

## Anti-Lorenzo strike at Eastern at new stage

### Int'l labor solidarity can help Machinists win

The Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines have reached a new stage in their fight against Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo. Like hardened soldiers pausing to survey their smoke-filled battlefield, the strikers have arrived at the 11th month of their fight to find their enemy staggering and wounded.

In recent weeks, the weakness of Lorenzo's "reorganization" plan for Eastern has

### EDITORIAL

been exposed, making it easier for striking Machinists to size up how they're doing and what shape Lorenzo is really in.

It's clear: the strikers — though they've taken some hard blows — have grown stronger in relation to Lorenzo, who is substantially weaker.

From Montréal to Miami and from San Francisco to San Juan, the strikers, seeing the new situation, have begun to step up their fight to defeat Lorenzo's plans to crush them and build a viable "new" nonunion Eastern on their graves.

With renewed and expanded solidarity from the entire labor movement in North America and internationally, a giant blow can be dealt to the antiunion drive of the employers. Students and other young people,



Militant/Susan Zárate

Striking Pittston Coal miners have been among the strongest supporters of the Eastern Airlines strikers, viewing the fight against Lorenzo as their own. Pittston strikers were among the 1,000 Eastern strikers and supporters who marched in Miami November 19.

along with every socialist and progressive political organization, should also be part of this historic labor battle.

March 4 — the first-year anniversary of the strike — can be a special target for mo-

bilizing a broad show of support.

Hardly a day goes by without some confirmation that the success of the "new" Eastern is a fraud.

Continued on Page 14

## Panama human rights figure urges campaign to get U.S. troops out now

BY SELVA NEBBIA

"I think it is very important for our U.S. brothers and sisters to pressure the U.S. government for the immediate withdrawal of its troops from Panama," said Olga Mejía during a January 9 telephone interview from Panama.

Mejía, president of the Panamanian National Commission of Human Rights, described the situation Panamanians are currently living through under U.S. occupation.

"The situation in Panama right now is one of uncertainty," she explained. "Almost three weeks after the invasion, for example, exact and trustworthy figures on the number of casualties and detainees do not exist. What

at Nuevo Emperador detention camp of the U.S. Southern Command, but the reason for their detention is unknown."

Over the course of last week the headquarters of various unions were raided, including the CNTP, the telecommunications workers' unions, and Conac, Mejía reported. "The U.S. troops were supposedly searching for arms," she pointed out. "They found no arms but went through the union's files."

There were no warrants of any kind for the raids nor for the arrests, Mejía said. "No legal due process is being followed."

Though there have been no organized protests, explained Mejía, "this morning signs appeared painted on the city walls that read, 'Yanqui go home!' and 'Panama is not and will not be a colony!'"

"I think people are very scared," Mejía said. "How could they feel fine when they are surrounded by 26,000 soldiers, tanks, and all that sort of thing?"

"Many among those 12,000 to 14,000 refugees from Chorrillo who were left homeless after the U.S. bombing have been intimidated," said Mejía. "They are in a camp under the supervision of the U.S. troops. They have been promised compensation for their losses, and it's likely they would risk the chance of getting nothing if they spoke their minds."

"Today," she continued, "the minister of education declared the suspension of the school year, allegedly for security reasons. U.S. troops and jeeps are still occupying the gymnasium of the National University here."

"People are getting weary of the U.S. occupation and the constant raids," Mejía pointed out. "They hope the occupation ends soon. But let's not kid ourselves, at the rate things are going, U.S. forces will be here for

a long time."

The Panamanian National Commission on Human Rights, Mejía stated, "has expressed its total repudiation of the U.S. military intervention and occupation. It openly violates all the norms, pacts, and agreements of international coexistence. We believe there is no legal or moral reason that can justify the invasion."

## Mark Curtis defense committee leader begins tour of South

BY JOAN LEVITT  
AND HOLLIS WATKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and wife of Mark Curtis, began a one-month speaking tour through the South on January 4. Kaku has meetings scheduled in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa. He was framed-up and convicted on rape and burglary charges in 1988 and is now serving a 25-year sentence at a state prison in Anamosa, Iowa. His frame-up by Des Moines cops stemmed from his activities in defense of Latino workers who had been victimized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service at the Swift meat-packing plant where Curtis worked.

Kaku's tour began with a meeting of 30 working farmers and rural activists in Epes, Alabama. Black farmers in the rural South suffer not only the general crisis facing work-

## Colombians say no to dispatch of U.S. fleet

BY SELVA NEBBIA

With 8,000 U.S. troops on naval vessels already steaming toward Colombia, the Bush administration was forced to call off its plans on January 8 to send an aircraft carrier to blockade the waters and airways off the Caribbean coast of that South American country.

Washington's plans, allegedly to intercept drug trafficking from Colombia, came to a halt after the Colombian government issued a statement declaring it did not and would not authorize such maneuvers in its territorial waters.

The Colombian daily *El Espectador* ran an editorial January 7 headlined, "No, a thousand times no," denouncing Washington's plan.

"Colombia cannot in any way accept the armed intervention or the blockade of its territorial waters under the pretense of patrolling international waters," *El Espectador* wrote. "The silence regarding the invasion of Panama in no way justifies this new act of continental aggression. Our countries must form a common barrier against this outrage."

Colombians "must be on guard in defense of our national sovereignty," the editorial continued. "What is taking place is no longer just a precursor of things to come. It is concrete evidence of a far-fetched and absurd, unacceptable, and humiliating policy," concluded *El Espectador*.

The reaction in Colombia reflects the opposition that exists in Latin America to the U.S. invasion of Panama and to further moves by Washington, emboldened by its success there, to station troops in the region.

Following the Panama invasion, Peruvian President Alan García announced he would boycott a drug summit meeting between President Bush and the presidents of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. García later said he would attend, but only if the U.S. troops are withdrawn from Panama by February 15, the date of the meeting.

In Mexico, the daily *Uno más uno* stated that the sending of two U.S. warships to the Caribbean represented "another sign of Washington's arrogance, that once again resorts to the use of force in its relations with Latin America."

The New York Spanish-language daily *El*  
Continued on Page 13

### INTERVIEW

we do know is that bodies are still being found in the rubble, the number of buried in common graves is not known and the detentions are still going on."

Mejía listed a number of trade union and peasant leaders who had been detained. On January 7, for example, two leaders of the National Corporation of Peasant Settlements (Conac) were arrested. Señora Olegario de Vaso, a leader of the Reformist Front of Panamanian Teachers, was detained. It is not known where she is being held. Armodio Arias, a leader of Conac, was detained in the province of Herrera. His whereabouts are also unknown.

Mauro Murillo, the general secretary of the Panamanian National Workers Federation (CNTP), and Gustavo Martínez of the telecommunications workers were arrested, Mejía said. "It is believed they are being held

ing farmers but racial discrimination as well. Experiences of farmers who are Black in the struggle against injustice and exploitation, including frame-ups, have made many receptive to defending Mark Curtis.

At the meeting Kaku was introduced by John Zippert, copublisher of the weekly newspaper the *Greene County Democrat* and an endorser of the Mark Curtis committee. Participants gathered at the Curtis literature table following the event to talk and look through defense materials.

On January 6 Kaku traveled to Mississippi where speaking engagements included stops in eight counties: Hinds, Holmes, Lee, Chickasaw, Harrison, Sharkey, Yazoo, and Washington.

Kaku received an especially warm response from community members in Sharkey County. Some community leaders and elected officials there were already endorers of the defense effort. Others have circulated

Continued on Page 4



# Washington's assault on Panama protested at New York forums

BY RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — Trade unionists, antiracist fighters, Panamanian and Caribbean activists, and others took part in two meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum over the weekend of January 6 protesting the U.S. government's invasion and occupation of Panama.

In Brooklyn and New York some 140 participants gathered to assess the criminal action and discuss how to continue building opposition to the occupation and counter Washington's slander campaign.

Many of the activists attending had marched in a New York demonstration held at Times Square just a few hours earlier.

A highlight of the New York forum was the presence of nearly a dozen Panamanians, several of whom took the floor to describe what it was like growing up in Panama under

spy operations and incursions into other countries from Panama, and an end to U.S. control of Panamanian territory.

"We believe we have the inalienable right, as do all countries of the world regardless of their size or color, to self-determination," said Brown. "We have the right to national sovereignty and dignity."

## Washington violates international law

Two years ago the U.S. government began "demonizing" Noriega because he refused Washington's request to help invade Nicaragua, said the Panamanian activist. "Noriega is a citizen of Panama who hasn't committed any crime — in Panama or the United States — while the U.S. government has violated all international laws, the charter of the Organization of American States, and the UN charter," Brown said.

Brown stressed the importance of seeing the invasion as an attack on all the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Also speaking at the New York meeting were Rod Thurton of the Coalition for Caribbean and Central American Unity and Luis Alvarez of the Socialist Bloc of the Dominican Republic.

Thurton recently visited Panama to attend a conference sponsored by the Center for International Political Studies. Conference participants met with an array of government representatives and others who stressed the dangerous stepped-up aggression by the U.S. government against Panama. "It helped to open everyone's eyes," said Thurton, to Washington's destabilization campaign against the Central American country.

Alvarez described the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and compared it to the situation today in Panama.

## Regional character of intervention

Cindy Jaquith, a reporter for the *Militant* newspaper who has traveled to Panama several times, spoke at both the New York and Brooklyn meetings.

Jaquith noted the increased attacks by the U.S. imperialists against Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador and the provocative placement of U.S. warships off the coast of Colombia. Washington's invasion of Panama is developing into an intervention into the region as a whole, she said.

Jaquith said the imperialists were emboldened to invade Panama at this time because of some recent world developments. She cited the results of the November summit between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta where the two governments agreed to look the other way regarding certain areas where each operated.

On the heels of the summit came the accords signed by five presidents in Central America unanimously stating that the regime

in El Salvador was democratic and calling on the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front to cease attacking civilians and demobilize.

"It's the kind of statement we expect from the heads of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica," said Jaquith. But it was the Nicaraguan government's signing that was the blow, she said.

## Cuba — co-combatants in hour of need

Jaquith pointed to the role of Cuban President Fidel Castro, the Cuban Communist Party, and the people of Cuba during the U.S. invasion of Panama.

Citing a speech given by Castro soon after the invasion began, Jaquith said the Cuban leader doesn't "lament and regret" but condemns and fights as a co-combatant. "Cuba helped to organize and maximize the amount of space the Panamanian patriots had to continue their resistance for as long as possible," she said.

Jaquith noted that Cuban radio stations continued to broadcast messages to the Panamanian people after their radio stations were bombed by the imperialists.

The Cuban leader stressed the importance of the resistance and Panamanian patriots engaging in combat against the U.S. troops. This gives the Cubans confidence that fighting Washington is possible and is an example for all Latin America.

Jaquith explained, "Even if you are defeated, you emerge stronger from the defeat if you fight."

The Panamanian people were defeated, she said. The U.S. invasion was a victory for Washington. "But we don't know what the fighting capacity of the Panamanian people was because the resistance was cut short — it was abated when central officers of the Panamanian Defense Forces (PDF) including Noriega surrendered, sought asylum, or were captured and arrested," said Jaquith.

At the Brooklyn forum the next night, she quoted from the December 27 issue of the *Wall Street Journal* describing the surrender of Lt. Col. Luis del Cid of the PDF, who initially followed long-prepared instructions for resisting a likely invasion.

When the invasion began, del Cid, along with some 2,000 troops and members of the Dignity Battalions, went into the countryside, as was the plan, to continue the resistance. Within hours after the fighting in Panama City began on December 20, he decided to call the head of the invading forces and make a deal with them, hoping to save himself.

After negotiating, del Cid publicly recognized the U.S.-installed government; surrendered; sent his troops into the nearest major city, David; and called on Dignity Battalion members to turn in their weapons. The latter request was not too successful.

"In exchange," reports the *Journal*, "he



Militant/Robin Mace

Protester at January 6 New York action. At forum held several hours later, Panamanian activists and supporters stressed right to national sovereignty.

## Participants discuss impact of Washington's criminal invasion, urge ongoing activities.

conditions of deep-going racism and U.S. domination. Panamanian activist and former New York state senator Waldaba Stewart said Blacks — some 25 percent of the population — Indians, and Mestizos make up the overwhelming majority.

Stewart explained that the struggle by the oppressed in Panama began long before Omar Torrijos came to power in 1968. Blacks suffered from the racist policies of the previous U.S.-backed regimes and from the official segregation enforced in the U.S.-run Canal Zone. It was Blacks, Stewart reported, brought from throughout the Caribbean, who died constructing the Panama Canal.

## Panama under U.S. military occupation

Esmeralda Brown, a leading Panamanian activist centrally involved in organizing protests against the U.S. occupation, addressed both meetings and the Times Square protest. "My people are under the occupation of the U.S. military," she said, which represents "one of the strongest, most repressive governments in the world."

Brown reported what she considered to be conservative estimates — some 2,000 Panamanians killed; 7,000 detained; 600 disappeared; and 15,000 left homeless by the invasion.

Washington tells the world that it carried out the invasion to "restore democracy," said Brown. The real reason, she explained, is because the Panamanian people demand the right to the Panama Canal, an end to the U.S.

won a U.S. promise not to dispatch troops against him — and a pledge, as he put it, to "respect my rank." Del Cid was then kidnapped and flown to Miami.

"There was a plan to carry out a rural resistance," said Jaquith, "and there were thousands of troops — armed, prepared, and ready to engage in combat — looking to the Defense Forces for leadership." The resistance, however, was called off. This betrayal makes the defeat worse, said Jaquith.

## 'We have an absolute responsibility'

What we do in this country can help the Panamanian patriots, who have a long struggle ahead of them, said Jaquith. She challenged everyone present to consider themselves and their organizations as "truth battalions" to counter the barrage of lies and propaganda and fight for Panama — a big job, she said, but one we have an absolute responsibility to carry out.

Jaquith joined others in demanding that U.S. troops get out of Panama, all political prisoners be released, and the harassment of the Cuban and Nicaraguan embassies be stopped. Jaquith also called for freedom for Noriega and his right to asylum in the country of his choice. She denounced the U.S. imperialists who have no right to kidnap government leaders and try them in this country.

On the panel in Brooklyn, Jaquith, along with Panamanian activists Stewart and Brown, joined Roger Wareham of the December 12 Movement, an antiracist coalition, and Bill Henning. Henning is the second vice-president of Communications Workers of America Local 1180.

## THE MILITANT TELLS THE TRUTH Subscribe today! 12 weeks for \$4 — an \$8 savings

The *Militant* covers the struggles of working people around the world. It features:

- On-the-scene news of labor battles, from the strike at Eastern Airlines to the fightback in the coalfields.
- Firsthand reports on worldwide protests against the U.S. military occupation of Panama.
- Regular coverage of advances being made by Cuban working people, and speeches by Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders.
- Coverage of protests in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- Regular reports on developments in southern Africa, including mounting anti-apartheid protests in South Africa and the new stage in Namibia's freedom fight.
- News and analysis of worldwide capitalist crisis.



☐ \$4 for 12 weeks, new readers ☐ \$9 for 12 weeks, renewals

☐ \$17 for 6 months ☐ \$30 for 1 year ☐ \$55 for 2 years

☐ \$1.00 for An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, a Pathfinder pamphlet.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Union/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

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

## The Militant

Closing news date: January 10, 1990

Editor: DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein (Nicaragua), Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Yvonne Hayes, Arthur Hughes, Susan LaMont, Roni McCann, Greg McCartan, Selva Nebbia, Peter Thierjung.

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

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

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

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



# Thugs kill S. African rail strikers

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON — At least six rail workers were killed by a vigilante squad of 500 armed thugs at Germiston station just outside Johannesburg, South Africa, on January 9. Many more were injured in a well-planned attack on workers who were traveling to a union meeting to discuss the nine-week-long rail strike.

The vigilantes were waiting on the platform as the train drew into the station. Stones were used to break the windows to reach the strikers. Once the attack was under way, security forces fired tear gas canisters into the train, forcing the strikers onto the platform to bear the full force of the vigilantes' attack.

The security forces claimed they fired the tear gas to disperse the crowd. But this was sharply denied by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the country's largest union federation, to which the rail union is affiliated. A COSATU spokesperson explained in an interview on a British Broadcasting Corporation news bulletin that the attack was organized by the South African Transport Services (SATS) and involved the South African police.

The vigilantes attacked the strikers with stones as police watched and then fired tear gas. When the area was filled with gas, the antiunion goons took the opportunity to attack the workers and bystanders with stones, knives, sticks, and other sharp weapons. But the security forces fired the tear gas into the train, not at the antiunion thugs.

COSATU responded to the Germiston attack with an immediate call for an emergency meeting of its affiliates and other anti-apartheid organizations of the Mass Democratic Movement to consider what action to take in light of the attack.

The South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union is today facing one of the most intense attacks ever inflicted on a union in South Africa. The employers and government are out to break the union. To date, some 20,000 workers have been fired. This constitutes the core of SARHWU's membership. The strikers are demanding union recognition, the reinstatement of the fired workers, a living wage of 1,500 rand (US\$600) a month, and pay for time lost during the strike.

The strike started on November 1 when workers walked off the job in protest of an imposed disciplinary code that SATS was using to fire workers. The union believes these initial firings were part of a plan to "slim down" the work force in preparation for privatizing the company.

The level of violence directed by the employers against the striking workers has been intense. The six deaths on January 9 brings the death toll to more than 20. Hundreds have

been injured.

Commuters have also joined the struggle, angered by the employers' intransigence. Traveling on trains to work, commuters have refused to buy tickets and have used the trains as meeting places to organize solidarity. SARHWU has charged that many ticket collectors covering the jobs of strikers and dressed in SATS overalls to look like railway employees have been identified as security personnel. In the Germiston attack, the media

has described the vigilantes as rail workers not on strike, pointing to their overalls.

Messages of solidarity to SARHWU can be sent c/o South African Congress of Trade Unions, 8 Flowers Mews, off Archway Close, Upper Holloway, London N19, England.

Messages of protest can be sent to Anton Moolman, General Manager, SATS, Private Bag X47, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa. Copies of protest messages should be sent to the SACTU address.

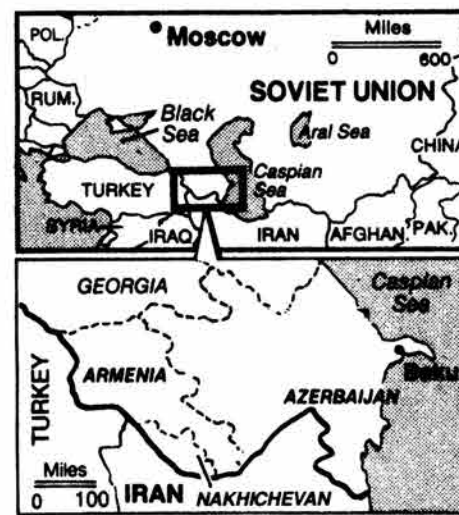
## Azerbaijanis in USSR demand end to restrictions on travel to Iran

BY SAMAD SHARIF

Azerbaijanis on the Soviet side of the border between the Soviet Union and Iran have been demonstrating since mid-December to have travel restrictions lifted between Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan. The two peoples have the same Azeri Turkish language, share the same culture, and are predominantly Shiite Moslems.

