

## Curtis appeals to Iowa high court for new trial



Militant/Sara Lobman  
Mark Curtis during sentencing in 1988

BY SANDRA NELSON

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis appealed to the Iowa Supreme Court on May 14 to review his September 1988 conviction. The motion was filed by his attorneys William Kutmus and Lylea Critelli.

Curtis, a union and political activist, was framed on false charges of rape and burglary and sentenced to 25 years in prison. An Iowa appeals court ruled against Curtis' appeal of his frame-up on April 24.

Curtis is asking the state Supreme Court to order a new trial. His petition explains that he "has maintained his innocence throughout all of the proceedings. . . . He urges that he was falsely accused and framed by the Des Moines Register."

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## Striking Eastern Machinists to trustee: 'No contract, no peace'

BY SUSAN LaMONT

International Association of Machinists members on strike at Eastern Airlines in Miami are mapping plans for a "No contract, no peace" rally May 23, to coincide with the upcoming meeting between Martin Shugrue and the airline's creditors.

Shugrue is the trustee appointed last month by the federal bankruptcy court to run Eastern, an action that removed Frank Lorenzo from the airline's management. Lorenzo heads Texas Air Corp., Eastern's parent company. Eastern has been in bankruptcy proceedings since five days after the Machinists strike began March 4, 1989.

Lorenzo's removal was a victory for all labor, says the strikers' leaflet for the upcoming action. "The IAM, however, went on strike to receive a fair and equitable contract, not just to get rid of Frank Lorenzo. There will be no peace at EAL until we get a contract."

"A cessation of hostilities without a reso-

## Gov't bailout plan fails to stem S&L bank crisis 'Financial Vietnam' for U.S. banking system

The political triumph of last August, in which Congress and the president agreed to pump \$167 billion into an S&L industry clean-up, is fast becoming a financial Vietnam.

—Business Week, April 9, 1990

BY SUSAN LaMONT

In August 1989 federal legislation was passed that set up new laws and a vast network of government machinery aimed at bailing out the rapidly sinking savings and loan banking system.

At that point, 223 insolvent S&Ls — or thrifts, as they are known — had already been seized by the government. Losses at many of the remaining 2,750 S&Ls were mounting into the billions of dollars, and it was expected that 500 more S&Ls would

have to be taken over. The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corp. (FSLIC) — the federal insurance fund that was supposed to guarantee individual S&L deposits of up to \$100,000 — had not only been bled dry, it was minus \$87 billion.

Initial government efforts to solve the S&L crisis were doing little to stem the soaring losses. The new law, with the infusion of billions of dollars from the government, was aimed at an overall solution that would stabilize and restructure the S&L network, thereby preventing the crisis from precipitating a breakdown in the banking system as a whole.

The new savings and loan law set up the Resolution Trust Corp. (RTC) and the Office of Thrift Supervision, both under the U.S. Treasury Department. The Office of Thrift

Supervision seizes insolvent S&Ls, which are then passed on to the RTC. The RTC oversees the day-to-day operations of the bailout, including the closing, sale, or merger of bankrupt thrifts and the sale of assets — like real estate — from S&Ls taken over by the government.

The new law also included stiffer regulations for S&Ls, to curb the speculative investing in real estate, junk bonds, and other ventures that contributed to the insolvency of many thrifts. Some provisions of the new law are:

- Thrifts must have more tangible capital to back loans — \$3 for every \$100 in loans by 1995.

- S&Ls have to hold 70 percent of their assets in home mortgages and mortgage-related loans.

- Thrifts are restricted from entering real estate development and barred entirely from holding junk bonds.

- Both savings and loans and commercial banks have to pay more for deposit insurance — for S&Ls, the cost rises from 20.8 cents to 23 cents per \$100.

- The Savings Association Insurance Fund replaces the FSLIC and is under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC), which insures commercial bank deposits of up to \$100,000.

The estimate last August was that the bailout would cost \$166 billion over 10 years. Over 30 years, including interest on loans taken out by the government to pay for the bailout, the cost was given at \$300 billion, with \$225 billion coming from taxpayers — that is, working people — and the rest from surviving S&Ls, through

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## Thousands protest U.S. bases in the Philippines

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA — Hundreds of demonstrators were teargassed and beaten by riot police on May 14 as they attempted to rally outside the Central Bank Building in central Manila.

