IT

anti-Lorenzo button to my trench coat lapel, but in my last minute, frantic preparations to get myself and my boys ready, I forgot.

Halfway to the airport, I remembered and said to my friend who was taking us, "Dam it! I forgot my anti-Lorenzo button. I wanted to wear it because I have to change planes in Pittsburgh, which has an Eastern terminal."

She replied, "I've got one of those buttons in my glove compartment. Take it." I reached in and pinned it to my lapel.

On the flight from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, I noticed that a few of the USAir flight attendants wore the anti-Lorenzo buttons. We were supposed to arrive at 12:40 p.m. and my connecting flight was to depart at 1:15 p.m. As we approached Pittsburgh, the captain announced that we would have to circle for 8 to 10 minutes because the airport was extremely busy. In the meantime, the flight attendants announced the times and gates for the connecting flights. We

were arriving at Gate 13 and my connecting flight was at Gate 20. Even though we were late arriving, I wasn't too concerned. I had been in the Pittsburgh airport as a teenager and it had been small. I didn't think Gate 20 could be very far from Gate 13. I didn't bother asking for help other than asking the direction of Gate 20. I was told to go up the escalator and go to the left.

As I started toward the escalator, I changed my mind because I had my 19-month-old boy in a stroller. I couldn't take him out because I was carrying a crammed diaper bag and a shopping bag. I asked some airport person where the elevator was and what floor to get off for Gate 20. I found the elevator and got off the floor I was told, but it was the office portion of the airport. I got back on the elevator and went back to the floor we came from. I ended up in front of the main ticket counter. By this time, the minutes were ticking by and I didn't have much time left.

I inquired as to the fastest way to get to Gate 20 to make a 1:15 p.m. departure. I was told to go through security again and Gate 20 was just down the hall.

I rushed through and walked along at a fast clip. It became apparent, however, that Gate 20 was quite far away and if I wanted to make it, I'd better run. So I ran pushing Sam in the stroller, as my four-and-a-half year old, Ben, ran behind me crying that he couldn't keep up.

Finally, I got to Gate 20 and huffing I asked the boarding agent, "Is the flight to Rochester boarding yet?"

He looked at me strangely and said, "Lady, it left already." My watch said 1:16 p.m. I started ranting about how it was not my fault, the Cincinnati flight was late, no one helped me with the boys, they told me the wrong floor to get off the elevator, etc. Ben added to the uproar by sobbing hysterically.

Someone who appeared to be a flight coordinator came out and said, "Let me see whether we can bring the plane back."

I couldn't hear what he said as he talked into his hand-held

radio. A few seconds later he told me that they would come back for us. Sure enough, the plane taxied back to the gate and the boys and I were hustled on board.

The flight attendant simply put us up front near the cockpit, not bothering to look for our seats. Once we were up in the air, the attendant came over to me with a puzzled look on his face and asked, "Who are you, lady? They never come back for anybody. What did you tell them?"

I told him who I was, what happened, and what I had said. He shook his head and said, "No, there's got to be more to this than what you told."

Then it flashed on me — the button! I had Sam on my lap and he obscured the button. I pushed him to one side and pointed to the button. "Do you think this button had anything to do with it?"

He smiled and said, "Lady, that button had everything to do with it!"

When we arrived in Rochester, I waited for the other passengers to file past because I didn't want to hold them up while I tried to get myself and the boys organized. Soon it was just me, the boys and a few attendants. The captain came out of the cockpit saying, "I want to see this lady for whom I had to bring the plane back."

I laughed and pointed to my anti-Lorenzo button. "I guess this is why you came back."

He nodded, "Yes, that's why we came back."

This episode reinforces my belief how important a small act of solidarity can be. Wearing that button saved me from having to buy another ticket to Rochester and the added agony of waiting in an airport for several hours with two small children.

Before this happened, I was a firm supporter of the Eastern strikers, because as unionists we owe them our solidarity and support for their courageous stand against union-busting. Now I owe them a personal debt of gratitude.

Sincerely,  
Lorraine Starsky

## LETTERS

### Population

Mike Galati's letter in your June 16 issue seems on the surface to take a Marxist and materialist approach to the population question. But there are flaws in the letter's reasoning, and they are shared by many socialists besides Galati.

Like Frederick Engels in a famous 1845 essay on Malthus, Galati in his letter blamed capitalism rather than overpopulation for world hunger. He observed that even when people are starving, capitalist markets often result in so-called surplus food being thrown away because it can't be sold for profit.