While rushing military reinforcements to the border area, Soviet authorities have banned foreign journalists from traveling to the region. Reportedly, border guards killed a teenage demonstrator and wounded dozens of people. In retaliation angry protesters in the border town of Dzhililabad "routed" government and Communist Party officials on December 31. The same day thousands of Azerbaijanis in the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan held a protest demonstration and tore down guard towers, electronic alarms, and barbed wire fencing along miles of border.

When demonstrators reached the bank of the Aras River, which flows between Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan, they held rallies and called on Iranians on the opposite bank of the river to unite with them. But the border guards on the Iranian side prevented people from entering Iran. The Iranian government doesn't want to appear to be adding to Moscow's difficulties. The two governments signed a major economic accord last summer



under which Soviet technicians will assist in building dams and heavy industrial projects in Iran in return for natural gas.

On January 4 some 30,000 demonstrators in Nakhichevan again ripped up barbed wire fencing and destroyed guard houses along the border, according to press reports based on telephone interviews with journalists in the region. Demonstrators also burned copies of *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, protesting what they considered to be slanderous reporting of their movement.

Earlier the Soviet press agency Tass had said protest leaders were "high on drugs and alcohol," but this was later dropped. Thousands of people in Baku, a Caspian Sea port in Soviet Azerbaijan, took to the streets in support of the demands of the protesters on the border.

The head of the Soviet border guards in the region, I. Petrovas, told *Izvestia* that demonstrations had also taken place in the Zangelansky, Pushkinsky, and Lenkoran areas east of Nakhichevan and close to the Caspian Sea, and that the region's nearly 500-mile border with Iran was "practically paralyzed."

Vagiv Samedoglu, a leader of the Azerbaijani nationalist organization Popular Front, which is spearheading these demonstrations, told the *Washington Post* that protesters only wanted the right to visit and trade with Azerbaijanis who live across the border in Iran. The Popular Front denied advocating unification with the Azerbaijanis living in northern Iran. Samedoglu said the official Soviet press is trying to make the protesters look like "extremists."

Azerbaijanis in the region are also angry that 50,000 acres of fertile land has been shut off from farming by border patrols. The demand for land is an important one on both sides of the border. Forced collectivization by Joseph Stalin's regime in the 1930s deprived millions of peasants throughout the Soviet Union, including in Azerbaijan, of land to farm.

Following the 1979 revolution in Iran, a radical land reform was cut short with the consolidation of the capitalist regime, and land shortage remains a major problem for most peasants.

Armenia, Georgia, and the northern part of Azerbaijan were annexed to the tsarist empire early in the 19th century after a series of wars with Iran. The annexations were formalized in treaties between the Iranian and tsarist monarchies in 1813 and 1828. Subsequently, sometimes in collusion and sometimes in competition with the British colonialists, the tsarist dynasty became an oppressive power in the region until it was overthrown by the Russian workers and peasants, led by the Bolsheviks, in October 1917.

Azerbaijanis on both sides of the border,

however, continued to travel back and forth and maintained contacts with each other throughout the 19th century and early in the 20th century. Many Azerbaijanis from northern Iran, in fact, went to the Baku oil fields in Soviet Azerbaijan in search of work. That was where the Social Democratic Party, and later the Communist Party, found its first Iranian nuclei.

During the 1905-11 democratic revolution against the repressive monarchy in Iran and against foreign domination, Russian Azerbaijanis living in the tsarist empire viewed this struggle as their own and helped in the fight. When the revolution won a constitution and a Majles (parliament), the residents of northern Azerbaijan identified with the democratic victory and, although Russian subjects, asked to have representation in the Iranian Majles.

Many families have had members on both sides of the border. For most of this century, however, the border between the two Azerbaijanis has been closed. This was done first by Reza Shah Pahlavi in the early 1920s and was reinforced later by the Soviet regime headed by Stalin. The shah's regime banned teaching of Azerbaijani Turkish in schools — as it banned the languages of all the oppressed nationalities in Iran — and tried to wipe out Azerbaijani literature and culture.

In the Soviet Union the Azerbaijani alphabet was changed from Arabic to Latin in the 1920s, as was done in Turkey in 1929. In the 1930s under Stalin, the alphabet was abruptly and bureaucratically changed to the Cyrillic script used in many Slavic languages. This prevented Soviet Azerbaijanis from reading material in Turkish from Iranian Azerbaijan or Turkey.

Nevertheless, the common language as communicated through Azerbaijani music and poetry has kept the cultural bonds alive between this divided people. Protests against separation until now manifested themselves through poems and songs, in which the Aras River, for example, is blamed for coming between two friends.

On December 23 Radio Baku rebroadcast a speech by Javad Heyat, editor of *Varlig* (Existence), an Azerbaijani Turkish literary magazine published in Tehran. The speech was first broadcast late last summer. The Tehran weekly *Kayhan Havai* quoted Heyat addressing Soviet Azerbaijanis. "I hope our relations improve to the extent that, when traveling back and forth, we will not be conscious of the historically imposed borders. And unlike the past 70 years," he said, "any time you wish you may travel not only to Azerbaijan, but anywhere else in Iran."

## New York to San Francisco: actions condemn U.S. invasion

BY SELVA NEBBIA

As U.S. military forces enter the third week of their occupation of Panama, protest actions against U.S. intervention continue.

In New York hundreds participated in protests January 5-7. Some 400 people attended a January 5 meeting at Local 1199 of the hospital workers union, sponsored by WBAI radio station.

Among the speakers were leading Panamanian activists Esmeralda Brown and Waldaba Stewart; Samori Marksman and Rosemary Mealy from WBAI; Elombe Brath, of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition; and Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop.

Many of the meeting's participants joined a January 6 march of more than 700, called by the Committee Against the U.S. invasion of Panama.

Speakers at the rally following the march included Bill Henning, second vice-president of the Communications Workers of America Local 1180, who was flanked by Miriam Thompson, the editor of *Unity*, newspaper of Local 259 of the United Auto Workers, and Maureen Holder, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 2656. Eastern striker Susan Anmuth also addressed the rally.

Themba Ntinga of the African National Congress of South Africa called on the protesters to intensify solidarity "not only with the people of Panama, but with our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua and El Salvador."

Following the march, a forum was held protesting the invasion at the Manhattan Pathfinder Bookstore. Some 100 people attended. On January 7 a forum was also held at the Brooklyn Pathfinder Bookstore. (See article on page 2.)

Don Rojas addressed a protest forum in Newark January 6. Similar forums were held that weekend throughout the country.

A protest demonstration in San Francisco's Mission District January 6, drew 350.

In Washington, D.C., some 125 rallied at the White House the same day. The action was called by the Washington Area Pledge of Resistance and the Washington Peace Center. Panamanians for Panama's Sovereignty speaker Tony Stamp, who is Black, told the protesters, "You don't see people who look like me in the demonstrations in Panama supporting the U.S. invasion. That is because we are homeless and burying our dead from the bombing."

"This is only the beginning of the struggle against the U.S. invasion of Panama," Stamp pointed out.

A number of prominent U.S. personalities sent President George Bush a letter protesting the U.S. invasion. The signers of the letter, printed on a page of the January 10 *New York Times*, included actors Ed Asner and Martin Sheen; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; Dennis Rivera, president, Local 1199; William Winpisinger, former president of the IAM; three U.S. congressmen — George Crockett (D-Mich.), Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), and Henry Gonzalez (D-Texas); and many others.

The letter concluded by calling on Bush to "withdraw the troops now, restore sovereignty to Panama and make reparations to the civilian victims immediately."

The Organization of American States on January 8 adopted a resolution 19-0 declaring the U.S. troops that had entered the Nicaraguan embassy in Panama December 29 were in violation of the international laws that insure immunity of diplomatic missions.

Mark Weddleton from San Francisco, Jon Hillson and Angel Lariscy from New York, and Bob Miller from Washington, D.C., contributed to this article.

— New from Pathfinder —

### Panama The Truth About the U.S. Invasion

- Articles from the *Militant* by Cindy Jaquith and Don Rojas
- Fidel Castro's Dec. 21 speech on the Panama invasion
- Panamanian leader Nils Castro on the U.S. anti-Panama campaign

48 pp., \$2.50. Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Available January 18. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Prison muralist hits attacks on Pathfinder Mural

BY MARK CURTIS

ANAMOSA, Iowa — Pathfinder Mural supporters here at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory have been discussing how to defend the mural against the vandalism instigated by the *New York Post* and *Daily News*.

Howard Rouse, an artist and a Lakota Sioux from South Dakota, has been involved in the fight for cultural and religious rights of Native Americans here. On Christmas Day he sent a letter to the mayor of New York protesting attacks on the mural.

"When I see and hear news of your city," he wrote, "I see and hear the story that the news wants to get out. I also

## BEHIND PRISON WALLS

see — in the background of the camera pictures — hungry people, poverty, air and water that is polluted.

"If the people that complain about the Pathfinder Mural cannot see these problems, but would rather focus their personal feeling on a piece of art work, then there is something wrong with their thinking."

The historical contribution of the men and women depicted in the mural are important, Rouse continued, because "to see and respect man and Mother Earth at present is something I thought man learned from the past."

Rouse decided to write to the mayor to insure that the Pathfinder Mural survives and continues to convey its message.

Rouse is working on his first mural here in the prison's visiting room, a large area with chairs and tables throughout. Vending machines stand at one end and an officer sits at a desk on a raised platform watching and signaling with a wave of his hand when the end of the visit has arrived.

Running along one wall is a glass and screen partition where "no contact" visits take place. Inmates in disciplinary detention and those newly arrived on drug charges must be separated from their visitors by the partition.

The visiting room is usually filled with men talking quietly with their parents, wives, girlfriends, or friends and playing with children and babies.

Near the officer's desk the mural is taking shape. It is 12-by-10 feet and is a nature scene. A large eagle is perched on a dead tree limb in the foreground. Behind the eagle is a lake with a tree-covered shoreline and mountains beyond. An orange, clouded sky is overhead. With wings stretched out wide, another eagle flies over the lake toward the perch where the first waits.

"The eagles represent freedom, but they're not the kind you see on a dollar bill or the symbol of the U.S. government," Rouse stresses. "It's meant to symbolize spiritual freedom. That's what the bald eagle means to the Indian people." Decorating the visiting room "you could see it as one eagle paying a visit to another one," he says smiling.

The mural was promoted by inmates who wanted to brighten up the plain scenery. Although Rouse had to get approval from the prison staff for his idea of what would go on the mural, he has been relatively free to paint as he likes.

Last summer, Rouse painted a portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr., for an inmate organization here that bears the civil rights leader's name. Rouse is a member of the group and the painting was exhibited during its annual banquet and was later framed and hung in its office.

When the Pathfinder Mural was vandalized, Rouse wasn't surprised that one target was the mural's image of King. "They really hate him," he said about the racists who threw the paint bombs and those who called for the mural's

destruction.

Not everyone I've talked with about the mural is as enthusiastic as Rouse, but they are interested. During a discussion over supper, one guy questioned whether it was a "bad rap" to have Fidel Castro on the same mural as Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X. Before I could answer, a third man at the table said, "I think they had the same goals." He went on to say that they all fought against injustice.

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



Curtis, center, in front of mural being painted by Howard Rouse at the prison in Anamosa, Iowa, where they are both incarcerated. With Curtis are supporters Priscilla Schenk and Héctor Marroquín.

# London event: Mark Curtis fight 'knows no borders'

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON — A packed audience at the Pathfinder Bookshop here gave the new video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* an enthusiastic reception on December 15. "Mark Curtis is part of a working-class struggle that knows no borders . . . in supporting Mark Curtis we support ourselves," read a message to the meeting from Steve Riley, secretary of the 1/1107 Branch of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) at the Ford Dagenham plant in East London. The message was read by Ron Dole, an officer of the 1/1107 Branch. He presented Curtis supporters with a check for £110 (US\$175). Riley is

also a member of the National Executive Council of the TGWU (the largest union in Britain) that in September 1989 unanimously called for a "fair retrial" of Mark Curtis and condemned his treatment at the hands of the Des Moines, Iowa, police.

Millard Scott, a leader of the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, addressed the meeting. Broadwater Farm is a predominantly Black housing development in Tottenham, North London. It was the scene of a youth uprising against the police in 1985 after which more than 40 people were jailed — three of whom were framed up for the killing of a policeman.

Scott said his campaign would organize a showing of the film at Broadwater Farm and would raise the Mark Curtis case with all the people they came into contact with. He pointed to parallels between the frame-up of Curtis and that of the Tottenham Three, where not a shred of evidence was presented to prove their guilt.

John Barrie, National Executive Council member of the National Union of Railwaymen, stressed the links between Curtis' fight and the fight of all working people internationally. Frame-ups were something many workers had to fight against, he said, not least on the British railways, where trade union members had been victimized.

The message from the TGWU also pointed to the many victimizations that have occurred at the Ford Dagenham plant. John Barrie finished by attacking the prosecution smear campaign against Curtis orchestrated by the Workers League in the United States. This campaign had had some publicity in the railway unionists' journal *Transport Review*. Barrie explained he was familiar with the activities of the Workers League, which he believed had nothing to do with advancing the interests of working people. How can you call a group socialist, he asked, when it uses the courts to disrupt a socialist organization

like the Socialist Workers Party, the party Curtis belongs to. He was referring to the 10-year disruption lawsuit by Alan Gelfand and the Workers League against the SWP.

Breda Power, daughter of Billy Power, one of the Birmingham Six, sent a message to the meeting. The Birmingham Six are Irishmen serving prison sentences on frame-up murder charges. Breda Power wished the meeting "every success in the world." Bobby Gilmore, an Irish priest and a leader of the Birmingham Six defense campaign, also sent a message wishing the meeting success.

Bridget Elton gave greetings to the meeting from the Communist League of Britain. She described how in a sense "the frame-up of Mark Curtis has failed. Instead of being frightened by what happened to Mark, we are inspired by his example. Because of that, because he is an outspoken political activist, the prison authorities are especially vigilant in their normal aim of trying to cut prisoners off from the outside world."

Many in the audience agreed that the new video would be a tremendous asset to Curtis supporters as they seek to expand support in Britain. An activist in the Colombian community was eager to arrange a showing for Colombians living in London.

## Young Socialists in Canada discuss expanding work on Cuba, Curtis

BY SIMONE BERG

MONTREAL — The Young Socialists (YS) held a national conference here December 31. Twenty-one members and friends from Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver participated, as well as a delegation from the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States.

Building solidarity with Cuba was the theme of the first report, presented by Tom Leys, a YS Political Bureau member from Toronto. He explained that internationalism and communism go hand in glove. In the face of the U.S. invasion of Panama, a criminal act supported by the Canadian government, he said, Cuba has given leadership to anti-imperialist fighters around the world in condemning the invasion and demanding the

withdrawal of U.S. troops. As part of defending and building solidarity with Panama, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other countries under attack by imperialism, Leys explained, the YS needs to defend and build solidarity with Cuba.

Leys proposed that the YS mobilize to build all actions in defense of Panama. "We need to explain to the fighters we meet," he said, "that the attack on the Panamanian people's sovereignty and right to self-determination is also an attack on the Cuban revolution and the oppressed and exploited people around the world."

He proposed that the YS get out the truth about the invasion by selling the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* and that the YS participate in and build the Cuba solidarity committees and tours to Cuba.

The International Youth Appeal for Justice for Mark Curtis — a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary — was the theme of two reports to the conference.

Angel Lariscy, a National Executive Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, explained that many young people see Mark Curtis as one of them because he is a fighter against U.S. intervention in Central America, against racism and police brutality, and for women's rights. The international campaign to defend Curtis has won broad support — 6,000 endorsers so far — and, in doing so, laid the foundation for the International Youth Appeal. The appeal, Lariscy said, is a common point around which youth can do more than just endorse the campaign. They can get involved in the fight for justice for Curtis and make it their own.

Terry Stevenson, the conference chairperson, read a message of solidarity and congratulations sent by the YS to the recent founding convention of the Young Socialists of New Zealand.

## Curtis defense begins tour of South

Continued from front page

petitions protesting the prison authorities' ban on foreign-language materials at Anamosa prison. Some have sent Curtis defense material to organizations and people they know.

### MLK celebrations

Kaku has been invited to two celebrations of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday in Eutaw and Greensboro, Alabama. She will also meet miners, steelworkers, and garment workers in Alabama and visit with individuals active in the struggle to end the death penalty.

On January 16 Kaku will travel to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where she will speak at Southern University, and then on to New Orleans.

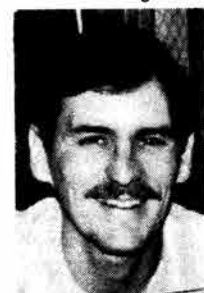
Kaku will be in the Knoxville, Tennessee, area January 19 followed by a trip to Virginia. Beginning January 22, she will travel to Atlanta and Macon, Georgia; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Colombia, South Carolina. The following weekend, Curtis defense rallies will be held in Birmingham, Alabama; Atlanta; and in Des Moines, Iowa.

Joan Levitt is a coal miner in Brookwood, Alabama, and is active in the Mark Curtis defense effort in the South. Hollis Watkins is a longtime political activist in Mississippi and a board member of the Foundation for

Children and Youth. Watkins is the chairperson of the committee organizing Kaku's tour in Mississippi.

## from PATHFINDER The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$2.50.



Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)



Militant/CherylPruitt

Young Socialists leader Tom Leys. YS National Conference in Montréal December 31 discussed circulating International Youth Appeal in Curtis fight.



# 35,000 link hands in Jerusalem human chain

## Israelis, Palestinians, Europeans demand end to West Bank, Gaza occupation

BY HARRY RING

Nearly 35,000 people — Israelis, Palestinians, and supporters from abroad — formed a human chain around the walls of Jerusalem's Old City December 30.

Linking hands, they demanded that the Israeli government negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization to establish peace and for the creation of an independent Palestinian state. They called for an end to Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Sponsored by the Israeli group, Peace Now, and an ad hoc committee of Palestinians, the Jerusalem demonstration capped five days of activities under the banner, "1990 — Time for Peace."

An aide to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir branded the participants "tools of Israel's enemies."

Israeli cops attacked sections of the human chain. The previous day they assaulted a women's march for peace.

Some 1,400 Europeans participated in the human chain. Of these, 900 came from Italy. Others came from Britain, France, Germany, and other West European countries.