Inside, U.S. and Philippine government officials were sitting down to begin "exploratory talks" over the future of U.S. military bases in this country.

Forty thousand U.S. servicemen, civilian support personnel, and their dependents are stationed at six military facilities here. The largest of these are Subic Bay Naval Station and Clark Air Base, northwest of Manila.

The bases are the most visible instrument of continuing U.S. domination over its former colony. They were established under the Military Bases Agreement imposed on the Philippines by Washington in 1947 as a condition for relinquishing its direct rule.

The agreement is set to expire in September 1991. Washington is calling for its extension into the next century.

Addressing the nation on the eve of the talks, President Corazon Aquino rejected any executive decision to extend the existing

bases agreement past the expiration date. For the bases to remain, she said in her televised statement, the Philippine constitution would have to be honored. A new treaty would have to be negotiated, ratified by the Senate, and then submitted to a national plebiscite if Congress so determines.

Aquino's stance was a concession to the pressure of broadening opposition to the bases remaining past 1991. Almost all senators, for example, from liberal Aquino supporter Wigberto Tañada to her rightist opponent former defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile, have called for dismantling the bases. Tañada was instrumental in organizing an international conference against the bases, which is being held here concurrent with the exploratory talks.

Enrile is out on bail awaiting trial on charges of "rebellion." The government accuses him of being a key figure among the rightist politicians, businessmen, and army officers who backed the December 1989 putsch against Aquino. The coup attempt, led by former Enrile aide and cashiered colonel, Gregorio Honason, was only defeated after U.S. fighter planes from Clark Air Base provided support to pro-Aquino elements in the Philippine army.

A new accusation of the U. S. government's prior knowledge and intervention in the December events was leveled by the deputy commander of Philippine forces at Subic Bay naval base, Brig. Gen. Artemio Tadiar. He told a Senate subcommittee May 7 that 20,000 U.S. marines were landed at Subic Bay for "rest and recreation," several times their usual number, in the week prior to the putsch. They remained until the coup was crushed, he said.

In the week prior to the opening of the exploratory talks, three GIs have been assassinated in the red-light districts that surround Subic Bay and Clark, allegedly by New People's Army guerrillas. The NPA issued a statement calling on U.S. servicemen to leave the country immediately "or suffer the agony of attrition."

Opening the talks at the Central Bank, Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus protested a \$220 million shortfall in aid Washington had promised in 1988 in return for use of the bases until 1991. Settling this claim should be the first point of the exploratory talks, he said.

Ignoring Manglapus' plea, Washington's

Continued on Page 2

## Tablada tour wraps up in New York



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Culminating a successful six-week U.S. tour, more than 400 heard Cuban author Carlos Tablada May 11 in New York City. See story page 3.



# Sales teams sign up new readers in the Midwest

To help boost the international campaign to win thousands of new readers, two teams of volunteers hit the road in the Midwest to introduce the *Militant* to meat-packers and others.

The first team visited Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on April 27 for two

Two thousand workers slaughter and pack pork and beef at Morrell, 700 of whom were hired during the 1987 strike.

Six subscriptions were sold going door to door in working-class communities in Sioux Falls.

The five-day team began in Sioux

tant and three copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*. At the IBP plant the following day team members were restricted to a small traffic island, but nonetheless 22 meat-packers stopped to buy a copy of the paper. "Cuba, muy bien," ("Cuba, very good") commented one worker as he paged through an issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. The IBP work force is largely Asian and Latino.

While in Sioux City team members visited a newly founded Latino Center and met with activists there, two of whom work at IBP. One of the activists subscribed to *Perspectiva Mundial* and took an extra subscription blank to send to a friend in Mexico.

The center's director, Elba Cera, explained that the Latino population in the area has doubled in the last year. This is a result of IBP's aggressive recruitment and advertising in the Southwest, she said. Hundreds of workers have moved to the area looking for work and have no place to stay and inadequate social services, explained the activists at the center.