And he wrote that under socialism there can never be population-related scarcity. To quote from his letter, "For Marxists, human beings are not the consumers of a supposedly 'finite' number of resources contained on this planet. Rather, we are the creators of all wealth. For us, more people means the possibility of creating even greater wealth."

Galati's comments about human beings creating "all wealth" are based on a common misunderstanding of what Marxism means.

Karl Marx wrote in the first volume of *Capital* that human labor does create all "exchange value" or monetary value of capitalist commodities. But Marx added that the "use value" of these same commodities, or their actual usefulness to ordinary people is partly produced by "nature, without the help of man."

The price of a chair, for example, depends entirely on the labor needed to make it. But the actual wood fibers in the chair are produced by trees in the presence of air, water, and sunlight. These wood fibers provide some of the chair's usefulness, with the strength of the wood allowing us to actually sit in the thing.

Marx wrote further that nature also aids the production of "use values" by originally providing both the tools and the natural forces — such as energy — that workers use to transform raw materials into manufactured objects.

In the famous *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, written in 1875, Marx declared: "Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is

just as much the source of use-values (and surely these are what make up material wealth!) as labor."

He added, "precisely because labor depends on nature," capitalists can turn workers into wage slaves by separating us from the ownership and control of natural resources. Owning nothing, we must work for other people or starve.

Because the world's raw material wealth is limited, even if it is very large, socialists do need to think about overpopulation. Both the Marxist leadership of Zimbabwe and the badly deformed workers' state in China have recognized this by implementing ambitious birth control programs. American socialists should avoid China's mistakes, but we need to think about birth control, too.

Andy Feeney  
Washington, D.C.

### Abortion rights protest

Five hundred outraged county employees rallied May 19 to protest the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners' approval of a resolution prohibiting county employees from using their medical benefits for abortions. Hennepin includes the city of Minneapolis.

Union representatives and workers denounced the county government's 5-to-2 vote as an illegal violation of their contract. Some 5,500 of the county's 8,500 employees are women.

The protest takes place after the giant April 9 march on Washington, D.C., for abortion rights, which drew more than 1,200 participants from Minnesota, and after a local rally of more than 5,000 May 13 at the State Capitol in St. Paul. The impact of these actions was clear in the response to the attack by the Hennepin County commissioners.

In response to the May 19 protest, the commission scheduled a hearing at their next meeting, May 25. An overflow crowd of hundreds came. Union representatives announced plans to file a lawsuit seeking an injunction against the resolution.

After two hours of testimony, the commissioners cut off debate and voted 5-to-2 against a motion to rescind the resolution.

Joe Callahan  
Minneapolis, Minnesota



Henry Payne

"Let's see . . . contractors . . . embezzling real estate agents . . . politically connected consultants . . . Watt, James . . . No, I don't see 'the poor' listed. Are you sure you were invited?"

### Christians

While you say you are fighting for the poor, you are also perpetuating the myth that all Christians somehow force their beliefs on others. I say this after reading your article on separation of church and state in the May 19 issue.

While many have entered our ranks who are of a questionable character — corrupt politicians, money-hungry capitalists — the true nature of Christianity is to help the poor, just like you. You are, in fact, insulting the majority of believers in this country.

The origins of this country were very definitely Christian. A good many of the freedoms you now enjoy in our country were set forth by Christian principles — before corruption set in.

It is also not wise to portray Christians as one and the same with capitalists. I am a poor, very poor, Christian. Many of the services in this country were originally started by Christians, such as hospitals, the Red Cross, even welfare.

You mention freedom of religion in the article, but the methods being used today by the separation of church and state sect in our society is bringing about religious persecution instead.

Virginia Lasher  
Clarksburg, West Virginia

### Con Ed workers

I joined thousands of utility workers, unionists, and union sup-

porters who formed a "human billboard" outside Consolidated Edison's company headquarters in downtown Manhattan in a show of support for the utility workers' fight for a decent contract.

We lined more than 14 blocks, holding signs that read, "Union and proud of it" and "Met Life, Con Ed, N.Y. Life — they get the gold, workers get the grief." Met Life and New York Life hold millions of dollars in Con Ed bonds.

Many truck drivers and motorists responded to the human billboard by honking their horns, waving, and giving a thumbs-up sign.

The 14,000-member Utility Workers Local 1-2 organized the event to bolster support as its June 24 contract deadline draws near.

Striking members of the Machinists union at Eastern Airlines and the flight attendants and pilots honoring their picket lines had a strong presence at the demonstration. A contingent of striking coal miners from Pittston were there as well, along with unionists from International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 and Communications Workers of America Local 1150.