Palestinian-Americans and college students from the United States also participated.

### Palestinian participation

Many Palestinians joined in. In addition to those who live within Israel's pre-1967 borders, others made their way to Jerusalem from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israeli authorities had considered barring Palestinians from participating. Instead, they tried to curb Palestinian participation by closing West Bank roads leading to Jerusalem.

But many Palestinians came into the city the night before. Others made their way into Jerusalem by back roads. From the nearby West Bank town of Ramallah, people came by foot.

Faisal Hussein, a leading partisan of Palestinian liberation, said that if the roads had been open, there would have been double or triple the number of Palestinian participants.

The director of the Arab Studies Society, Hussein, was one of the Palestinian organizers of the event.

While it was being organized, the Israeli military issued orders barring Hussein from entering the West Bank or Gaza Strip. Officials asserted this was necessary to protect "public order and safety."

Despite government moves, the turnout for the human chain was immense. The huge throng in Jerusalem more than encircled the three-and-a-half miles of wall around the Old City.

A *New York Times* report said, "The police estimated that 15,000 people took part. But the Peace Now movement . . . put the number at closer to 35,000. With crowds 10 or 12 deep along much of the route, the Peace Now figure did not seem inflated."

It was the first large-scale demonstration for Palestinian rights to be held in Jerusalem since the eruption of the Palestinian uprising, the *intifada*, now entering its third year.

The five-day event included seminars and

visits by people from abroad to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israeli troops prevented two busloads of visitors from entering refugee camps at Jericho and Qalandia. One busload did get into Jericho. There they visited the ruins of Palestinian homes demolished by Israeli forces. They also saw X rays of victims of the Israeli forces, including children shot in the head with plastic bullets.

Israeli visas were denied to some of those who wanted to participate in the event. Among these was a member of the Finnish parliament.

Two members of the European delegation were barred from entering Israel. On arrival, Jean-Marie Lambert of Paris and an associate were told the Israeli police had declared them "undesirable."

Lambert is director of the International

Coordinating Committee for Non-governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine.

The day before the human chain was formed, 5,000 Israeli, Palestinian, and European women staged a peace march from West Jerusalem to the East Jerusalem Arab Center for Culture and Art.

As the first marchers arrived there, Israeli cops slammed into them.

Asserting someone had raised a Palestinian flag, the police fired tear gas and grabbed women by the hair, kicking and clubbing them. The women fought back and 21 were arrested. Among those jailed was Luciana Castellina, member of the Italian Communist Party and a delegate to the European parliament. She was later released.

The next day, cops tore into a section of

the human chain. They said some of the Palestinians had chanted pro-intifada slogans and sang the Palestinian national anthem.

The cops fired water cannons, tear gas, and rubber bullets into the crowd and sprayed demonstrators with blue dye.

They arrested about 50 people, clubbing some as they dragged them away.

Some 70 people were treated for injuries at local hospitals. Palestinian medics said four people were seriously injured after being shot in the head with rubber bullets.

Despite the police violence, organizers saw the event as a big political success.

Peace Now said the months of preparation and organization had helped to create a network of Israelis and Palestinians.

Hussein said the action proved that Palestinians and Israelis could "shake each other's hands and work for peace."

## Filipino students renew political activism

### 'We don't want U.S. bases' youth leader Nat Santiago says

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The chants, drums, and firecrackers of Philippine student demonstrations returned to Manila's streets with renewed zest last year. Fueling this upturn in political activity were government moves to raise college tuition fees and the broadening controversy over U.S. pressure to retain its massive military bases in the Philippines beyond the December 1991 treaty expiration date. The League of Filipino Students has been at the center of the renewed student activism.

"Students are losing the illusions they held in the government during 1986 and 1987" following the overthrow of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship, Nat Santiago said.

Santiago, the national chairman of the LFS, spoke with me in Manila last September during U.S. Vice-president Danforth Quayle's visit there, several months before the attempted military coup against the government of Corazon Aquino.

Quayle, who was in the Philippines to demand negotiations on the bases begin, was met by hundreds of students at the airport and along his route to the city. "Our goal was to show the United States and the world that Filipinos don't want the bases, and to protest this interference in our internal affairs," Santiago explained. "Filipinos must decide without pressure."

Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Station are the largest U.S. military facilities outside of U.S. territory, housing some 20,000 troops at any given time and employing almost 70,000 Filipinos. They are the principal staging base for Washington's military intervention in Asia and the Middle East. They are also the main vehicle through which the U.S. government funds, equips, trains, and "advises" the Philippine armed forces.

### Arrests

The authorities responded to the student protests by violently dispersing subsequent anti-Quayle demonstrations and arresting 154 demonstrators. Santiago himself was forced into hiding after he was ordered arrested for "inciting to subversion" for leading the protests.

The LFS leader was already out on bail and awaiting trial on six similar charges. "I haven't committed any crime against the Filipino people," he said. "These charges are aimed at limiting my mobility and ability to speak out in public and on television against the bases."

"But I will not exchange my views for dollars," he insisted.

Aquino claims to be keeping her options open on the future of the bases. In fact, Santiago points out, she is collaborating with Washington to find a formula to retain the bases. "The issue for Aquino is not sovereignty, but compensation," he said.

A majority in the Philippine Senate is on record against extending the bases treaty beyond 1991. Under the 1987 constitution, foreign military bases are banned after 1991, unless the Senate agrees upon and ratifies a new agreement.

To pressure the Senate to reverse its opposition to extending the bases treaty, Aquino



Militant/Russell Johnson

Filipino students march against tuition hikes in September 1989 as part of a growing protest movement.

is supporting a call for a new treaty to first be submitted to a national referendum. The LFS opposes this proposal. "The bases came without a referendum. There's no need to have one for them to leave," Santiago emphasized.

"We know that the people must and will decide" the future of the bases, the LFS chairman explained. But, holding a referendum would open the possibility for Washington to use its "basket of resources" to manipulate the result. Like all electoral exercises in the Philippines, he said, the outcome would be determined by "guns, goons, and gold." The LFS demands the government serve immediate notice to Washington terminating the bases agreement.

If a referendum goes ahead, the LFS will use it to broaden the anti-bases movement, Santiago said. "We will mobilize students to go out from the campuses to the barangays [districts] to educate and mobilize the people."

The student-led protests against the U.S. military bases grew out of the momentum generated from protests against government tuition fee policy, Santiago explained. These protests were directed at the removal of government controls over tuition increases and the diversion of government funds from public to private schools.

Only 20 percent of higher education in the Philippines is provided by public schools, the student leader said. The rest is operated by Catholic institutions or wealthy businessmen for profit. After an outcry during the 1970s against the high fees charged by these commercial institutions, Marcos limited tuition increases. "He never used government funds to finance private schools," said Santiago.

In June 1989 the government removed these controls over private school fees, paving the way for steep increases. To disguise the effects of this deregulation, the government diverted 800 million pesos (US\$38 mil-

lion) from public schools to private schools. "But just as a robber throws meat to the watchdog, it doesn't stop the robbery," Santiago said. Instead, it increased pressure on the public schools to raise their fees as well, he pointed out.

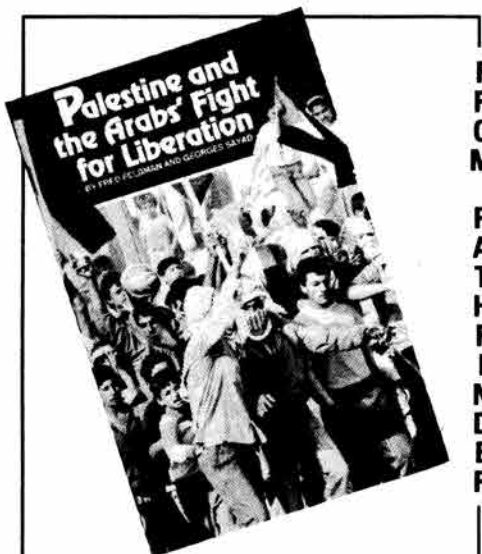
### IMF pressure

The LFS saw this as consistent with International Monetary Fund and World Bank pressure on the government to privatize and deregulate the economy and put a high priority on servicing the foreign debt over education. According to Santiago, debt servicing takes almost 40 percent of the national budget, while only 10 percent goes to education. Twenty years ago, one third of the budget went to education, he said. "The government is neglecting its responsibility for education, and is passing it to private capitalists for profit."

The LFS, the National Union of Students of the Philippines, and other student organizations began a series of pickets and rallies to protest the government's unwillingness to even discuss the issue with them, which galvanized broad student support. Santiago estimated that as many as 300,000 joined a series of class boycotts last June. Up to 10,000 joined marches, which were sometimes violently dispersed by police and soldiers. Santiago himself was arrested.

The private schools in Metro Manila responded by locking students out for a week in mid-July, demanding that the government suppress the student actions.

Santiago viewed the tuition fee protests as a success. Under the pressure of the student actions "many schools didn't increase their fees. Some even lowered them." In addition, LFS-supported slates of students involved in the protests "won 90 percent of the elections" for student government in the Manila region. "We are in a stronger position to fight any new tuition fee increases," he said.



### Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation

a pamphlet by Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad. 62 pp., \$2.50

Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include 75 cents for postage.

FROM PATHFINDER



# For Canadian Machinists, 'This is our fight too'

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 prestrike daily flights.

Since July Eastern has been trying to restart operations. By November 1 it was scheduling roughly 800 daily flights. On November 22, the Air Line Pilots Association ended its support for the strike. The Transport Workers Union, which represented striking Eastern flight attendants, followed suit the next day.

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

Machinists' union members who work for Canadian Airlines in Vancouver, British Columbia, are backing the Eastern strike with donations and in other ways as well.

There are 2,800 Canadian Airlines ramp workers, cleaners, and mechanics in Vancouver. Before Christmas, Dick Miller, editor of Local 764's newsletter, the *Snag*

*Sheet*, wrote in the newsletter about visiting the Eastern strikers' picket line in Washington, D.C. "Yes, this is an appeal for donations," he said. Since local policy is to match donations by members, Miller continued, "I'm asking that you give one more Christmas gift this year — to the Eastern Airlines brothers and sisters."

"If Frank Lorenzo wins this fight, you are in trouble. His school buddies run our airline and you can be sure they're watching more closely than most of us," Miller was referring to Rhys Eyton and Murray Ziegler, the president and vice-president of Canadian Airlines who went to Harvard Business School with Lorenzo. Lorenzo heads Texas Air Corp., which owns both Eastern and Continental airlines.

Some \$1,200 was donated by local members.

IAM District 721 President Ron Keras and District 721 Airline General Chairperson Bill Farrall recently told the *Militant* about other strike support activities IAM members in Vancouver have undertaken. District 721 represents Canadian Airlines workers across Canada.

A few days after the strike started, Local 764 refused to service Continental Airlines flights coming into Vancouver. After a court injunction was issued against such actions by the IAM, the local decided to comply, said Keras.

Later last spring, plant-gate and work place collections netted more than \$2,000 for Eastern strikers, recalled Farrall. Unionists also leafleted passengers at Vancouver International Airport, urging them to boycott Continental.

"We also sent a video of ourselves expressing solidarity in Vancouver

to the Eastern strikers in Miami," added Keras.

"The Eastern strike is a test ground for us," he explained. "If Lorenzo wins, then airport workers and the whole industry are in trouble. Wage concessions of 40 percent to 50 percent will adversely affect the local economy. Canadian Airlines is watching this strike very closely and will use what happens at Eastern to affect our coming negotiations for a collective agreement this spring."

"Canadian is pushing for more day-to-day control over working conditions, shift scheduling, and contracting out," Keras continued. "We've had over 90 arbitration cases so far this year and are booked up till March for further arbitration hearings."

"It's important for all of us to support our brothers and sisters on strike at Eastern," Keras stressed. "This affects all of us. This is our fight as well."

Nearly every night of the week since the first of the year, IAM Local 702 members and officials, including local President Frank Ortis, have been out speaking at union meetings in Miami. The strikers give fellow unionists an update on the fight against Lorenzo and appeal for renewed support. Sometimes there are two or three meetings in an evening. The engagements were lined up before Christmas by the Outreach Committee of Local 702, which represents 3,000 strikers in the Miami area.

In addition to this campaign to expand the strike's support in the labor movement, local activists are also building participation in the

January 15 Martin Luther King Day activities.

Local 702 has put out a leaflet urging its members to march on January 15, along with other unionists, in the Martin Luther King Parade.

"This year, Eastern strikers will join the parade's labor contingent in large numbers," the leaflet says. "We must demonstrate that King's spirit lives in our strike and we are determined to build a movement in the streets to defeat Frank Lorenzo." United Mine Workers of America members on strike at Pittston Coal Group will also be participating.

Eastern and Pittston strikers will be speaking at the 4th Annual Martin Luther King Labor/Community Rally on January 13, along with representatives from the African National Congress of South Africa, the Haitian Refugee Center, and the National Organization for Women. The event will be held at Miami Northwestern Senior High in the evening.

"The picket line in Miami is solid," reports Local 702 activist Jeff Miller. "And now there's lots of discussion about how bad Lorenzo is hurting."

"The organization of the picketing here in Miami has changed, as many more strikers are working," said Miller. "Although there are times when the picket line is a little smaller, there are times during the week when it's really big."

"Now, when a large enough group of strikers comes to picket at the same time, we keep a minimum crew at Eastern's headquarters and at the other sites we cover, and most of us head over to the terminal," Miller continued. "We leaflet the passengers and other airline workers from inside the designated 'First Amendment' zones, where we're al-

lowed to distribute literature. Some of us stand by Eastern's gates and 'greet' passengers as they're getting off. Others of us walk around the terminal in small groups. We're getting a good response."

"A few days ago, after the layoffs at Eastern were announced, a guy from Eastern management came by when we were inside the terminal and said, 'It's going down the tubes.' Now he waves at us whenever he goes by. It's just one sign of what bad shape Lorenzo is in."

Citing federal law, the U.S. Department of Labor decided recently that Eastern must give striking and laid-off workers the opportunity to continue health insurance coverage, at their own expense at group rates.

The labor department conducted an investigation of Eastern and found that many workers who had paid the insurance premiums after the strike started were being denied coverage by Eastern's health insurance plans.

"What basically happened is that the labor department found Eastern in violation of the law," IAM official Bill Sheri told the *AFL-CIO News* in December. Eastern failed to notify strikers of their right to continue health coverage and delayed forwarding workers' premium payments to insurance companies, he said. While refusing to admit its guilt, Eastern agreed to comply with the law.

*Fred Nelson and Ned Dmytryshyn from Vancouver, British Columbia, contributed to this column.*

# 'Lorenzo's gravestone won't stand upright a day'

BY SUSAN LaMONT

As news of Eastern Airlines' financial difficulties has mounted in recent weeks, coverage by the big business media of the Eastern strikers' 10-month-long fight has picked up a bit. Much of this coverage has centered on Frank Lorenzo, chairman of Texas Air Corp., the holding company that owns both Continental and Eastern airlines.

Lorenzo spearheaded smashing the unions

at Continental in 1983 and led the drive against the unions at Eastern — known among strikers as the "reign of terror" — that forced the walkout there last March.

The recent coverage reflects the broad support the strike has won and the degree to which Lorenzo, far from being publicly admired for "taking on the unions," is widely viewed as a pariah.

In mid-December and again in early Jan-

uary, Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta wrote in their widely syndicated column about the situation at Eastern.

The first article, "The Bush-Lorenzo Connections," reviewed the close connections between top management at Texas Air and officials in the administration of President George Bush. "To say that a revolving door exists between Lorenzo's airline empire and the federal government is an understatement," Anderson and Van Atta noted.

"Bush's top lobbyist to Congress is Frederick D. McClure, former vice-president and lobbyist for Texas Air," the columnists wrote. "McClure pulled the perfect job switch with Rebecca Range, who was a public liaison for President Ronald Reagan before taking McClure's job at Texas Air."

"John Robson, deputy treasury secretary, used to be on the Continental Airlines board of directors. Elliot Seiden, once a top antitrust attorney at the Justice Department, is a lawyer for Texas Air."

Anderson and Van Atta point to these ties as one reason Bush vetoed the proposal — which passed in Congress — to set up a "blue ribbon" panel to investigate and recommend solutions for the conflict at Eastern. This proposal has the backing of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the AFL-CIO as a whole.

## Lorenzo and Capitol Hill

Anderson and Van Atta followed up in January with a column headlined, "For Lorenzo, Money Can't Buy Love." Despite the bucks Lorenzo has thrown the way of various big-business politicians, including \$100,000 to the Republican Party, "on Capitol Hill it is popular to berate him in floor speeches," the columnists wrote. Lorenzo donated \$147,000 to members of Congress in 1989, and close to \$300,000 in 1987 and again in 1988.

One New Jersey assemblyman, Alan Karcher, returned a Tiffany's paperweight he had received from Lorenzo as a gift. "Continental was opening a hub in Newark, and Karcher didn't like the implications," said Anderson and Van Atta.

In returning the gift, Karcher told Lorenzo, "I would never be able to look in the eyes of

the innumerable constituents whose lives have been made miserable by your union-busting, antilabor attitude. Therefore, I am sending it back to you. Perhaps if you didn't squander your money on public relations, you'd have money to pay your employees a decent wage."

The December *Vanity Fair*, a slick fashion magazine, carried a long article titled, "The Double Life of Frank Lorenzo," by Peter Boyer. Lorenzo, Boyer wrote, "is the most hated executive in America: his gaunt face has become a rallying point for the incensed labor movement." The article, which chronicles Lorenzo's career as a union-buster, is couched as an "inside look" at the head of Texas Air. Lorenzo even agreed to be interviewed for the piece.

"There's not enough money in the world to make me take the pain that Frank is taking," one Lorenzo crony told Boyer. "His gravestone won't stand upright a day, will it? It will be pushed over in the meadows."

Donald Burr, another friend and associate of Lorenzo, said that Lorenzo's attitude is, "I'm doing you a goddamned favor by letting you live in this world beside me. I generate jobs. Don't talk to me about they're only four-dollar-an-hour jobs, I generate jobs, therefore I'm good." It's the capitalist ethic at its far, far extreme, its Ku Klux Klan extreme."

## Trump

Another Lorenzo buddy, New York real estate and gambling casino speculator Donald Trump, who bought the New York-Boston-Washington shuttle from Eastern last spring for \$365 million, told Boyer, "Frank made it a lot easier in the airline industry by taking the unions on. Now they [the unions] will think twice about it at the Americans, the Uniteds. He was willing to take the heat for the rest of the industry."

But what Lorenzo, Trump, and "the Americans and Uniteds" didn't bargain for was the determination of the ramp workers, cleaners, mechanics, and other IAM-organized workers at Eastern to take Lorenzo on and put up a fight that continues to deal body blows to Lorenzo's plan to make Texas Air Corp. a nonunion empire.