This was obvious to *Militant* supporters as they went door to door in

working-class areas. One 25-unit apartment building had several families living three to four to an apartment, many of which were barely furnished and some with workers sleeping on the floor.

Few of the workers that team members met spoke English. Several signed up to get *Perspectiva Mundial*. One man was glad to see a magazine that defended the Cuban revolution and especially liked an article on the ideas of Che Guevara.

At a Sioux City trailer park three residents bought *Militant* subscriptions in 45 minutes. An IBP worker who was Vietnamese and another who had been involved in the 1987 strike both subscribed to the *Militant*. "The union's in better shape because of the strike," noted the latter as he signed up to get the paper. He's already thinking about what action will be needed next year when the contract expires again.

The next stop was Cherokee, Iowa, where a Wilson Foods packinghouse is located. At shift change 22 workers stopped to buy copies of the socialist papers.

In Davenport, Iowa, six *Militants* were sold to workers at the Oscar

Mayer plant gate and 11 subscriptions were sold in the community.

Soon after the team arrived so did a torrential rainstorm. Supporters bought raincoats and drove across the Mississippi River to Rock Island, Illinois, when the storm eased off. Going door to door in the mostly Black, working-class neighborhood the team met a local Black rights activist. She explained efforts to organize protests demanding Afro-American studies programs in the local high schools. She is also circulating a petition calling for Malcolm X's birthday to be recognized as a holiday.

She signed up to get the *Militant* and bought a selection of books by Malcolm X and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Later the team ran into her again and she explained she had been driving through the neighborhood looking for them so that her sons could buy some pamphlets.

The last stop was a quick pass through Moline, Illinois, where several subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold, including to a worker at IBP's Joslin packinghouse nearby.



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

days. On April 30 a five-day sales team began with a first stop in Sioux City, Iowa. Packinghouse workers, their families, and residents in working-class neighborhoods bought a total of 29 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 149 workers purchased individual copies.

At the big John Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, 33 workers bought copies of the *Militant* at the factory gate.

City, Iowa, and nearby South Sioux City, Nebraska, centers of the meat-packing industry with two large packinghouses — another Morrell plant and an IBP (Iowa Beef Processing) plant. Workers also struck these operations in 1987 during the wave of meat-packing strikes.

In about 10 minutes, before the team was run off by the police, workers at the Morrell plant in Sioux City bought six copies of the *Mili-*

# Thousands protest U.S. bases in the Philippines

Continued from front page

chief negotiator Richard Armitage called for a "new partnership" with the Philippines that would maintain the U.S. bases into the new century.

## Workers protest talks

The Labor Advisory Consiliators Council called for a nationwide union stoppage May 14 to protest the talks. Tens of thousands of workers in the industrial belt surrounding Manila and elsewhere in the country struck for the day, according to the May 1 Movement (KMU) labor federation, a major participant in the LACC.

Student groups have called for a week of mobilizations against the bases. Rather than opening exploratory talks with Washington, these groups are saying, Aquino should be serving notice on Washington of termination of the bases agreement.

On the afternoon of May 14, several thousand students, together with contingents of workers mobilized by the KMU, marched towards the U.S. embassy. Their intention was to present a notice of termination for the bases agreement to the embassy in the name of the Filipino people. The way was barred, however, by riot police backed by fire trucks, jeeps, and armored cars. The demonstrators were ordered to disperse or be dispersed.

They held their ground.

The situation was only defused with the arrival of Manila Mayor Mel Lopez, who parked his car in front of the riot police and asked to meet with the protest leaders. As a result, the police were forced to back down

and allow a delegation escorted by Lopez to pass through their lines and place their termination notice, painted on a large plywood sheet, on a traffic island in front of the embassy.

At that point Amante Jimenez, chairman

of the Council of Student Governments at the University of the Philippines campuses, was able to explain the issues involved to the large group of international press representatives present. What was at stake "was the sovereignty of Filipino people," he stressed.

## New editions, reprints of Malcolm X books

Pathfinder, the principal publisher of the speeches of Malcolm X, announced it is releasing a new edition of one of its best-selling titles by the working-class revolutionary leader, *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*.