Angel Lariscy  
New York, New York

### Abandoned house

The flames are out now, but all of the authorities are still outside my window here at 2:00 a.m. An abandoned house, once part of a

tract of company houses for textile workers here in Greensboro, North Carolina is now burned up.

It was one of four abandoned houses on the street where I live.

Earlier, I looked out the window and saw the house in flames. Not 25 feet away was another tiny wooden house where a couple lived with five children. A neighbor woke everybody up and got them out.

Why was this dilapidated abandoned house with its rotten floor boards and broken glass just left sitting in this neighborhood with children around?

It has to do with the fact that people living in working-class neighborhoods have so little political power under the capitalist system that they can't even tear down a fallen-in wooden building 20 feet from their own home.

And because the landlord or the city government would not spare the money to fix the house up or tear it down and haul it away.

And because of the layoffs in the textile industry. And because of economic decline in general.

Walter C. Blades  
Greensboro, North Carolina

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Exiled SWAPO freedom fighters begin their return to Namibia

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — "On June 12 the first exiled SWAPO members, Namibians, arrived on Namibian soil," reported Helmut Angula, chief representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia to the United Nations. Angula spoke to 150 people attending a send-off rally here for members of the SWAPO UN delegation who are returning to Namibia. Angula, who will return to Namibia in July, reported that some 6,000 SWAPO supporters have returned to the country.

The rally on June 24 was also addressed by African National Congress deputy representative to the UN Solly Simelane. "We will continue to be on the side of Namibia. SWAPO can rely on the support of the ANC and the people of South Africa," said Simelane.

SWAPO is the leading organization fighting against South African rule in the southwest African country of Namibia. South Africa has militarily occupied Namibia for 74 years.

Following a decisive defeat of its troops by Angolan, Cuban, and SWAPO forces in southern Angola in March 1988, South Africa agreed to withdraw from Angola and begin implementation of a UN plan for Namibia's independence. The plan calls for an end to South African rule in Namibia, withdrawal of South African Defense Force troops, dissolution of the South African-trained South West Africa Territorial Force,

and election of a constituent assembly on November 1.

### SWAPO leaders return to Namibia

Angula reported that 100,000 supporters of SWAPO rallied in the northern Namibian city of Oshakati June 24. The rally kicked off the campaign effort of SWAPO, which is seeking to win a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly. That body will write the constitution and establish Namibia's government. Until then Namibia will be governed by a UN special representative, Martti Ahtisaari, and a South African-appointed administrator-general, Louis Pienaar.

"The first core of SWAPO senior leaders returned to Namibia on June 18," Angula reported. Among them were three SWAPO political bureau members: Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya, Foreign Affairs Secretary Theo-Ben Gurirab, and Hage Geingob, who directed the UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, Zambia, during his exile in that country. Geingob will direct SWAPO's election campaign. Angula also announced that the Namibian independence group officially opened offices in the capital, Windhoek, on June 22.

In a June 14 statement SWAPO said that most of its foreign offices would be closed in order to recall staff members to Namibia to take part in the electoral effort. SWAPO offices will remain open in Addis Ababa, Berlin, Bonn, Harare, London, New York, Paris, and Stockholm, the statement said.

### UN returns refugees

On June 12 the UN began an airlift to repatriate an estimated 40,000 Namibians from Angola, Botswana, and Zambia. Just under 1,600 returned in the first three days of the airlift. UN officials continue to haggle with South African authorities regarding who qualifies as a Namibian.

Discussions are being held about the fate of 40,000 persons who are descendants of Hereros who fled Namibia during the German conquest in the late 1800s. UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said, "It is doubtful they would qualify as refugees" given the amount of time they had been out of the country. The National Unity Democratic Organisation, which has a strong base among Hereros in Namibia, announced its fusion with SWAPO on May 23.

The way was cleared to begin the massive airlift when South African President Pieter Botha signed a June 6 proclamation



Helmut Angula (left), and Solly Simelane.



Militant photos by Sam Manuel

granting a general amnesty to SWAPO fighters and other opponents of South African rule in Namibia. The proclamation also abolished several apartheid laws in Namibia. Among them are the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Public Safety Act of 1953, and the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960.

Throughout its 23-year armed struggle against the apartheid regime SWAPO remained a legal political organization. The abolition of the acts remove legal instruments used by the apartheid rulers to arrest and jail SWAPO members and to restrict the organization's political activity.

### Democratic Turnhalle Alliance

In Oshakati a smaller crowd listened to leaders of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), according to a *New York Times* June 24 report on the rallies. The DTA is the coalition that led the South African-appointed interim government dissolved earlier this year. Dirk Mudge, finance minister in the interim government, leads the DTA.