## 'The year in pictures . . .'



The 1990 *Information Please Almanac* that recently came out features this photograph in "The Year in Pictures" section. The caption reads, "Picketed—Eastern Airlines employees and union supporters rally in support of a machinists' strike against the airline."



# Socialists in Canada stress support for Eastern strike, Cuba

BY GREG McCARTAN

MONTREAL — "USA Out of Panama!" read a large banner at the front of the auditorium. "Mulroney Complicit!" it added, scoring the Canadian prime minister's support to Washington's invasion.

Some 100 socialist workers, students, and political activists attending the seventh convention of the Revolutionary Workers League in Montréal December 29-January 1 arrived fresh from demonstrations in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver protesting the aggression against Panama.

In welcoming the participants to the convention, RWL leader Michel Dugré explained, "We will go out of here and join protests, build speak-outs, and other activities to get out the truth about the invasion."

The convention featured three public forums on developments in the class struggle around the world, a report on the tasks of the RWL, and the election of a new national leadership of the organization.

The convention delegates also decided to change the name of the organization to the Communist League.

The featured speaker at the opening forum of the convention was Steve Penner, the executive secretary of the Communist League.

Penner said the biggest change in the world heading into the 1990s is "what has opened up with the movement of millions of workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, and others in the fight for democratic rights and political space in Central and Eastern Europe."

Their struggle has dealt a massive blow to world Stalinism, he said, "the single biggest obstacle to the working-class fight for socialism and the forging of genuine communist parties for more than six decades."

The world today is "more and more one world," Penner said. "We are heading into a world of massive social convulsions, class battles, of war and revolution, in which the world working class will have the chance to forge the leadership we need."

"This is not an era of peace and prosperity," he stressed.

The sending of thousands of troops by the U.S. government into Panama "was a brutal

aggression against a country and a people fighting for their freedom and independence from U.S. imperialism. It was a blatant violation of the territorial integrity and the basic democratic and human rights of the Panamanian people," he explained.

Pointing to the role of the Canadian government Penner said, "In a shameful and despicable act, the Canadian government joined Britain, El Salvador, and a few other capitalist governments in backing the massive U.S. military onslaught."

## Eastern and miners' strikes

A forum on Saturday evening discussed the International Association of Machinists' strike against Eastern Airlines in the United States and Canada and the struggle of the Pittston coal miners.

Ernie Mailhot, a striking member of the IAM and strike coordinator at New York's La Guardia Airport, told the audience that the Eastern strike "is not another Continental," referring to the busting of the unions at that air carrier in 1983.

Eastern chief Frank Lorenzo's "whole plan to build a 'new' Eastern is falling apart," he said. Because of the continuing strike and stiff competition in the airline industry, Eastern is facing growing financial problems.

The extent of strike activities show the strikers are "determined to stay out one day longer than Lorenzo," he said.

Mailhot encouraged the forum-goers to throw themselves into the strike work, including helping build a "war chest through your unions for the strike." Funds are needed to help back the strikers after nearly 11 months on the picket line, he said.

Mary Zins, a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America, also spoke. Zins reported on the fight by UMW members to win the strike against Pittston Coal in the United States.

In a report on the tasks of the party, Communist League leader Margaret Manwaring pointed to the importance of the labor movement backing the Eastern strikers, "who after more than 10 months continue to march on the picket lines in Toronto and Montréal."

A convention delegate from Vancouver, on



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt

Convention session of Communist League. Delegates discussed new openings in class struggle.

Canada's Pacific coast, explained that "Canadian airline workers have taken up a collection for the strikers." IAM members in Vancouver and Toronto refused to service Continental flights early on in the strike. Continental is also owned by Lorenzo. IAM members at Rolls-Royce (Canada) Limited in Montréal have refused to work on Eastern equipment.

"Pittston miners have reached out for solidarity to workers in this country and found a ready and willing response," Manwaring said. A cross-country tour for the Pittston miners is being planned by the Canadian UMW's full-time solidarity coordinator to win broader support for the strike.

A dozen conference participants signed up to be a part of sales teams for the *Militant* to the coalfields in the United States over the next months.

Manwaring pointed to recent protests by farmers against a wave of foreclosures, demonstrations against government moves to criminalize abortion, and a series of marches to defend French language rights by the oppressed Québécois as other examples of the growing resistance to the government and employer offensive against working people in Canada.

Manwaring explained that the RWL's August decision to establish a new branch in Vancouver had reinforced the countrywide

character of the party and strengthened its capacity to involve itself in the struggles of working people from coast to coast.

Socialists have also expanded their work in the labor movement by getting jobs at workplaces organized by the IAM and the Canadian Auto Workers, in addition to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and United Steelworkers of America.

The importance of winning new support for the international campaign to defend Mark Curtis, a U.S. unionist and political activist jailed on frame-up rape and burglary charges, was emphasized by Manwaring as well as by Yves Richard.

Richard, the general secretary of the Independent Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), spoke at a New Years' Eve forum celebrating the 31st anniversary of the Cuban revolution and the international expansion of Pathfinder Press.

After describing the current struggle in Haiti and denouncing the invasion of Panama, Richard said, "CATH supports Curtis because he is a worker," who has been framed up. "This attack on him is an attack on us as well," Richard added. "We should fight for the liberation of Mark Curtis, who is now an honorary member of our organization."

## Cuban revolution

Delegates also discussed the recent tour of Canada sponsored by Pathfinder of Cuban author Carlos Tablada. The tour, delegates said, showed the possibilities for expanding work done in solidarity with the Cuban revolution in Canada.

Tablada, the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, spoke to some 1,200 people in eight cities during his two-week tour.

At the New Years' Eve event, Robert Simms, Pathfinder sales representative in Canada, said, "The Cuban communist leadership over the past 31 years has done the opposite of humiliating its people, of keeping its workers and farmers silent and oppressed. Rather," he said, "it has brought millions of workers and peasants into political consciousness and activity and armed them to aid fighting people around the world."

In 1989 the Cuban people "deepened the rectification process, helped win victories in southern Africa, and led the worldwide campaign against the invasion of Panama," Simms said.

Simms also explained that Pathfinder sales in Canada over the past two years had grown fourfold. Some 120 commercial bookstores now carry Pathfinder titles, up from 10 several years ago.

Doreen Wepler from the Communist League in Britain and Cindy Jaquith from the Socialist Workers Party in the United States also spoke.

Michel Dugré encouraged convention participants to aid in the campaign to protest the attack by vandals on the Pathfinder Mural in New York. The meeting sent a message to the New York City government demanding the city take steps to protect the work of art.

Penner read a message to Cuban President Fidel Castro stating the Communist League's "pledge to further strengthen our efforts to build the broadest possible solidarity with Cuba among this country's workers, small farmers, students, and other activists."

# Communist League formed in Iceland

BY KORMÁKUR HÖGNASON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — At a conference here December 9-10 supporters of the *Militant* and distributors of Pathfinder literature in Iceland founded the Communist League.

Participants discussed reports on the political situation in Iceland and internationally and the opportunities for winning new members to the Communist League. Supplementary reports on the political situation in the United States and in southern Africa were also discussed.

An *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, published as a Pathfinder pamphlet, was adopted by the Communist League. It appeared in Icelandic just prior to the conference.

Representatives from the Communist League in Britain, Communist League of Sweden, and of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States attended. Greetings were received from the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada.

A public meeting featured Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*, who gave a talk entitled "The 'Failure of Socialism' and the Future of Communism." The talk took up the latest developments in Eastern Europe. Some 25 people attended and a lively discussion followed.

The public meeting and first day of the conference were held at a rented hall. On the following day, participants met at the Pathfinder Bookstore. The bookstore recently moved into a second-floor office facing the street, located near the old center of Reykjavík. Many readers of the *Militant* helped with the move. The bookstore will distribute the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Lutte ouvrière*, *New International* and *Granma*, organ of the Communist Party of Cuba. Pub-

lic forums will also be held at the Pathfinder Bookstore.

Grétar Kristjánsson, a leader of the newly formed Communist League, opened his political report by stressing that developments in Iceland are very much linked to the deepening crisis of the international capitalist system. The Icelandic economy is in a recession, he said, which is in its second year.

Kristjánsson reported that there was a 2 percent economic contraction in 1988. In 1989, he said, there were a record number of bankruptcies of both companies and individuals. Unemployment is at its highest level in over two decades. In 1989 some 1,200 more people emigrated from Iceland than immigrated to the country. This partly hides the increased unemployment, he explained.

One of the factors behind the slump is the troubles facing the fishing industry as the result of smaller catches, Kristjánsson said. The sale of fish products accounts for 77 percent of foreign earnings.

The Communist League leader explained that the crisis in housing has deepened in the last six years. In 1989 some 130 to 150 apartments were repossessed through forced foreclosures, compared to six in 1983. The government devalued the krona almost 30 percent in the first 11 months of 1989. The result has been 25 percent inflation and a decrease in real disposable per capita income by 15 percent.

Kristjánsson said, "The crisis in the shipbuilding industry has resulted in more than half the work force being laid off in the last seven years." He cited the militant six-week strike by the Alliance of Graduate Civil Servants, university-educated public employees, in the spring of 1989.

In her report on organization, Sigurlaug

Gunnlaugsdóttir stressed the importance of members of the Communist League working in industrial jobs and organizing their political work on the job and in the unions. After discussing the report an executive committee was elected.

During the nine-week international circulation drive to win 9,000 new readers to the *Militant* and other socialist publications, supporters in Iceland found a better response to communist ideas than ever before, Gunnlaugsdóttir reported. The response was unexpected, partly because residents of Iceland speak Icelandic as their first language. English is taught in school from an early age, however, and many people can speak and read English.

Judy Hall gave a presentation on the Mark Curtis defense case. Curtis is a political and union activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year sentence on false charges of rape and burglary.

At the Hamrahlíth (Hammer Hill) high school 60 students signed a petition for Mark Curtis protesting the prison's language ban. Other important endorsers of the Curtis defense case in Iceland are Páll Halldórsson, president of the Alliance of Graduate Civil Servants; Sigthruður Gunnarsdóttir, chairperson of the South Africa Solidarity Group Against Apartheid; and Hólmfríður Gartharsdóttir, president of the International Christian Youth Exchange.

A forum on the defense case is being planned by student leaders at Hamrahlíth.

Two days after the conference, Heather Randle from the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States and Hall were interviewed in *Thjóðviljinn*, a daily newspaper, on the Curtis case. That night Randle spoke at a public meeting on the subject of racism.



# Leonard Boudin: defender of civil liberties

## For 50 years he was at the center of legal battles against gov't

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — Leonard Boudin, an unwavering defender of civil liberties and renowned U.S. constitutional attorney, died here on November 24 of a heart attack. He was 77 years old.

For nearly 50 years Boudin was at the center of legal battles with the U.S. government, defending democratic rights and seeking to extend the constitutional protections codified in the Bill of Rights.

His contributions and accomplishments were marked by a willingness to provide legal counsel for victims of government repression, doing so even when the issues, individuals, or groups had little public support.

Boudin had "probably argued more civil liberties cases before the U.S. Supreme Court than any other lawyer, and the decisions handed down in some of his cases have been wide-reaching," a 1971 feature article in the *New York Times Magazine* said.

He and his law partner Victor Rabinowitz represented many victims before congressional witch-hunt committees in the 1950s. During this period their small law office in New York became a center for many of the most important civil liberties battles in the country.

For more than 35 years Boudin served as general counsel for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, an organization that has provided important legal assistance to victims of government repression, civil rights fighters, Korean and Vietnam war GIs, antiwar and political activists, and others.

Boudin was the general counsel of the Socialist Workers Party, a relationship that emerged out of nearly three decades of collaboration in battles waged in defense of democratic rights.

He also represented Cuba's interests in the United States for more than 30 years and

represented the Central Bank of Iran in its efforts to win back property seized by the U.S. government in the highly orchestrated anti-Iranian campaign after the 1979 revolution there. He was counsel for the Nicaraguan mission to the United Nations in New York.

### Defending union rights

In the late 1930s, Boudin, who had just graduated from law school, joined his uncle's established law practice and was assigned many union cases. During that time a number of law journals published articles written by him in defense of union and strikers' rights.

Louis Boudin, his uncle, was himself a noted constitutional attorney. He had been a leader of the left wing of the Socialist Party around the time of World War I and had collaborated with Eugene Debs, the SP's foremost spokesperson.

Much of the younger Boudin's later legal and political itinerary covered the post-World War II era when the United States emerged as the leading imperialist power.

Preparing for that war, President Franklin Roosevelt expanded and centralized federal police powers giving free rein to the Federal Bureau of Investigation to spy on and disrupt labor unions, left-wing political organizations, and Black groups. The measures were intended to undermine opposition to the imperialist slaughter. Methods used included phone wiretaps, employing informers and provocateurs, and political frame-ups.

Thought-control legislation was also used to prosecute those who advocated ideas opposed to the government's antilabor and war policies. On the eve of World War II, 18 leaders of the SWP were convicted under the Smith Act, one such thought-control law, and spent up to a year in jail during the war.

Following the war this assault on constitutional liberties deepened with the passage

of the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and other laws. This occurred as the U.S. government sought to consolidate its world-cop role against countries where capitalism had been abolished, as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and against the rising colonial revolution. The Chinese revolution occurred in 1949 and Washington's aggression in Korea broke out a year later.

### The anticommunist witch-hunt

The complicity of most labor officials with this assault on democratic rights contributed to the witch-hunt period in the late 1940s and early 1950s. This era was marked by the Smith Act prosecutions of numerous leaders of the Communist Party, the purge of union militants from the labor movement, and the frame-up and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on espionage charges.

It was during this time that "civil liberties issues and trade union questions increasingly became interconnected," Rabinowitz told the *Militant*. A number of unions in New York were broken or substantially weakened by the onslaught of the anticommunist witch-hunt, he explained. Given these circumstances Boudin and Rabinowitz's practice shifted from labor law to civil liberties cases.

In one of the most celebrated and important cases of that era, Boudin successfully appealed the 1949 frame-up conviction of Judith Coplon, an employee of the U.S. Justice Department who became the first civilian tried for spying for the Soviet Union. The case caused a sensation for more than the spy charges. During court proceedings, revelations of widespread illegal phone wiretapping by the FBI caused a public outcry against the political police agency.

Boudin argued that Coplon's constitutional liberties had been violated, including through the use of these illegal wiretaps.

Although the case was sent back for trial, the government dropped prosecution, unable to come up with evidence that had not been illegally obtained.

Around the time of the Coplon case, members of the CP, the SWP, and others accused of being communists often had a difficult time obtaining legal defense. U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark led a campaign to deny the right to practice law to attorneys who were members of "subversive" groups, or even provided legal defense to those who were. Attorneys who defended CP members often wound up convicted for "contempt of court" by judges who also sentenced their clients to long prison terms for their political ideas.

Under these conditions, the most prominent U.S. organization involved in defending democratic rights, the American Civil Liberties Union, caved in for the most part and refused to defend members of the CP or those accused of being members. In 1952 the ACLU issued a lengthy statement asserting that nothing in the case of the Rosenbergs — neither the trial nor the death sentence — raised a civil liberties issue.

### Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Responding to the need of witch-hunt victims for vigorous legal counsel and assistance, a small group of noted civil libertarians, among them I.F. Stone, the well-known journalist and Boudin's brother-in-law, formed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1951. (The name was changed in 1968 to the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.)

Boudin joined the ECLC as a volunteer attorney soon after its founding and later became the committee's general counsel. The U.S. government's denial of passports to U.S. citizens because of political beliefs was among the first challenges confronted by Boudin for the ECLC.

In May 1952 Secretary of State Dean Acheson argued that the government could withhold a passport from anyone whose "conduct abroad is likely to be contrary to the best interest of the United States" or from anyone "going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement." This violation of U.S. citizens' right to travel directly affected thousands.

### The right to travel

Two of the more well-known cases handled by Boudin involved prominent Black singer and actor Paul Robeson and artist Rockwell Kent. In Robeson's case the government argued that it had the right to revoke his passport because he openly admitted his activities "in behalf of the political independence of the colonial people of Africa." The court dismissed Robeson's case on grounds that he had not exhausted the appeal process.

## 'Boudin was committed to the Bill of Rights'

The following letter was sent by Jack Barnes, on behalf of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, to Leonard Boudin's lawfirm. Barnes is National Secretary of the SWP.

Nov. 30, 1989

Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, & Lieberman  
New York, New York

Dear Friends,

The Socialist Workers Party joins with you in honoring a half century of accomplishments by Leonard Boudin on behalf of constitutional rights and democratic freedoms.

This has been a half century during which the U.S. government not only harassed and victimized opponents of its policies because of their political views, associations, and activities, but frequently persecuted attorneys who defended such individuals and organi-

zations, as well.

Leonard not only never flinched in the face of such intimidation, but seemed to take added pleasure in representing those who were the most fiercely attacked, baited, and despised by the government and its cops, prosecutors, and spokespeople.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have shared numerous experiences with Leonard in this regard going back to the Truman administration's so-called Loyalty Program and the McCarthyite witch-hunt. What became a close working relationship that resulted in Leonard becoming our general counsel began more than 25 years ago.

In 1963 Leonard agreed to defend three members of the Young Socialist Alliance, and did so successfully. These students at the University of Indiana in Bloomington had been indicted under a state sedition law for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the sovereign state of Indiana by force and violence because they sponsored a speech by a Black rights activist on campus and spoke out in defense of the Cuban revolution.

Leonard, the entire firm, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the Bill of Rights Foundation were all direct participants with the SWP and YSA in the landmark victory for constitutional rights registered by the 1986 federal court ruling against FBI spying and harassment of a communist organization, its members, leaders, and sympathizers.

For the past quarter century, Leonard was involved in every successful fight waged by the SWP and YSA to defend our democratic and constitutional rights. This was true right up to the ongoing effort to defend the rights of revolutionary-minded artists associated with Pathfinder Press to paint a six-story public mural in Manhattan, a short walk from Jean and Leonard's home. And just last week Leonard was drafting an angry letter to the Federal Election Commission seeking to reverse its decision to take away our exemption from disclosure of the names of contributors to SWP election campaigns for federal office.

Thus, we can give direct testimony to the fact that Leonard not only believed that an injury to one is an injury to all, but that he acted consistently and unflinchingly on the basis of this conviction. He committed his life's work to the fight to make the protections enumerated in the Bill of Rights universal.

We honor the accomplishments and life of a friend and counsel, and extend our condolences and solidarity to his colleagues and family.

Fraternally,

Jack Barnes  
for the National Committee,  
Socialist Workers Party



The three young socialists defended by Boudin who were indicted in 1963 under a state witch-hunt law. They were (from left to right) Ralph Levitt, Jim Bingham, and Tom Morgan, students at the University of Indiana in Bloomington.