Increased interest in Malcolm X's political activity and perspectives has resulted in a sharp jump in the number of his books sold by Pathfinder. Several titles are now being reprinted to meet the stepped-up demand.

Celebrations, meetings, and other special events across the United States this year will mark the 65th anniversary of Malcolm's birth — May 19.

*Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, published less than a year ago, is now in its third printing. The 189-page book, which includes six never-before-published speeches and interviews, is the fastest selling title Pathfinder has ever published. More than 43,000 copies

of the book have been sold in the 11 months it has been in print.

*By Any Means Necessary*, first published in 1970 and now in its 14th printing, will appear with a new two-page publisher's preface.

In April a new edition of the popular pamphlet *Two Speeches By Malcolm X*, with a new cover and introduction, was released by Pathfinder.

*Malcolm X on Afro-American History* contains a speech given by Malcolm four weeks before his assassination in New York City. The speech was the first of three planned for New York's Audubon Ballroom. The addresses were to lay the political groundwork for adoption of a program for the newly formed Organization of Afro-American Unity, founded by Malcolm in June 1964.

An understanding of Afro-American history was, for Malcolm, an essential weapon

in the hands of those struggling for their liberation. The speech addresses ancient African civilizations, the crime of chattel slavery, the common interests of the oppressed internationally, and the decline of imperialism.

The new edition of the 87-page book contains a new publisher's preface. Moreover, new typography with new page designs by Toni Gorton, including on the front and back covers, makes the book more attractive and easy to read. An index has also been added.

The speech was first published by Pathfinder in 1967 in pamphlet form. A second edition published as a paperback book in 1970 also included photographs. The nine printings of the second edition have been sold out.

*Malcolm X on Afro-American History* is available for \$7.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

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# Tour by Cuban author ends with successful New York meeting

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — Some 430 people packed the auditorium of the hospital workers' Martin Luther King Labor Center on May 11 to hear a presentation by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada.

The meeting culminated a highly successful six-week tour of the United States by the Cuban communist. His book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* goes to the heart of the issues posed in the process of rectification taking place in Cuba today to advance the building of socialism.

Mary-Alice Waters, the president of Pathfinder — Tablada's English-language publisher and sponsor of his tour — chaired the meeting.

Noting the enthusiastic applause with which the activity began, Waters said, "This is appropriate because the meeting tonight has a double character — it is a very serious political meeting that many of us have been waiting for for some time and it is a celebration of the success of Dr. Tablada's tour of the United States."

Audiences totaling more than 3,000 people in 33 cities across the United States had an opportunity to hear Tablada. He spoke at 28 college and university campuses, including Johns Hopkins, Stanford, the University of Chicago, Duke, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton.

"The diversity of audiences and forces who have welcomed him is impressive," said Waters. "It is similar to the platform, messages, greetings, and prominent guests we have here tonight."

## Breaking information blockade

"This is also our occasion and our opportunity," she continued, "to explain to Dr. Tablada why what he has done here for the last six weeks is so important to us — the work that he has done to break the 30-year plus blockade of information from Cuba imposed by the U.S. government."

As in many other cities, Tablada was welcomed to New York by a number of elected officials. Messages were read to the meeting from Congressman Charles Rangel; Victor Quintana, director of constituent affairs in New York Mayor David Dinkins' office; and Mayor Sharpe James of Newark, New Jersey.

Marshall Garcia, executive vice-president of the Hospital and Health Care Employees Local 1199, welcomed Tablada to the union hall. Garcia helped to organize the April 7 "U.S. Hands Off Cuba" demonstration in New York. "The April 7 effort," he explained, "showed the real desire of American working people to demand 'No more Vietnams!'"

Interviews with Tablada during the tour were broadcast on radio and TV stations and printed in a few newspapers.

"One of the most remarkable," said Waters, "was an editorial published in the *Daily Utah Chronicle*," a Salt Lake City paper. The editorial stated in part, "Whether or not one agrees with the rectification process, many of those who heard Tablada speak on college campuses across the country were surprised to see such a refreshing and humanistic idea emerging from Cuba." (See complete editorial reprinted on this page.)