"We are up against South Africa. They pretend we are contesting the election against the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, but actually we are contesting against the apartheid regime," explained Angula.

The role of the DTA as a tool of the apartheid regime was shown in a story that appeared in the June 7 issue of *The Namibian*, published in Windhoek. The article reported on a series of meetings of the South West Africa National Security Council that discussed plans to prevent SWAPO from winning the November elections. DTA leader Mudge and the South African-appointed administrator-general, Pienaar, actively participated in the meetings. Pienaar has denied being present at security council meetings that discussed SWAPO.

One member of the security council, A.G. Visser, was appointed by Pienaar as chief electoral officer for the November elections.

SWAPO has called for the abolition of the National Intelligence Act and certain sections of the Post Office Act, which allow security police to open mail and intercept telephone calls. SWAPO has also expressed grave concern about amendments to the Publications Act that would leave many SWAPO publications banned; the Police Act, which restricts publication of allegations about police abuse; and the state monopoly of the broadcast media, which remains under the control of the apartheid rulers.

## U.S. visitors to Nicaragua will need visa

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As of July 1 the Nicaraguan government is requiring U.S. citizens to obtain a visa to enter the country.

In the past, U.S. visitors only needed a visa if they planned to remain in Nicaragua for more than 30 days. In most cases, this could be obtained after entering the country.

President Daniel Ortega linked the new measure to the elections scheduled for February 1990. He said the U.S. government is trying to delegitimize the electoral process. "They want to come and tell us how to run the elections," Ortega stated.

On June 2 the Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that the United Nations, European Parliament, and Organization of American States had been invited to send observers during the election campaign. The ministry announced that only the Nicaraguan government and the Supreme Electoral Council could invite additional observers. Opposition parties and the antigovernment newspaper *La Prensa* objected to this decision, arguing that the opposition should also be able to invite observers.

The Sandinista daily, *Barricada*, said that Ortega also linked the decision on visas to "the serious problems provoked by the interventionist attitudes" of the U.S. embassy.

Deputy Foreign Minister José León Talavera said the measure was taken to stop the arrival of "U.S. citizens hired by the U.S. government and the North American intelligence agency to coolly carry out plans to destabilize our country."

The new requirement will not adversely affect the majority of U.S. citizens, Talavera said, because "they will be able to enter several times in the same period with a multiple-entry visa."

## Chinese Communist Party ousts leader

BY FRED FELDMAN

Zhao Ziyang, who has not appeared in public since just before the Chinese government declared martial law in parts of Beijing May 20, was ousted from his post as general secretary of the ruling Communist Party June 24. The action came at a meeting of the party's Central Committee.

He was succeeded by Jiang Zemin, the former mayor of Shanghai who now heads the party in that industrial port city of 12 million people.

The executions of three workers in Shanghai June 21 were the first since the June 4 massacre of protesters in Beijing. On June 22, 24 more executions were announced.

Zhao Ziyang was also ousted from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Central Committee itself, and other posts. He apparently remains a member of the Communist Party.

The news media in China did not report the vote at the Central Committee meeting,

indicating that it may not have been unanimous. There was no indication that Zhao was present or that he was able to reply in any form to charges against him.

Zhao succeeded Hu Yaobang as general secretary in January 1987 after the latter was forced to resign his post in the midst of a crackdown on a previous, smaller wave of student-led demonstrations. Hu Yaobang had advocated taking further steps to encourage capitalist commodity production in China, while granting more leeway to critics of the regime.

Hu's death April 15, 1989, set off the most recent wave of protests.

A June 24 Central Committee statement charged that Zhao "made the mistake of supporting the turmoil and splitting the party, and he had unshirkable responsibilities for the development of the turmoil."

Asserting that although Zhao "did something beneficial to the reform, the opening of China to the outside world, and the eco-

nomic work," the statement charged him with failing to stress "opposition to bourgeois liberalization."

In a warning that further actions might be taken against the ousted official, the Central Committee declared that it had "decided to look further into his case."

On June 25 the Central Committee called for "strict punishment," including expulsion and possible prosecution, of all party members who "violated party discipline during the turmoil and the counterrevolutionary rebellion." This reiterated party leader Deng Xiaoping's portrayal of the student protests that called for more democratic rights, limits on corruption, and other reforms.

The Central Committee sought to assure U.S. and other foreign capitalists that the door was still open to trade and investment. "The policy of reform and opening to the outside world, as the road to lead the country to strength and prosperity, must be implemented as usual in a steadfast manner," the body declared.