**Meeting**  
to celebrate the life  
and contributions of  
**Leonard Boudin**  
Saturday, Jan. 27  
2:00 p.m.  
Speakers will include colleagues,  
friends, and family members.  
**Community Church**  
30 East 35th Street  
(at Park Ave.)  
**Manhattan**



# Liberties repression

at the State Department.

With the end of the Korean War in 1953 and the repudiation of Sen. Joseph McCarthy by dominant sections of the U.S. ruling class the following year, the witch-hunt began to wane. McCarthy was the most notorious of the witch-hunters. Politics began to shift. Struggles against segregation of Blacks had begun to pick up steam. And the civil rights movement won a historic victory in 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in schools violated the constitution. Public opposition grew to further violations of civil liberties. This created a climate whereby advances won by the mass movement could be registered in the law through court rulings and legislation. Those who remained steadfast, like Boudin and the ECLC, were able to score important legal victories.

The shifting political climate made it possible to win a 1958 landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Kent's passport case. The court conceded to Boudin's argument and ruled that the State Department had no right to withhold passports because of a person's political beliefs. This made it possible for Kent, Robeson, and many others to get passports.

It was around this time that the ECLC launched a public campaign demanding the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and tapped the growing sentiment against the witch-hunt. HUAC was a congressional committee used to intimidate, harass, and victimize unionists, political activists, and others because of their political beliefs or suspected views.

## Defending Korean War GIs

Other victories were also won in that period. A number of GIs in the U.S. armed forces drafted during the Korean War were penalized for invoking rights guaranteed under the constitution's Fifth Amendment. These soldiers had refused to answer questions about their political activities prior to their induction and were later dishonorably discharged. A dishonorable discharge on one's record was the equivalent of being blacklisted or barred from future gainful employment.

In 1954 Boudin and the ECLC took up the fight of James Staebler, an army draftee who had protested the resegregation of a company that had been temporarily integrated. The army responded by dishonorably discharging him, charging that he had belonged to the SWP. Boudin prepared the case, and the ECLC appealed the decision to the Army's Discharge Review Board, winning Staebler a general discharge under honorable circumstances.

In 1958 Boudin and the ECLC took a similar case to the Supreme Court winning an appeal for Howard Abramowitz, a decorated Korean War veteran who received a dishonorable discharge from the Enlisted Reserve for alleged membership in the CP. The court ruled that preinduction activities could not be taken into account in awarding discharges.

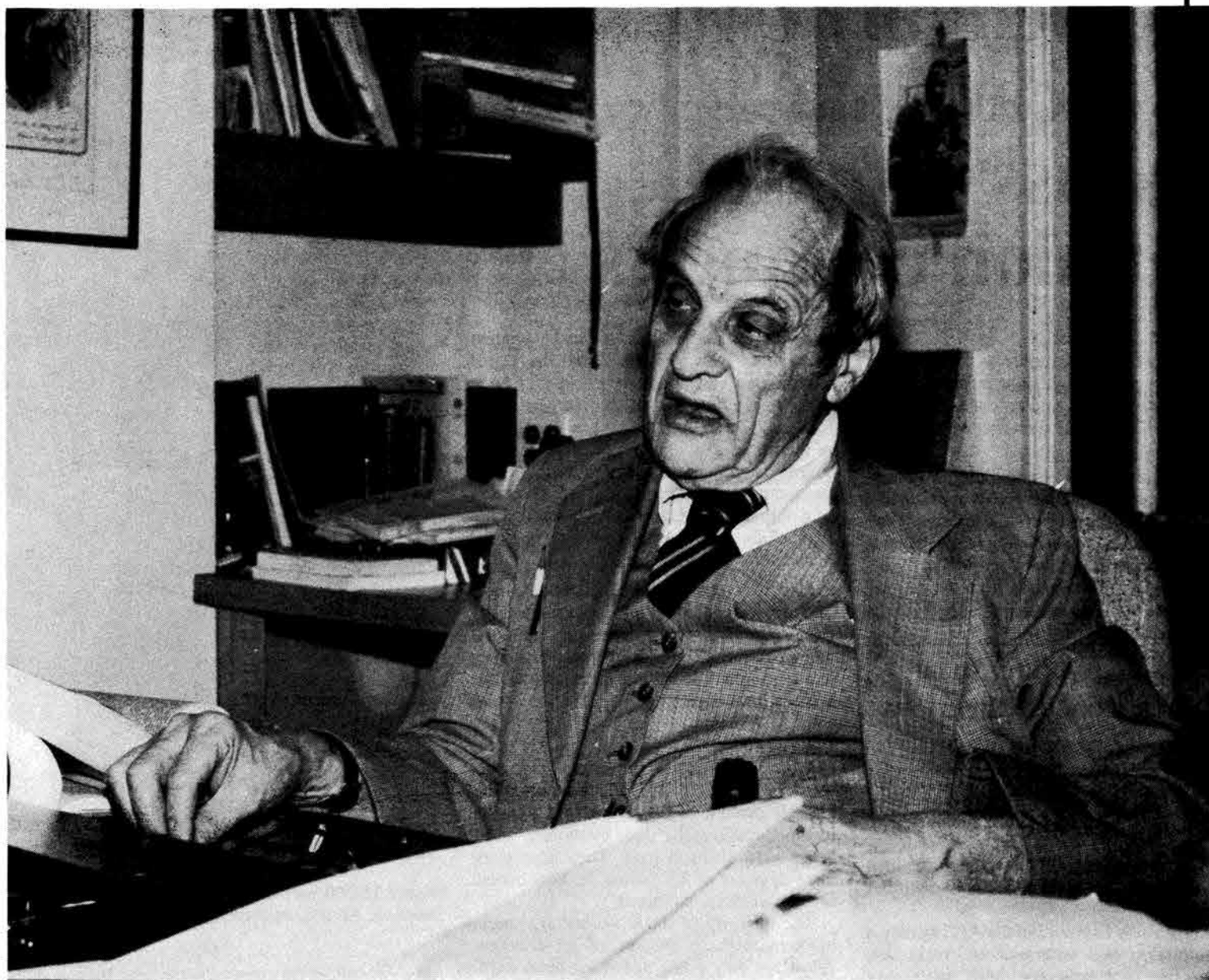
Records later made available to the NECLC show that some 3,000 GIs benefited from this ruling. Edith Tiger told the *Militant*. "The GI has been part of the NECLC for more than 35 years and its director since 1969.

## Opportunities open to press further

At the close of the 1950s and the beginning of 1960s, a combination of political developments opened fresh opportunities to press the fight for civil liberties even further.

The civil rights struggle had become a massive movement, winning broad support throughout the country. Fidel Castro and the fighters of the July 26 Movement toppled the U.S.-backed Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista and repulsed the U.S.-sponsored 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Protests against atmospheric nuclear testing were growing. Across the country young people began to radicalize under the impact of these events.

Boudin led a successful legal challenge beginning in 1963 to an act passed by Congress requiring the U.S. Postal Service to screen all incoming mail to decide whether it contained "Communist political propa-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Leonard Boudin defended individuals, groups, and issues even when they were unpopular.

ganda." Corliss Lamont, a prominent civil libertarian on whose behalf Boudin filed the case, remarked later that the ruling "was the first time in the history of the Supreme Court that it ever declared a Congressional law unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated the First Amendment." The amendment guarantees freedoms of speech and the press.

Later, during the Vietnam War, Boudin and his firm defended young men who sought to avoid being drafted into the armed forces and GIs who opposed the war. One case in 1969 involved the Fort Jackson Eight, a group of GIs who used their legal rights to speak out against the war. Boudin provided counsel for the eight, and after a public campaign in their defense the charges were dropped.

## The Bloomington case

In 1963 three members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Indiana at Bloomington were arrested and charged with assembling "for the purpose of advocating and teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States and of the State of Indiana should be overthrown by force, violence, and any unlawful means."

The frame-up stemmed from the YSA members' activity in the civil rights movement and in defense of the Cuban revolution.

After an energetic legal defense and a public campaign led by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students that won broad support throughout the country, the charges were withdrawn in 1967.

The ECLC and Boudin's defense of the Bloomington YSA defendants marked a turning point and was the beginning of a long relationship between Boudin and the SWP and the YSA.

It also heralded an important change that was occurring in the way that many in left circles related to the SWP and YSA. For years the difficulties the SWP and other fighters in the labor movement had in obtaining legal assistance and winning broader support in defense of their rights was compounded by the factional stance of the CP whose influence had virtually dominated radical circles, including cultural and lawyers' groups. By the 1930s, after the CP had become Stalinized, it had abandoned the long tradition in the labor movement that an injury against one is an injury against all. For example, the CP hailed the 1941 Smith Act prosecution of the 18 SWP leaders as a blow to fascism.

Following the 1956 revolution in Hungary and Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev's criti-

cisms of Joseph Stalin, a shake-up occurred inside the CP and its large periphery. This, along with the emergence of younger forces in struggles, led to a better climate for individuals and organizations with diverse views uniting in action around specific issues on which they agreed.

## SWP v. Attorney General

In 1973 Boudin filed suit on behalf of the SWP and YSA against the FBI, CIA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other government agencies. The suit charged that these police agencies had violated the rights of the SWP and its membership since the 1940s and of the YSA since its founding in 1960.

"Lawyers are accustomed to describing cases in which they have been successful as 'historic,'" Boudin later wrote. "But no one could challenge that description of *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*."

The case unfolded in the context of the U.S. government's withdrawal from Vietnam forced in part by a massive antiwar movement mobilizing millions of people across the country. Women mobilized and won the right to abortion. Blacks and other oppressed nationalities pressed their demands and won significant victories.

In the context of these gains, the Watergate

crisis broke revealing the government's Cointelpro operation involving the FBI and other government police agencies in spying on and disrupting organizations involved in those social struggles.

The SWP and YSA suit played no small part in helping to expose the government's 40-year political police operations. The case lasted 15 years and resulted in an unprecedented judgement, which found the government's political police activities "patently unconstitutional."

"The decision stands as a vindication of the First and Fourth Amendment rights not only of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, but of all political organizations and activists in this country to be free of government spying and harassment," Boudin wrote in a foreword to the book *FBI on Trial* (Pathfinder, 1988), which reprints the court ruling.

Most recently Boudin was involved in preparing a legal challenge to the government's refusal to allow Gerry Adams, president of the Irish republican party Sinn Fein, to travel to the United States. He was also drafting a response to the Federal Election Commission's move to reverse its 1979 decision allowing the SWP to withhold the names from the government of financial contributors to its election campaigns.

# FBI ON TRIAL

***FBI on Trial: The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit Against Government Spying***  
Editor: Margaret Jayko  
\$9.95, 260 pp.

***Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom***  
by Nelson Blackstock  
\$8.95, 190 pp.

Available from: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 • 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL England • P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037, Australia • 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, Toronto M5V 1S8, Canada • Add \$1.00 for handling.



# Women farm workers in Nicaragua discuss defense of union conquests

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Why does it have to be women who lose their jobs while the man stays put?" said unionist Guadalupe Donaire. "This is the question we're asking now."

The fifth annual women farm workers' assembly here brought together activists like Donaire in a discussion of how to defend their union and its conquests in the face of layoffs and rising prices.

Most of the 158 women from the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) were from the

## "Why does it have to be women who lose their jobs while the man stays put?"

coffee, cotton, tobacco, and banana sectors. Some 15,000 of the ATC's members are women.

The Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) cosponsored the November meeting.

Olga María Espinoza of the ATC women's commission said farm workers' main task over the past year has been sustaining Nicaragua's "survival economy" by increasing productivity and working longer hours. This, she said, is necessary "in the fight against inflation."

Defending jobs for women has also been a key fight this year, Espinoza said, since farm workers, especially women, have been hit hard by layoffs.

Olga María Talaver, a tobacco worker and union representative, described in an interview how women farm workers have lost jobs.

"Some employers have used recent layoffs as a weapon to get rid of women, who, according to them, are the 'weak sex.' As if we hadn't proved ourselves able to do all kinds of jobs, and very skillfully, meeting and surpassing the production quotas just like the men."

Sexual harassment can also lead to women being fired, Talaver added. "When they reject the foreman's advances, they get put on a job that's heavier than what they're used to. If they can't keep up, it's an excuse to get rid of them."

Imelda González, a union official who represents tobacco workers, said the problem of discriminatory layoffs of women is a big topic of discussion among workers in all the agricultural sectors.

González reported that a higher percentage of women tobacco workers are being laid off than men. "They don't leave half men and half women working. They hit women harder and leave a whole slew of men, and in jobs women have done."

### Banana workers

Women on banana plantations have suffered the worst blows. Donaire reported the toll: 99 percent of the year-round workers lost jobs traditionally done by women when these were given to men. They now work three days out of 15, "when the boat comes in," the unionist explained.

The majority of these women are single mothers, with an average of six children. "How are they going to live on three days' work in 15?" Donaire remarked.

Donaire's view is that if it is necessary to cut costs, this should not be done "at the expense of those of us who have worked these jobs and kept the place in business."

After two days of reports and discussions the workers passed a resolution calling on the union to defend women's right to a job and to put an end to "arbitrary firings" and demotions to seasonal work or jobs with less pay "simply for being women or pregnant."

The women discussed the union's continuing fight for child-care centers. "We face serious problems sustaining what we've conquered, let alone reaching new goals," Espinoza explained in her report.

She noted that 21 new centers had been built, amounting to 33 percent of last year's goal. But of the 90 existing child-care facil-



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Some 15,000 members of the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) in Nicaragua are women. Above, women farm workers at a meeting of the ATC in Matagalpa last year.

ities throughout the country, some have been closed.

In contract negotiations, the union leader said, farm workers should propose ways to keep these services going. She pointed as an example to some farms where workers have financed 25 percent of the child-care center from their wages.

Espinoza reported that lack of child care is an especially acute problem on private farms.

In one workshop a woman argued intently that without pressure from the union, child-care centers would never be built by private employers as they have been on some state farms. "The boss is going to spend his money running around on vacation in New York. He's not going to build centers for the workers' children. But if this is a revolution, the landowners also have to contribute their share."

### Health care

At last year's assembly, farm workers raised demands for better medical care, sex education, family planning, adequate supplies of safety equipment, and better stocking of farm health centers.

Espinoza reported that 1989 saw no advancements, with the exception of some gains in pregnancy care and children's health. Added to the rising cost of medicines, the consequences of this lack of progress is the deterioration of workers' health, she said.

Coffee workers talked about the union's fight for the right of pregnant women and small children to have milk supplied by the owners. "On the private farm, there's milk for the children but not for the women," one worker reported. "But we aren't getting any on the state farm either," another interrupted her to say.

Women continue to face sexual harassment, abuse, and sometimes even rape in the workplace. Their workday includes returning from the fields to domestic chores and the care of their children.

And they must confront obstacles as workers. "If we're pregnant the boss doesn't give us work," a coffee worker reported in one workshop, as everyone nodded. "Where I work," she said, "a woman who was pregnant was fired because she didn't meet the quota."

### Union activists

Women also come up against hurdles in their political activities and as activists in the union.

Coffee workers in a workshop reacted angrily to a story one of the union representatives told. "I went to meet with the boss and he asked for my card," she said. "Otherwise, he said, I have no business being there and he's not going to talk to me. And I'm the workers' representative!"

The resolution adopted called for imple-

menting existing union contracts and fighting for new ones. Farm workers see the right to bargain collectively as one of the most important conquests since the 1979 revolution. They had no union before then.

The assembly advocated defense of state farms in the face of attempts to return some land to private hands and urged defense of workers' participation in consultative bodies on these farms.

### Electoral brigades

The resolution projected, as one of the central tasks for women farm workers, helping to guarantee the victory of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in the February 25 elections. It urged the organization of electoral brigades of women farm workers to meet in workplaces and the surrounding countryside with men and women still undecided about their vote.

In the opening speech to the assembly, Bayardo Arce exhorted women to "turn themselves into a whirlwind force of cam-

## "If this is a revolution, the landowners also have to contribute their share."

paigned" to help win the elections for the FSLN. A member of the nine-person FSLN National Directorate, Arce also heads the party's campaign.

The women should "convince themselves" of the importance of this effort, he said, "instead of thinking about new demands or new gains to be won."

"We must win the elections by an overwhelming majority — 70 percent. With this vote, we will have eliminated all of the excuses of the United States for continuing the war. We are finally bringing the period of the war to an end through the electoral battle," he said.

Victor Tirado of the FSLN National Directorate also addressed the assembly. "The FSLN, its militants, its members, the whole Sandinista movement throughout the country have thrown themselves into the elections," he said.

Tirado stressed that the demands women had raised during the assembly are part of the FSLN's electoral platform and assured them that these needs can be fought for now.

"The revolution doesn't pause until after February 25. It is continuous," he said. "We divide our forces so we can dedicate ourselves to all the tasks," Tirado added, saying that economic questions are the most complex of these.

"As our electoral program states," he said, "the fight against inflation is our first priority."

## Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' Defend Panama's sovereignty

As a reader of the *Militant* you are familiar with our weekly coverage of the struggles of working people around the world.

If you can read or are studying Spanish, there is a complementary monthly magazine for you: *Perspectiva Mundial*. *PM* is a Spanish-language socialist magazine that carries many of the same articles you read in the *Militant*.

The January issue of *PM* features coverage on the U.S. invasion and occupation of Panama, including a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro defending Panama's sovereignty.

It includes interviews with Cuban leader Ricardo Alarcón and African National Congress of South Africa leader Neo Mnumzana.

*PM* also carries extensive coverage on the 10-month-long Machinists strike against Eastern Airlines and the blows it has dealt Eastern's parent company, Texas Air Corp.



**Subscriptions:**  
Introductory offer: \$3 for six months; \$9 for one year.

☐ Begin my sub with current issue.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to *PM*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



# Foes of apartheid gain in Transkei

## Reflects growing crisis of divide-and-rule policy in S. African bantustans

BY RONI McCANN

Growing irritated with Blacks' demands for more land in South Africa, M.C. Botha, a former government official, once snapped, "A country's administration should be aimed at achieving what is practical and possible rather than at pursuing illusions."

M.C. Botha had it all wrong. The illusion lay not with the demands but with the belief of the white-minority rulers that maintaining their apartheid system was possible. Today the Pretoria government is caught in a deepening and irreversible crisis as the ever-growing movement to abolish apartheid gains momentum.

One sign of the crisis South Africa's rulers face is the recent developments in South Africa's bantustans — the deliberately impoverished bits of land set aside as so-called homelands for the country's African majority.

Traditional chiefs in these "homelands" who once toed the line of the apartheid government are seeing Pretoria's future as less and less stable and are pressured by the increasingly vocal trade unions and political organizations in South Africa as a whole and in the bantustans themselves.

### Migrant labor reserves

In South Africa a government claiming to represent some 7 million whites rules over nearly 32 million Africans, Indians, and Coloureds (a category reserved for those of "mixed descent").

The National Party, in power since 1948, consolidated a society completely segregated by law, keeping Africans as noncitizens without rights. Stripped of their land and denied political rights or representation, Africans were reduced to a cheap, migratory labor force — the basis of the South African economy. The entire structure is backed up by repression and terror by imperialist South Africa's massive military might.

To keep Africans out of the urban centers, except to come in to work, the apartheid rulers over a period of several decades de-

## ANC denounces meetings between Hungary, Pretoria

Leaders of the struggle against apartheid swiftly condemned meetings held in early January between the government of Hungary and the South African regime's foreign minister, Roelof Botha.

The *Washington Post* reports that the meetings were held to discuss possible trade and diplomatic ties between the two countries. These include a South African company operating a holiday resort in Hungary, South Africa supplying diesel engines for Hungarian buses, and central bank cooperation between the two countries.

The *Post* said South African foreign ministry statements on Botha's trip imply there has been longstanding contact, and even a certain amount of secret trade, between the two countries.

A statement released by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the African National Congress, declared the Hungarian government's actions demonstrate "both bad faith and a cynical disregard for international agreements."

The statement points out that Hungary had "voted with the rest of the world at the United Nations to continue to take effective action against apartheid South Africa."

"Hungary cannot expect to maintain normal relations with the peoples of Africa while it befriends the enemy of our Continent and the rest of freedom-loving humanity," the statement concluded.

Azhar Cachalia, a spokesperson for the broad-based anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, told the *Post*, "One seriously questions the direction Hungary wants to go if one of the first countries it wants to have relations with is South Africa."

The Pretoria regime has also mounted a drive to recruit skilled workers from Eastern Europe to take jobs in South Africa.

Pointing to the high rate of unemployment among Blacks in South Africa, Cachalia said, "To us it looks more like a move to buttress white rule."



Shepherd near Umtata, capital of Transkei, one of impoverished "homelands" set aside by apartheid regime.

signed what were earlier called "native reserves" — now bantustans. In 1970 Africans were arbitrarily assigned to one of the 10 bantustans depending on the apartheid regime's analysis of their "tribal" ancestry. This meant the forced removal of millions of people to the bantustans.

The country's 10 "homelands," a tiny 13 percent of the land in the country, are almost totally dependent on South Africa for electrical power, water, and transport since virtually all the natural resources and industries are located in the "white" areas.

The bantustan "nations" are loosely based on precolonial society. With them Pretoria attempts to divide Africans pitting them against one another on the basis of some long-ago "tribe."

Appointed "tribal" authorities were set up, a move "aimed at turning all chiefs in the reserves into despotic, ruthless agents and dividing the Africans into small 'manageable' ethnic groups," writes ANC leader Francis Meli in *South Africa Belongs to Us: A History of the ANC*.

Many chiefs were deposed and banished in the 1950s for not going along with Pretoria's scheme. Others took full advantage of the apartheid policy to bolster their positions and wealth — ruling the reserves with iron-grip repression as lackeys of the white-minority regime.

In 1976 the apartheid government began declaring bantustans "independent," starting with the Transkei and following with Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, and Venda. Millions of South Africans were stripped of their citizenship and proclaimed citizens of their new "nation," recognized only by South Africa.

### Policy in crisis

The leading liberation organization in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC), and other groups have campaigned against the divide-and-rule scheme.

Today this apartheid policy is in crisis. "Independence" anniversaries are marked by protests; many "homelands" face continuing revolts by towns and areas that the authorities seek to incorporate into the bantustans; trade unionists and political groups press their demands and bantustan puppet regimes respond with stepped-up repression; and a growing number of traditional chiefs explore new alliances with each other and with the democratic movement.

Perhaps most significant are recent developments in the oldest and largest bantustan: the Transkei, a "homeland" about the size of Denmark and bordering the Indian Ocean. Some 600,000 people out of more than 3 million in Transkei work in South Africa.

Transkei was the first bantustan to have independence foisted upon it by Pretoria, in 1976. In 1987 former Transkeian president George Matanzima, now in jail convicted of bribery, was ousted by a military coup that left Maj. Gen. Bantu Holomisa, chairman of the military council, in charge.

In October 1989 Holomisa allowed the reburial in Transkei of King Sabata Dalindyebo, paramount chief of the Thembu

people, who repudiated the kingdom, identified with the ANC, and died in exile in Lusaka, Zambia in 1986.

The event was nothing less than an ANC rally with 40,000 attending. The general shared the platform with leaders of the South African Youth Congress, United Democratic Front, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). "We have told Pretoria openly that our lip-service is over," said the general to *City Press* a week later.

Days after the funeral, youths took to the streets under the banner of the South African Youth Congress demanding that Transkei's two political prisoners on death row be released. A stay on all executions pending an investigation on whether or not to repeal the death penalty in Transkei was announced weeks later.

Radio Transkei broadcast the October 1989 welcome-back rally in Soweto for ANC leaders released from long prison terms. It was the only "homeland" to do so. In November released ANC leader Walter Sisulu addressed Transkei's own welcome-back rally, which drew 50,000. One of the welcomers was Holomisa, who apologized for "renegades" in his police force who tear-gassed a church protest attended by the leaders days earlier.

After a series of strikes in the same period, the Transkei government announced new labor legislation was being considered. If

passed, Transkei would be the first "independent" bantustan where workers have the right to strike.

Holomisa followed by announcing 15 organizations "unbanned," including the United Democratic Front, and released political prisoners. The general says he is contemplating the legalization of the ANC in Transkei, whose headquarters-in-exile he visited last summer in Lusaka.

### Contralesa

Growing numbers of traditional leaders and "homeland" officials are discussing their role in the changing times. In an interview featured in the December 28 issue of the *New York Times*, Holomisa said that Transkei and other "homelands" should prepare for a supporting role in determining the future of South Africa. He invited other officials and traditional leaders to Transkei's capital, Umtata, for a meeting this month.

He is not the first to consider the role of the "homelands." In 1987 chiefs in the KwaNdebele bantustan formed the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), which is part of the Mass Democratic Movement along with the United Democratic Front and COSATU. A delegation of chiefs decided to meet with leaders of the ANC in Lusaka last August.

Contralesa's national president, Chief Mhlabunzimi Maphumulo, reports that several hundred chiefs have joined the organization.

Among the newer members is the senior prince of the Zulu royal house, Mchayizeni Zulu. The prince attended the ANC rally to welcome back released leaders and has visited ANC President Oliver Tambo in London. In November the prince resigned from the KwaZulu bantustan legislature after 17 years. Some 50 chiefs from KwaZulu have joined Contralesa.

This represents a blow to the apartheid regime since it undermines the authority of Gatsha Buthelezi, a KwaZulu chief appointed by Pretoria. Buthelezi is known for his use of violence against the forces fighting against apartheid. With the encouragement of the white-minority government, Buthelezi maintains Inkatha, an outfit which includes armed vigilantes who attack United Democratic Front and COSATU activists, especially in the province of Natal.

Buthelezi accuses Contralesa of being a "spear" thrust into the "very heart of Zulu unity."

Of the Inkatha-dominated KwaZulu legislature, Prince Mchayizeni says it is "being used as a tool by its driver — no opinion but that of its driver can be heard or regarded."

### JUST REISSUED

## New International

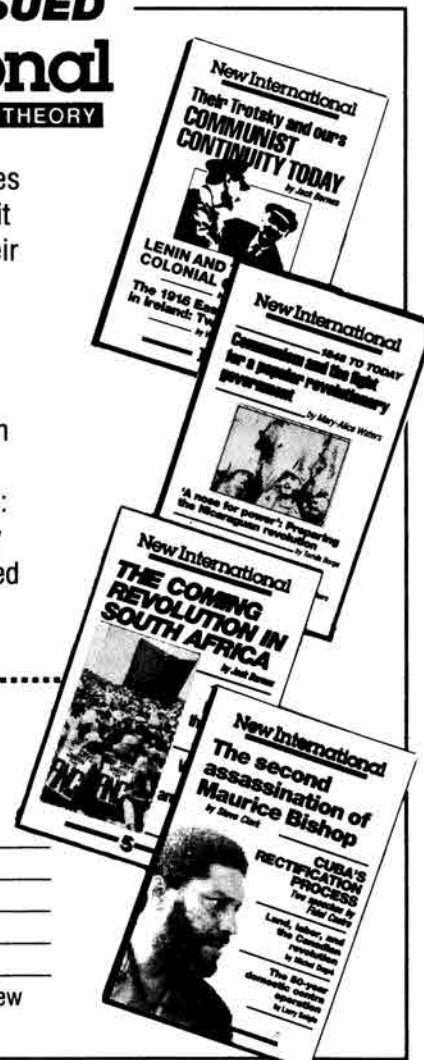
A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

*New International* is reissuing the six issues of the magazine that have appeared since it was founded in 1983. No. 1 featuring "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today," No. 3 with "Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government," No. 5 with "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," and No. 6 with "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" and "Cuba's Rectification Process: Two Speeches by Fidel Castro" are already available. Numbers 2 and 4 will be reprinted soon. Use the form below to order your copies.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ Issue No. 1, at \$5  
\_\_\_\_\_ Issue No. 3, at \$5  
\_\_\_\_\_ Issue No. 5, at \$5  
\_\_\_\_\_ Issue No. 6, at \$7

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State / Zip / Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_  
Country \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to *New International*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014





## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**The United Mine Workers of America Fight Against Pittston Coal Group.** Speaker: Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party, member UMW Local 2368. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**Behind the Crisis in Eastern Europe.** Speaker: representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Spear of the Nation: The Story of the African National Congress.** Documentary including interviews with ANC leaders Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

**Open House After the Martin Luther King Parade.** Video showing of segment of *Eyes on the Prize*. Mon., Jan. 15, 2-5 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

**Stop Racist Bombings! Defend Desegregation.** Speakers: Gary Washington, shop steward Graphic Communications International Union Local 572; representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video directed by Nick Castle. Speakers: Alfredo Alvarez, former chair Des Moines Human Rights Commission; Imam Ako Abdul-Samad; Gil Sierra, former Davenport alderman, board member Iowa Civil Liberties Union; Rita Melagares, leader Francisco "Kiko" Martinez Defense Committee. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Park Inn, 1050 6th Ave., top floor. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**The Arts Under Attack!** Speakers: Jeff Gates, director Artists for a Better Image; Dr. Ted Klitzke, dean emeritus Maryland Institute, College of Art; Rachele Fruit, representative Pathfinder Bookstore; Larry Krause, editor *Baltimore Chronicle*. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**The Civil Rights Movement: The Real Story.** Video presentation of *Eyes on the Prize* Part 6, followed by discussion. Sun., Jan. 14, 7 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Sports, Big Business, and Racism.** Speaker: Joe Callahan, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers Local 879. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**A Tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.** Speakers: Bafo Nyanga, representative South African Congress of Trade Unions; Oliver White, president St. Paul Black Ministerial Alliance; Nellie Stone Johnson; Kim Washington, Twin Cities Committee Against Racism; Rev. Sunthi Paul, Southeast Asian Ministries. Sun., Jan. 14. Refreshments, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. St. Paul Central HS, 275 N Lexington Pkwy. Sponsor: United Auto Workers Local 879.

**The Upheavals in Eastern Europe: Does the Downfall of Stalinism Mean the Restoration of Capitalism?** Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**The Growing Danger of Political Censorship in the Arts.** Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video directed by Nick Castle. Speakers: Rev. Oliver White, president St. Paul Black Ministerial Alliance; representative Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Camphor United Methodist Church, 585 Fuller Ave. Sponsor: Minnesota supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (612) 291-7436.

## NEBRASKA

### Omaha

**The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption.** Victory against 10-year harassment suit by Alan Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Pat Leamon, SWP, member United Steelworkers Local 8612. Sat., Jan. 20. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

## NEW YORK

### Brooklyn

**The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption.** Victory against 10-year harassment suit by Alan Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Jerry Freiwirth, SWP. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

### New York City

**WBAI Radio Presents: The Current Political Situation in Central America and the Caribbean.** Hosted by Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Special segment on Cuba and Puerto Rico. Tues., Jan. 16, 11 a.m. 99.5 FM.

**Roundtable Discussion on the International Political Situation.** Hosted by Don Rojas. Fri., Jan. 19, 4-6 p.m. 99.5 FM.

**Beyond the News.** Hosted by Don Rojas. Every Wed., 7-7:30 p.m. 99.5 FM.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**U.S. Troops Out of Panama Now!** Sun., Jan. 14, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OREGON

### Portland

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video directed by Nick Castle. Speakers: Kirsten Bey, president Portland chapter National Lawyers Guild; Nita Brueggeman, secretary-treasurer Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Pacific Northwest Joint Board; Sherien Jaeger, representative Santiago Ventura Freedom Com-

mittee; Gene Lawhorn, member Western Council of Industrial Workers Local 2949; David Linder, father of slain U.S. engineer Ben Linder; Desmond Smit, member African National Congress. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. PCC Cascade Campus, Terrell Hall, Rm. 122, 705 N Killingsworth (at Albina). Sponsor: Oregon supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption.** Victory against 10-year harassment suit by Alan Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Kathy Mickells, 1988 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sat., Jan. 13, 7 p.m. 9 E Cheltenham Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

### Pittsburgh

**U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!** Speakers: Barney Oursler, participant First International Sister Union Conference for Peace and Solidarity in El Salvador; Pete Shell, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 14, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**The Freedom Struggle in El Salvador.** Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**Defend Abortion Rights.** Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Crisis in the District: What Road Forward for Working People?** Speaker: Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**The Fight for Safe and Legal Abortion.** Panel discussion. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**Defend the Pathfinder Mural and Artistic Freedom.** Video showing and discussion. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption.** Victory against 10-year harassment lawsuit by Alan Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

**Defend Indian Treaty Rights.** Speakers: Tom Maulson, leader Chippewa treaty rights fight; Kathy Kelley, Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## BRITAIN

### London

**U.S. Out of El Salvador. Hands Off Panama.**

**No U.S. Intervention in Latin America!** Demonstration Sat., Jan. 20. Assemble 1 p.m., U.S. embassy, Grosvenor Sq. March to Salvadoran embassy. Sponsor: El Salvador Solidarity Committee. For more information call 01-704 9849.

## Manchester

**Celebrate Opening of New Pathfinder Bookcentre.** Reception with special guests. Sat., Jan. 20, 2 p.m. 60 Shudehill. For more information call 061-839 1766.

## Sheffield

**The Crisis Facing U.S. Family Farmers—Building a Fighting Worker-Farmer Alliance.** Speaker: John Gaige, national farm work organizer, U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Jan. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverly House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 0742-729469.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**U.S. Out of Panama!** Speakers: Maximilian Forte, University Students Against U.S. Intervention in the Americas; Lennox Farrell, Rally Against Apartheid; Rob Janes, Canadian Action for Nicaragua; representative of National Federation of Salvadoran Workers; Joe Young, Communist League; representative of Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. Sat., Jan. 13, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Pittston Coal Miners' Strike: Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Cliff Mack, Communist League, member Canadian Auto Workers. Sat., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Which Way Forward for Humanity: Capitalism or Communism?** Speaker: Margaret Manwaring, Political Committee of the Communist League, member Canadian Auto Workers. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Annual José Martí Dinner and Dance.** Speaker: Carlos Castillo, Cuban ambassador to Canada. Sat., Jan. 27. Cocktails, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m. Fairbank Memorial Hall, 2213 Dufferin St. Donation: \$20. Sponsor: Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. For more information call (416) 323-3808.

## ICELAND

### Reykjavik

**Response to the South African Escalation.** Video showing in two parts of Cuban documentary of victory over South African army at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola. Speaker: Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir. Saturdays, Jan. 20 and 27, 6 p.m. Klappartígg 26. Sponsors: Communist League, South Africa Solidarity Group Against Apartheid, Cuban-Icelandic Friendship Society. Donation: 100 kronor. For more information call (91) 17513.

**U.S. Out of Panama!** Speakers and location to be announced. Wed., Jan. 24, 8:30 p.m. For more information call (91) 17513.

## PATHFINDER catalog available

*Pathfinder carries a broad range of books on revolutionary and socialist history and theory. It publishes a wide selection of titles on the Black, women's, labor, Latin American, and international struggles.*

*The current catalog is available upon request from your local Pathfinder bookstore or write: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.*

# IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

## UNITED STATES

**ALABAMA: Birmingham:** 1306 1st Ave. N. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11963. Zip: 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** 545 W. Roosevelt Ave. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, (312) 829-7018.

**IOWA: Des Moines:** 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

**KENTUCKY: Louisville:** P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

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

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

**MICHIGAN: Detroit:** 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

**MINNESOTA: Austin:** 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** 5534 Troost Ave. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 444-7880. **St. Louis:** 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

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

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

**NEW YORK: Brooklyn:** 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

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

**OHIO: Cleveland:** 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

**OREGON: Portland:** 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

**PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia:** 9 E. Cheltenham Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS: Houston:** 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**UTAH: Price:** 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

**WASHINGTON: Seattle:** 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston:** 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

**Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN: Milwaukee:** 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076

## AUSTRALIA

**Sydney:** 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor, Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-660 1673.

## BRITAIN

**Cardiff:** 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Postal code: CF2 1EJ. Tel: 0222-484677.

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 01-401 2293.

**Manchester:** Unit 4, 60 Shude Hill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

**Sheffield:** 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield 3. Tel: 0742-729469.

## CANADA

**Montréal:** 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

**Toronto:** 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

**Vancouver:** 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

## ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klappartígg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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

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

## SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



**Second thoughts** — The *New York Times* says bankers are getting nervous about the changes in Eastern Europe. They don't say they're against more freedom, but they fear



Harry Ring

that new governments "will do more to feed their people, and thus devote fewer resources to paying back debts."

**And shrimp will whistle** — "It

will be a very good decade for corporate ethics. Corporate America will make an extraordinary new commitment to social responsibility through more flexible, more caring programs for employees; through outreach programs for their communities; through a new commitment to the environment and the social needs of their country." — Prediction by *Good Housekeeping*.

**Do the right thing** — "Universal Pictures told me before I came down here that whatever you do, do not get your picture taken with Fidel or you will never win an Academy Award." — Spike Lee, who brought his film, *Do the Right Thing*, to the Havana Film Festival.

**Talk still cheap and plentiful** — We don't know if he made it, but Bush was slated to do a preholiday visit with AIDS patients. White House physician Burton Lee said he had been urging the prez to make such gestures. "There's no problem with President Bush," he assured. "He wants to go on record as saying what folks want him to say."

**Ethics dep't** — The day after Xmas, Bush got back to business, signing an order granting federal workers a 3.6 percent cost-of-living increase and, also, raising the pay of Congress and other top jobholders by up to 35 percent. The order was based on a new salary and ethics law.

**Next case** — Israeli soldiers busted a nine-year-old in a Gaza refugee camp for throwing stones at them. Unable to locate his parents, they confiscated a neighbor's ID, forcing him to pay a \$250 fine for the youth. The neighbor complained and there was an investigation that found he was also the boy's uncle, so the complaint was deemed unjustified.

**Real pros** — "We can't deliver these health services... unless we have highly professional people to do it." — An official of Boston's Children's Hospital, explaining why the prez of the "nonprofit" institution pocketed \$887,531 in salary and fringes.

**Educational toy** — Responding to pre-Xmas complaints, Sears withdrew a \$22.25 toy rocket and launching pad built to self-destruct after assembly. The manufacturer's slogan is "Build 'em up, then blow 'em up."

**The sane society** — "Almost 1,000 people [in South Africa] applied for reclassification in 1987: 196 were successful. They included 69 coloureds and five Malays who became white and 113 Blacks who became coloured. In addition, three Indians became coloured, two coloured became Indians and one white opted, for family reasons, to become coloured." — News item.

## Miners' strike, Panama discussed in coalfields

BY RONI McCANN

Several teams of *Militant* supporters are in coal-mining regions across the United States this week as the drive to increase the circulation of the paper in the coalfields continues.

Garment and packinghouse workers, union auto workers, and students make up some of the sales teams on the road in Utah, western Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, and northern Alabama.

The nine-month strike between the United Mine Workers of America and Pittston Coal Group has electrified the coalfields. One

week after the announcement of a tentative agreement in the strike, team members report that miners, their families, and other workers in coal communities are closely following what happens in this stage of the mine union's fight.

Jeff Powers, a member of the United Auto Workers union, is one of six volunteers now in southwestern Virginia and the surrounding area. The tentative pact, which hasn't yet been distributed to rank-and-file members, is the main topic of discussion, he reports.

Sales team volunteers in western Pennsyl-

vania are visiting mine portals and communities in UMWA District 2, the largest district in the state. A garment worker from New York says miners and workers in the area are very familiar with the Pittston strike and many have visited Camp Solidarity in Virginia.

UMWA miners in District 2 were among the 44,000 miners in the East, Southeast, and Midwest who walked out in June to support the Pittston strikers. Team members report miners have adopted a wait-and-see approach to the tentative agreement. Many express willingness to keep up the fight if necessary.

Some people have been hesitant to discuss the U.S. invasion of Panama, the team reports. During a discussion at one mine portal, a miner said he didn't necessarily oppose the U.S. action but thought that poor people are always the ones to die in wars. Team members have found that many working people are familiar with how the Pittston and Eastern strikers get treated by the bosses and the government here and some are interested in reading "the other side of the story" in Panama.

### Militant sales teams travel to coal-mining areas in six states.

The team has visited six mine portals in a day and a half, getting a friendly response at all. At a mine near New Alexandria, Pennsylvania, miners bought 21 single copies and a subscription to the *Militant*. Altogether, four subscriptions and 54 single copies have been sold.

Team volunteers in northern Alabama are visiting mine portals in the Birmingham area and met a *Militant* subscriber at one of them who was happy they came to her mine. Fifteen single copies were sold in a day and a half.

The largest concentration of UMWA miners in the western coalfields work in Utah. A team got started there this week and plans on visiting mine portals in the Price area.

## 'Militant' issue on Panama helps combat Washington's lies

"This is the only place I've seen any opposition at all to the invasion" of Panama, said a Haitian in Miami.

He was one of 55 people at a meeting celebrating Haitian independence who bought a copy of the special "U.S. troops out of Panama!" issue of the *Militant*.

*Militant* supporters responded to the invasion by using the issue to get out the truth to working people, students, and political activists about the aggression and the international protests against it.

In Miami all of the papers were sold out, including 15 at Eastern picket lines and union halls. An Eastern striker in Birmingham, Alabama told a *Militant* salesperson he "totally agreed" with the *Militant's* coverage, and that he had been trying to win some of his fellow strikers over to the same point of view.

At an Eastern picket line in Atlanta, six of the nine strikers bought a copy of the issue. *Militant* distributors in Austin, Minnesota, got out six teams to three meat-packing plants in the area. A total of 22 papers were sold at the plant gates.

Although on a two-week vacation shutdown, some of the *Militant* staff returned a week early to get out an issue of the paper that could be used to help mobilize opposition to Washington's attack on Panama.

The issue was sold at protest meetings, among unionists at workplaces and plant gates, in working-class communities, and at other political events.

"People were really interested in snapping up any information on Panama," said Pat Leamon in Omaha, Nebraska. The *Militant* was sold out two weeks in a row there.

The issue became a useful tool for discussions with people who were "not super enthusiastic about the invasion but still had a lot of questions about General Noriega or other aspects of the U.S. government's justifications for their aggression," said Kibwe Diarra in Philadelphia.

In Los Angeles a December 30 *Militant* Labor Forum became an important part of the protest against the invasion in the city. Of the 85 people attending, 10 bought subscriptions to the *Militant*. A number of single issues were also sold.

A total of 74 of the special issue were sold in Chicago to people coming out of the movie *Born on the 4th of July*. The movie is an antiwar film about the Vietnam War. "Every time we go to sell there we sell from 12 to 17 papers," reports Jim Miles. At the first sale 27 papers were sold.

At a New York *Militant* Labor Forum a

Panamanian activist told the audience he found the *Militant* "very helpful. It is what I took, reproduced, and gave to other people. When nobody else would print the news, you printed it, and I found it very useful."

## Colombians say no to U.S. naval fleet

Continued from front page

*Diario-La Prensa* stated in its January 10 editorial, "We feel that what's behind the sudden militaristic Bush policy in Latin America is not a crusade against drugs, but an obsession with imposing his policies on countries that clearly reject them."

### Carrier dispatched

In total disregard for the sovereignty of Colombia and other countries in the region, the aircraft carrier USS *John F. Kennedy* and the nuclear-powered cruiser USS *Virginia* left Norfolk, Virginia, January 4 on their way to the Caribbean. The warships were to post themselves near the Colombian island of San Andrés, located closer to Nicaragua than to continental Colombian territory. Approval of the plans was initially announced by the White House press secretary on December 28.

Washington's plans also called for mounting radar units in the Andes, the mountain chain that runs down South America's Pacific coast, in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. This was to be part of an extensive intelligence and surveillance network that would monitor air traffic in the Caribbean and the Andean region. An amphibious helicopter ship to be stationed at a later date off Colombia was also part of the plan. The Pentagon has already used a similar sea-based system off the coast of El Salvador.

### Not first time

There are about 14 army special forces troops in Bolivia and a similar number in Peru, according to a report in the January 7 *New York Times*. Moreover, 60-100 U.S. military specialists and technicians are in Colombia "to help in that country's battle against drug dealers."

This is not the first time Washington has attempted to blockade Colombia. In November 1984 the U.S. Coast Guard and Navy began Operation Hat Trick. The action included the mobilization of 24 ships with support from the U.S. Air Force, the customs

service, the CIA, and the Drug Enforcement Administration.

Under the guise of fighting the drug trade, in July 1986 U.S. Green Berets were sent to Bolivia. Six U.S. Black Hawk transport helicopters and some 160 pilots, officers, and support personnel were involved in what was called Operation Blast Furnace. The arrival of U.S. troops was widely condemned both inside Bolivia and in other countries.

One of the main issues of the Aug. 21-22, 1986, general strike called by the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB), for example, was to protest the presence in Bolivia of U.S. troops.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 30¢  
Jan. 18, 1980

TEHRAN, Iran — More than two months after it began, the occupation of the U.S. embassy here — renamed the "den of spies" — remains at the center of political developments in Iran.

The refusal of the students holding the embassy to compromise on their demand for the return of the shah, and Ayatollah Khomeini's support for their stand, have inspired new mass mobilizations by workers and peasants in recent weeks.

A powerful example of this was the demonstration held here December 23 by the Islamic Workers Shora to support the occupation of the embassy. The organization consists of representatives from shoras (committees) in 128 factories.

The demonstration was called on only one day's notice. Nevertheless, some 50 factory shoras took part. Tens of thousands of workers, organized in contingents from each plant, turned out.

The participants were mostly industrial workers. Many auto factories were represented — General Motors, British Leyland,

Mercedes-Benz, Renault, and Iran National Car. Another section of the march consisted of textile workers, including many women.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
Jan. 18, 1965

After a lengthy secret briefing of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee by the CIA, Sen. Richard Russell, who chairs both committees, said there could be no victory in South Vietnam unless "a more stable government" was established there. "Up to now we have been losing ground instead of gaining it," he declared.

While he was talking, general strikes demanding the ouster of the present government gripped the cities of Hue, Quangtri, and Danang. The people of South Vietnam have demonstrated their hatred of each and every regime the United States has set up there. The peasants show it by their support of the guerrilla movement, the people of the cities indicate it by their strikes and demonstrations.



# Defend Cuba against drug slander

As the trial of Gen. Manuel Noriega is being readied, preparations are being made to turn the affair into a slander operation aimed at Cuba.

A number of articles in the big-business press have appeared recently sounding this theme. They seek to intensify the campaign portraying Cuba as a haven for drug traffickers and press frame-up charges against Cuban government officials. Cuban President Fidel Castro is the chief target of this drive.

In a January 8 editorial the *Wall Street Journal* made this threat crystal clear. The paper suggested the trial be used to get "a bigger piranha," Noriega's "unindicted co-conspirator, Fidel Castro."

The editorial attempts to back up this charge by quoting a Miami drug enforcement agent who cites an unnamed Colombian source. This "source" claims that "over 90 percent of all the cocaine coming into Miami goes through or passes over Cuba."

The media also adds grist to its big-lie mill by repeating one of the charges in the indictment brought by the U.S. government against General Noriega — that he traveled to Cuba where Castro personally mediated a dispute between him and members of a Colombian drug cartel.

The editorial also complains that Cuban MIG fighter planes have forced U.S. Customs aircraft to halt pursuit of "drug-laden planes flying over Cuba."

"It's not clear whether the best response is to indict him [Castro] or start shooting down his MIGs," the editorial concludes.

This campaign, like the one against Noriega and Panama, is simply an attempt to dehumanize and criminalize the Cuban revolution and declare its central leader an outlaw, thereby justifying any invasion, attack, or other act of aggression Washington dishes out.

What these hypocritical calls for action against Cuba fail to report is that it is the Bush administration that has rejected Cuba's repeated offers for cooperation on fighting drug trafficking in the region.

Moreover, this smear campaign goes hand-in-glove with attempts by Washington to take advantage of its invasion of Panama to step up provocations and military attacks against Cuba, Nicaragua, and more broadly in the region.

Warships of the U.S. Navy were dispatched to the coast of Colombia and Washington is pressing the government of Peru to accept a broader U.S. military presence — all under the guise of fighting drugs.

By telling the truth about the Cuban revolution, protesting these slanders against the Cuban leadership, and working to broaden solidarity with the Cuban people, workers, farmers, and political activists in the United States and around the world can help push back the U.S. rulers' aggressive anti-Cuba campaign.

# New openings in Eastern strike

Continued from front page

Eastern's planes, despite repeated fare-slashing, are flying half-full. Since its early January fare cuts are being matched by other airlines, Eastern is likely to sink even deeper.

The company had estimated losses of \$820 million in 1989 — a record for the airline industry. Eastern's original date for emerging from bankruptcy was December 1989. That has already come and gone, and it is getting less and less likely that the company will come out of bankruptcy any time soon.

## New mood on picket lines

News of how much damage has been inflicted on Eastern by the strike and by intensifying competition among the airlines has spread like a wave of encouragement among the strikers.

The Machinists' confidence has also been strengthened by their ability to weather the betrayal of the Air Line Pilots Association leadership and keep on fighting.

In August, when top ALPA officials urged Eastern pilots to end their sympathy strike and several hundred crossed the line to return to work, IAM members pressed ahead to expand support for the strike. By the time the ALPA leadership ordered its members to return to work at the end of November, it had become clear that the ramp workers, cleaners, mechanics, and other IAM members were — and always had been — the backbone of the strike.

The Machinists decided not to give up. "Although the pilots and flight attendants have ended their sympathy strikes, our spirit and picket lines remain strong," wrote IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan in early December.

Picket lines are bigger now at many airports, and strikers are trying new ways to reach passengers and other airline workers, such as information tables inside terminals. Some strikers who had drifted away from the fight are back in union halls and out on picket lines.

## Biggest battle since British miners' strike

The strike at Eastern is the most important labor battle to occur in North America and Western Europe since the mighty British coal miners' strike of 1984-85.

No other national strike has gone on for so long — nearly 11 months — and remained a *fight*. Far from being defeated or losing heart, the big majority of Eastern Machinists remain committed to the strike. They are convinced — today more than ever — that they can hold out longer and fight harder than Lorenzo can.

Many Eastern strikers say that even if they never get their jobs back, they will stay in the strike to the end, because they're not just fighting for themselves. More long-term goals — like defeating Lorenzo's plan for a nonunion airline empire — can be won and are worth fighting for.

Eastern strikers are in a stronger position now than last March also because the labor movement as a whole is stronger.

Coal miners battling Pittston's union-busting drive, telephone workers fighting NYNEX's plans to cut medical coverage, hospital workers pressing for much-needed wage hikes — these struggles have overlapped with and reinforced the Eastern strike.

The gains won in these strike battles have made it clear that it is possible for workers to resist the employers' demands and have reinforced in public opinion the view that the Eastern strikers also deserve better.

Lorenzo's decision to "take on" the unions at first seemed to fit the times in terms of what the capitalist owners of industry and transportation could accomplish in driving down the living standards and union rights of workers.

In 1983 Lorenzo dealt the unions at Continental a crushing defeat. After acquiring Eastern in 1986, he mounted an offensive against the unions there, aimed most of all at the ramp workers, aircraft cleaners, stock clerks, mechanics, and facility cleaners organized by the IAM.

His goal was another Continental. A "success" at Eastern would mean that Texas Air — the holding company that owns both Eastern and Continental and one of the largest airline corporations in the world — would be entirely non-union.

But resistance to the employers' offensive that had forced concessions from unions in every major industry in the early 1980s began to mount in 1985-86, as strikes by packinghouse workers, western coal miners, cannery workers, and later paperworkers broke out. By the time March 1989 arrived, the Machinists at Eastern were more prepared for a fight.

Now it is not only possible that the "new" Eastern will fail, it is also possible that Texas Air will be dragged down with it. The IAM reported January 9 that Texas Air's stock had plummeted to less than \$10 per share, nearing the lowest level in three years. If this continues, new opportunities for drawing workers at Continental back toward the unions can open up.

To defeat Lorenzo — given the enormous stakes for both sides in this fight — had to mean the strike would be a long one. A short walkout would have almost certainly meant defeat for the Machinists.

Out of this long war, in which the strikers have faced many challenges and turning points, a leadership of seasoned fighters has developed of IAM members who help lead the strike on a day-to-day level and keep it moving forward. The development of these new leaders is one of the strike's central accomplishments.

## Time to act is now

The next few weeks and months are important ones for the strike. The Machinists have gained new momentum and Lorenzo is bleeding heavily. The time to strike another blow is now.

Eastern strikers can appeal to the entire labor movement in North America to renew and strengthen their support for the strike. The challenge is for all unionists — from garment workers to coal miners — to win support for the Eastern strikers and become part of their fight.

There's a lot to do. Union members should join the strikers' picket lines at the airports and pitch in at union halls. A war chest is needed to ease the financial pressure on strikers and help finance stepped-up strike activities, following up on IAM District 100 President Bryan's holiday appeal in December. Unionists can invite strikers to speak at local meetings. Tours by strikers and supporters can reach areas and unions that haven't been drawn into the fight before.

The Pittston miners, NYNEX telephone workers, and other unionists who've been part of strike battles themselves in recent months need to be an important part of this new campaign of solidarity. Many already view the fight against Lorenzo as their own. Other airline workers, who are also under attack, are looking at the Eastern fight in a new way and can be drawn into the strike.

The International Transport Workers Federation has recently issued a call for all its member unions around the world to support the IAM strikers at Eastern. All airline unions in Western Europe, North and South America, Asia, and Africa belong to the ITF. This appeal can be an aid in making the campaign of support for the strikers a truly international one.

All these activities can build toward a major show of strength by the strikers and their supporters on March 4.

Solidarity with Eastern strikers!

# Speaking with a forked tongue on Baltic republics

BY DOUG JENNESS

As each day goes by, it appears more likely that the Soviet government will be forced to permit Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The alternative would be to use military force to attempt to repress the mounting nationalist movements in these three Baltic republics.

The political price for using troops would be immense. It would throw a monkey wrench into the Soviet bureaucracy's efforts to curry more favorable economic and political relations with imperialist governments. And it would spark massive opposition in Eastern Europe, where police-state methods and Communist Party domination have taken a beating in the last few months.

The capitalist rulers, as well as the reformers in Eastern Europe, express far greater concern, however, about Soviet troops being used against the Baltic republics than they do

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

with the military suppression of nationalist revolts in the Asian republics. The peoples of the Baltic are European, white, and mostly from a Christian background.

Gorbachev doesn't want to concede independence. He vehemently speaks out against this democratic demand and will be grudgingly forced to recognize it only after immense pressure.

In the past year the Soviet leader has been forced to make one concession after the other to the Baltic peoples, including permitting more independent trade links with capitalist countries. But the primary effect in the three republics has been to whet appetites for more.

In a recent session of the Congress of People's Deputies, Gorbachev asserted that he is "committed to the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination that underlies the formation of the [Soviet] union, but I am convinced that attempting to exercise self-determination through secession is to blow apart the union, to pit peoples against one another, and to sow discord, bloodshed, and death."

There's an obvious contradiction in this statement that brings to mind the Native-American aphorism about speaking with a "forked tongue."

V.I. Lenin's policy on self-determination as applied to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania stands in sharp contrast to Gorbachev's high-handed approach. In fact, policy toward the Baltics is very instructive in showing the difference between the communist perspectives of Lenin, who was the central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution, and the bureaucratic outlook of the privileged caste that overturned the workers' and peasants' government established by that revolution.

Before the 1917 revolution, the three Baltic countries, as well as Finland and Poland, were part of the tsarist empire. In the Baltics the Russian monarchy imposed a policy of russification that extended to every part of life. These oppressive conditions were compounded by a disproportionately high number of landless peasants in the Baltic region.

When the Bolshevik-led government came to power, it immediately granted independence to Poland and Finland. German troops, however, were occupying Lithuania, and Soviet regimes proclaimed in Estonia and Latvia were quickly crushed by invading German troops.

When the German army collapsed and World War I ended in November 1918, Soviet regimes were again declared in the Baltics. They rapidly fell, however, as a result of threats from British gunboats off their coasts, and capitalist regimes were set up. Throughout 1919, the area was a staging ground for one of the counterrevolutionary armies attempting to overturn the young workers' and peasants' republic in Russia.

A decisive element in the Soviet army's victory over these forces was the Bolsheviks' policy of advocating the right of independence to the Baltic countries. As a result, these governments, even though heavily armed by Britain, didn't join the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary drive. "If all these small states had taken the field against us . . .," Lenin said in March 1920, "there is not the slightest doubt that we would have been defeated."

In 1920 at the end of the civil war, the Soviet government recognized "without reservation" independent governments in the three Baltic countries, even though they were capitalist.

This is a far cry from Stalin's military occupation and forced annexation of the three countries in 1940. He justified this action as necessary for the military security of the Soviet Union.

In the first year of Soviet occupation, mass deportations took place and many people were arrested and executed. After World War II, the peasants were forced into collective farms. Russian became the language of government.

Today, getting Moscow's bureaucratic Russian boot off their backs would, like the shattering of totalitarian institutions in Eastern Europe, help give working people in the Baltics more elbow room to organize and to advance their interests.



# Months after quake, homeless have been abandoned

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — The after effects of the October 17 earthquake in this area are still being felt.

The quake drove hundreds of elderly poor people in Santa Cruz from their homes, and city officials have been unable to provide sufficient assistance. "We got maybe 200 senior citizens who are living day to day," said Luther Perry, chairman of the Santa Cruz County Housing Recovery Task Force. "There are a lot of folks, and we don't know how many, who lost their jobs and who don't have either a stable housing situation or money to buy groceries. These kinds of folks fall through the cracks of official assistance plans."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported November 27 that Santa Cruz officials had known for more than 10 years that

## AS I SEE IT

the city's center was vulnerable to major earthquake damage. Nothing was done because the authorities were unwilling to pay the substantial costs involved in strengthening buildings.

The Santa Cruz city government's profits-before-safety attitude is the typical official approach to quake safety and is largely responsible for the human and physical toll that included 64 deaths.

Although the techniques for designing structures to resist earthquake damage are taught to every engineering student, it would be very expensive to go back and redo roads, buildings, and bridges. With government less and less willing to spend on social needs, the necessary steps to save lives in an earthquake are put off and put off. State highway engineers, for example, knew that Interstate 880, a portion of which collapsed in the quake and killed 42 people, was liable to serious damage.

The most serious lack of government action in preventing a disaster was in the area of housing. The earthquake left some 20,000 people homeless. Six weeks later, many people driven from their homes had not yet been relocated. Walter

Park, a San Francisco housing expert, said that 2,500 people had become homeless here alone, adding to the estimated 6,000 prequake homeless.

Some 5,100 housing units in San Francisco were destroyed or damaged. According to official city figures, 70 percent of these were "low" or "moderate" rental units.

There is no enforcement mechanism to prevent landlords from ignoring "red tags" — unsafe buildings — and renting out the premises.

Half of San Francisco's hotel rooms available as emergency short-term housing was destroyed.

Proportionate to its population, Watsonville — a small town south of Santa Cruz where many Latino farm workers and food-processing workers live — was hit the hardest. The quake added 1,200 people to the homeless rolls there. By official estimates, Watsonville was already 1,000 units short of "affordable" housing before the quake and officials say it's now 1,400 units short. Long after the quake, 900 people were still living in Red Cross shelters.

The quake destroyed 900 low-income housing units in Oakland, and 2,000 people in Alameda County were left homeless.

Estimates of the numbers of homeless are conservative because many people have not applied for aid, or are staying with friends or relatives. Some people have continued to live in buildings that city inspectors say are unsafe.

One of the most revealing episodes of the quake concerned the treatment of residents — most of them Black — of a housing project only yards away from the collapsed section of Interstate 880 in West Oakland. In the moments following the collapse, many local people began climbing over the structure, ignoring their own safety, in a desperate attempt to rescue anyone left alive. Instead of being treated like heroes, however, they were treated like unwanted nuisances.

Unemployment claims in the 10-county area affected by the quake were 40 percent higher than the corresponding three weeks in 1988. Nearly 5,000 people filed for unemployment during the period, 53 percent higher than the

previous year. In Santa Cruz County the number of new claims was double the previous year, and represented more than 4 percent of the county's work force.

Many of the people who need emergency government relief the most are getting the least. According to people who have gone through the process, Federal Emergency Management Agency services seem designed more to keep the "ineligible" from getting any help than to provide it.

The government's main response to the billions in damage has been to increase taxes. The state sales tax went up 1/4 percent December 1. This will raise nearly \$1 billion, which supposedly will be used to pay for rebuilding.

The public has been warned that the next quake might be "the big one." It will be "the big one" if, as expected, it's more powerful and centered in the heavily populated area along the Hayward Fault in the East Bay. A state report predicts as many as 1,300 dead and more than 100,000 injured, with roads, tunnels, airports, and hospitals mostly wiped out, isolating the Bay Area for days. In the October 17 quake, water mains broke in the Marina district of San Francisco while 23 fires raged. Only the timely arrival of a fireboat prevented a holocaust.

The official view of quake disaster prevention is that it's an individual concern, and that the government can't do much. Their perspective is: buy batteries. Store food and drinking water. Keep first-aid supplies on hand. Practice evacuating your house. Buy earthquake insurance.

But no individual action can prevent another freeway collapse, or make public buildings safe, or make buildings built on landfill or mud secure. The Bay Area's explosive economic development has been without regard for earthquake safety. Oil refineries and chemical plants are built on or near active faults, for example. In the October 17 quake, tanks at the Unocal refinery opened up and dumped 400,000 gallons of gasoline. Crews spent two days averting a fire.

Preventing earthquake disasters is not a private but a social problem. The vast resources necessary can only be mobilized by the government. But in this era of economic and social crisis, capitalism isn't able to do that.

## LETTERS

### Christmas invasion

It is wrong that the Bush administration invaded Panama.

I was facing Christmas and the New Year with joy over the fact that imperialism was in retreat around the world. But we were lied to by our government in Washington. They were talking peace in the world at the same time they were preparing to invade Panama.

Latin American nations are not treated as sovereign states. For a hundred years our government in Washington has invaded them at will, always under the pretext of saving them.

U.S. military forces should be withdrawn from Panama immediately.

Louis Vukman  
San Gabriel, California

### Oil workers

Contract negotiations between the oil monopolies and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, and the recent explosion and fire at Phillip's Houston Chemical Complex (HCC), raise important issues in the minds of oil workers. One is safety and another is the growing use of nonunion contract labor.

At our December union meeting, members of OCAW Local 2-578 saw the union's national oil bargaining video, which referred to non-union contract labor as scab labor. A recent union statement read, "One of the components of this tragedy [the HCC explosion] was the use of outside contractors."

It is a mistake to call these workers scabs or to place the blame for the disaster on their backs. This leaves Phillips off the hook and the victims of the company's productivity drive are made into the criminals.

Among the contract workers are more Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans than among the fulltime work force. They are given the dirtiest, most dangerous jobs — cleaning out tanks and sewers, containing spills, and removing asbestos. They are treated like second-class, disposable workers.

If we fall into the trap of viewing these workers as the enemy, we are playing the companies' game. This is poison for our union.

Our job as unionists is to take up

the rights of nonunion workers and demand that they be properly trained in job skills and safe working policy.  
Buddy Beck  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### 'Militant' confiscated

Your publication has recently come to my attention. I had a chance to peruse it momentarily before it was confiscated.

The reason for this is that I am currently incarcerated at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory at Anamosa. Apparently the *Militant* is an approved publication, but the copy I had had been thrown away by another prisoner.

I humbly request that if extra copies of your publication exist after printing I be forwarded a complimentary copy or, if possible, placed on a complimentary subscription list. I will attempt to make the paper available to other prisoners as best I can.

A prisoner  
Anamosa, Iowa

### Harris campaign results

In our opinion the *Militant* is the most informative newsweekly in America. Your coverage and analysis is unsurpassed. And we will employ all means to defend workers' rights and Pathfinder's use of wall space for revolutionary murals. (Start the next one!)

On November 7 the psychiatric prisoners at Highbridge House voted for James Harris for mayor of New York. The November 8 newspapers made no mention of Mr. Harris' vote totals.

The *Militant* should publish election results of candidates across the country who ran on a Socialist Workers Party platform.

Perhaps you think that first they must make a good showing. Great as it was to learn from the December 8 issue that Yvonne Hayes received 15 percent of the votes for mayor of Greensboro, North Carolina, as the sole entry against an incumbent, there is still no news about the final fates of other SWP entrees.

Even if no one else came close to matching Ms. Hayes' "victory," the *Militant* must print the total November 7 truth, giving a tally for each

and every one of our representatives.

We respectfully request that this information be included in a future edition.  
Highbridge prisoners  
Bronx, New York

Editors' reply: The final election results for smaller parties in New York City have not been made available yet. When they are we will report them.

### A prize for Exxon

The Exxon company has won the annual award of the Committee on Public Doublespeak.

William Lutz of Rutgers University said the award calls attention to language that is "deceptive, evasive, euphemistic, confusing, or self-contradictory."

He said Exxon originally claimed it had cleaned some 35 miles of Alaskan beaches after the Exxon Valdez oil spill, but now says the area is "environmentally stabilized."

Recently, all of us who work at the Exxon refinery and chemical plant in Linden got free pens for participating in a United Way Fund drive.

The pen has the Exxon logo and the inscription: "We act in accordance with the truth as we perceive it to be."

That got quite a chuckle among my coworkers. One said he plans to send the pen to the Doublespeak committee.

Mary Roche  
Newark, New Jersey

### German protests

The opening of the Berlin Wall has broken down the isolation of this city from the surrounding metropolitan area. Demonstrations in both parts of Berlin now draw participation from the German Democratic Republic — East Germany — and from West Germany.

A demonstration was held here in November against the export of toxic and other wastes from West Berlin to the GDR.

The action was the result of long collaboration between environmental groups in West Berlin and East Germany. Many protesters came from East Berlin with banners and

### THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF PANAMA



signs demanding: "Don't make us your garbage can!" They called for the closure of Schoeneiche and other dumping grounds that are considered unsafe.

Speakers at the rally explained that waste dumping grounds in the GDR are operated with lower security standards than those in West Germany.

In order to get urgently needed hard currency, the GDR accepts large amounts of toxic wastes from West Germany and other countries, making East Germany the largest importer of toxic wastes in the world.

Lilko Willms  
West Berlin, West Germany

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.



## Boston Black community angered by racist frame-up, harassment

BY KIP HEDGES  
AND KATE BUTTON

BOSTON — Black community sentiment exploded here January 4 when it was revealed that the Boston city government, police, courts, and news media had used the killing of Carol Stuart — a young white woman who was pregnant — to deepen their attack on democratic rights and the Black community.

Stuart was murdered by her husband Charles in the predominantly Black Mission Hill neighborhood of Boston. He engineered an elaborate hoax designed to pin blame for the crime on a Black man. The scheme counted on the police and press generating racist hysteria around the murder.

Stuart had alleged that a Black man forced his way into the couple's car as they left a birthing class at a local hospital last October. He said the assailant robbed them and then shot his wife through the head and himself through the abdomen.

On January 4 he committed suicide when it became apparent that the hoax was unraveling and that he would be charged with the

murder of his wife.

The murder made national news as an example of the "random violence" taking over the so-called drug-infested inner cities across the country. The local media portrayed the Stuarts as having "a shining life full of promise" ended by "an animal in the dark woods" of Boston's Black community.

Stuart's claim that he and his wife were shot by a Black man unleashed the largest manhunt in Boston's history. Mayor Raymond Flynn ordered 100 police to conduct a door-to-door search of the Mission Hill neighborhood. Black males in the area were subjected to weeks of harassment and unwarranted searches.

The Boston police used this killing as an opportunity to broaden their existing policy of search-on-sight. This consists of indiscriminate stopping and searching of Black males on the pretext of gang or drug activity. In line with this policy, the Boston Police Department has compiled a secret list of more than 300 suspected gang members in Black neighborhoods. The Massachusetts state su-

preme court has ruled that this policy is "constitutional."

The Stuart murder also brought renewed cries for the reinstitution of the death penalty from both Democratic and Republican party politicians, including most major contenders for the 1990 gubernatorial election. Legislation was immediately filed to bring back the death penalty.

William Bennett, a 39-year-old Black man from Mission Hill, became the prime suspect in the case after Stuart "strongly reacted" to photos of Bennett shown to him by the police. Stuart later fingered Bennett in a police lineup. Many in the Black community feel the media convicted Bennett after police leaked his name to the press.

According to 17-year-old Nicole Bennett, his daughter, "He was found guilty almost as soon as they picked him up, and it was all because he was a Black man with a record. Everyone believed a Black man did it. The police needed the first Black man they could get and they got my father."

On January 5 dozens of Black and Latino

youths battled police with Molotov cocktails in the Jamaica Plain section of Boston. The confrontation, many community residents said, was the result of police harassment. One youth said, "It's called 'Do the right thing.'" Over 150 residents had gathered after police threw a Latino youth to the ground and roughed up several young women.

Also on January 5, Black community, religious, and political leaders held two press conferences to denounce the "Gestapo tactics" used by police and city officials during their investigation of the Stuart shootings.

Sadiki Kambon, director of the Black Community Information Center said, "District Attorney Newman Flanagan needs to go, Mayor Flynn should fire Police Commissioner Roache, and he himself should be subjected to an investigation of misconduct and, if necessary, step down." He charged that Flynn "ordered a South Africa-style attack on the African community by the Boston Police Department. You can take it to Flynn that we will not accept an apology. We will not let this message die."

## Solidarity action to back British ambulance crews

BY ROB JONES

LONDON — The more than 9 million-strong Trades Union Congress has backed a call for a 15-minute January 30 work stoppage throughout Britain in support of ambulance workers. The call was put out by the ambulance workers' unions in the face of the government's continuing intransigence against meeting their demand for an 11.4 percent wage rise and an agreed pay formula for future automatic increases. Such an arrangement already covers fire fighters.

The ambulance crews have been in dispute over the government's 6.5 percent pay offer since early September. Official inflation currently stands at 7.8 percent and is rising. Last summer rail workers won an 8.8 percent increase after strike action — and fire fighters have been awarded 8.6 percent.

Britain's 19,000 ambulance workers have a starting pay of £7,330 (US\$11,700), with the majority earning less than £10,000 per year. Crews are forced, therefore, to work excessive overtime, which itself is only paid at the basic rate.

Instead of striking, the ambulance workers are operating a ban on overtime and rest-day working, except for covering accidents and emergencies. This has meant refusing routine and nonemergency work. Management has used this as a pretext for suspending crews, in many instances locking them out.

Management initially called in police and volunteer services to cover accidents and emergencies. Then on November 7, the government called in the army, first in London, then for use in other regions.

In response to the lockout, crews in London began unpaid work-ins, operating their own emergency service. This is warmly appreciated by working people as the government-organized replacements are manifestly incapable of providing an adequate service. In one widely publicized case even Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had to congratulate London crews who voluntarily responded to a horrific motorway pileup involving 36 cars, 5 heavy trucks, 3 vans, and a bus in thick fog on January 8.

Ambulance crews are visible in every shopping mall and bus and train station publicizing their case and asking for financial support.

These tactics have put the government on the defensive. Public support is widespread, with opinion polls showing 80 percent support for a more than 10 percent increase. Broad support has been expressed for a rally sponsored by the Trades Union Congress for

January 13 in London's Trafalgar Square.

The 3,500 ambulance officers and controllers, who have never before taken any industrial action, have vowed not to do any work that might undermine the actions of the crews. They too have instituted an overtime and rest-day work ban.

In addition, the union representing telephone managers outside the health service has instructed its members to refuse to sanction the cutoffs of phone lines to ambulance stations. The cutoffs had been demanded by ambulance service management as an attack

on the emergency services maintained by the ambulance workers' union.

Even some businesses have offered material support, with one toy manufacturer donating 10,000 Christmas toys.

In this situation, support for the call for a 15-minute stoppage is expected to be massive, despite the government's threat to use legal action. Such so-called secondary actions are in breach of the government's anti-strike laws.

The level of support reflects concern among working people at worsening condi-

tions in the government-run National Health Service, with hospital closures and lengthening waiting lists. Junior hospital doctors recently took a day's action to protest being forced to work 80 to 88 hours per week.

While the government claims it has no plans to dismantle the Health Service in favor of generalized private medical care, many are unconvinced as it comes from a government that has raised the possibility of turning fire-fighting services into private money-making companies, as it recently has done with the public water services.

## Caravans bring toys, cash to coalfields

The month of December at the Pittston miners' Camp Solidarity in southwestern Virginia was marked by Christmas caravans and mailed-in donations for striking members of the United Mine Workers of America and their families.

The mine union set up a Christmas fund in November to be distributed proportionately to laid-off and striking miners and families. By the first week in December the fund had nearly reached \$200,000. Fund trustee and Pittston miner Fred Wallace told the Appalachian *Mountain Eagle* newspaper that people had called in from around the country wanting to send money or donate food or clothing.

Members of United Auto Workers Region 9 and affiliated locals in New Jersey led a "UAW-UMWA Solidarity Christmas Convoy" to the camp December 16. Some 100 unionists including Teamsters, International Union of Electronics Workers (IUE) members, artists from Art/Works, and a New York reporter from WBAI radio station participated.

More than two months of preparation resulted in delivery of \$35,000 in cash from plant-gate collections and union meetings, two semitrailer loads of food and clothing, and one semi of toys. Some of the toys were donated by inmates at Rahway State Prison in New Jersey.

"It's the miners and Eastern strikers today, it could be the Ford or General Motors workers tomorrow," said New Jersey area UAW Region 9 Director Bill Kane as the convoy pulled out. "This solidarity is what is needed to put the movement back in the labor movement."

The December 16 Christmas party at the camp featured a steak and lobster dinner —



Striking Pittston miners in front of main building at Camp Solidarity in Carterton, Virginia. Banners reflect delegations that have traveled to camp in recent months.

donated and prepared by union chefs and hotel and restaurant employees, a Santa Claus in camouflage, and gift-wrapped presents for strikers' children.

Earlier in the month Cleveland and Lorain, Ohio, unionists, along with other Pittston strike supporters, traveled to Camp Solidarity in a dozen cars and vans, a small moving van, and a semitrailer loaded with 15 tons of food, clothing, and toys.

Participants included union steelworkers, auto and garment workers, and fire fighters.

They presented a check to the Pittston miners for \$30,000.

They were joined by two other Ohio contingents loaded with several tons of food and clothing along with \$4,000. Many of the group were members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) from Cleveland, Lorain, Warren, Painesville, and Akron.

IUE member Dave Hurst from New Jersey, UAW member Fred Feldman from New York, and USWA member Ned Measel from Cleveland contributed to this article.