New York State Assemblyman Roger Green, who traveled to Cuba three years ago, stressed in his welcoming remarks the impact of the conditions for children and youth in Cuba had on him, compared to those in his district. The infant mortality rate in Cuba is one-third that of the Black and Latino populations in poor sections of New York City, he said.

In Cuba, reported the assemblyman, an attempt is being made "to create a social transformation, a new society, by really placing emphasis on children and youth rather than treating them as vulnerable, disposable commodities."

A number of union officials at the meeting were introduced. They included Kathy An-

drade, education director of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25; Maureen Holder, vice-president of International Association of Machinists Local 2656; Jaime Vázquez of the Hispanic Affairs Committee of United Auto Workers (UAW) District 65; and John Connolly, a member of the National Board of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Miriam Thompson, a member of the staff of UAW Local 259 and editor of the local's newspaper, joined in welcoming Tablada. She had recently returned from a visit to Cuba and remarked, "I realized how solidarity with Cuba must be central to our work."

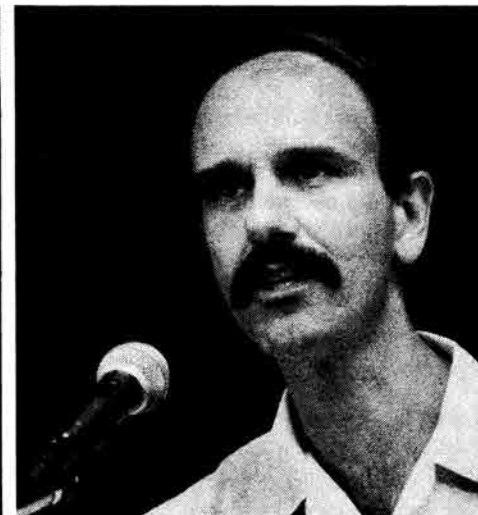
Four of the main U.S. organizations active in solidarity with Cuba in this country were well represented at the meeting and contributed written greetings: Casa de las Américas, Venceremos Brigade, Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Center for Cuban Studies. The chair also recognized the presence of numerous leading political activists, including Rosemary Mealy, Leslie Cagan, Esmeralda Brown, Waldaba Stewart, Dumile Feni, and Don Rojas.

Niem Do Tin, a representative of the Vietnamese mission to the United Nations, received a standing ovation when he was introduced.

Many prominent individuals had the opportunity to meet Tablada at a special reception organized prior to the public meeting.

## ANC speaker

Participants in the meeting rose to their feet to applaud when Victor Mashabela of



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Among those who shared platform with Tablada May 11 were (clockwise from top left): Roger Green, Miriam Thompson, Ernie Mailhot, and Victor Mashabela. Also on platform but not shown were Marshall Garcia and Mary-Alice Waters.

the African National Congress was introduced to give welcoming remarks.

"The fruit of Namibian independence came from a plant watered with the blood of Angolan and Cuban fighters at the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale," explained the ANC leader.

A very warm welcome was also extended to Margarita Delgado, first secretary of the Cuban mission to the UN when she was introduced.

The final speaker to welcome Tablada was Ernie Mailhot, staff strike coordinator for

Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern airlines at La Guardia Airport.

Around the country, Eastern strikers have been enthusiastic participants in the meetings for the Cuban economist. Six Eastern strikers in addition to Mailhot attended the New York meeting.

Mailhot was a guest of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions at the May Day celebrations in Havana.

"Our strikers at Eastern," Mailhot said, "often explain that the number one thing for

Continued on Page 5

## 'Normalizing U.S.-Cuban relations long overdue,' writes Salt Lake City paper

The following editorial appeared in the April 19 issue of the *Daily Utah Chronicle*, published by the University of Utah in Salt Lake City.

It was headlined, "Normalizing U.S.-Cuban relations long overdue."

When Cuban economist Carlos Tablada came to the University of Utah Tuesday, he brought with him a very important message.

Tablada spoke of a concept the Cubans call "the rectification process" — the transformation of the Cuban economy from the system of entrenched planning ministries to a more equitable order that encourages the spiritual development of people.

Whether or not one agrees with the rectification process, many of those who heard Tablada speak on college campuses across the country were surprised to see such a refresh-

ing, humanistic idea emerging from Cuba.

For the past 30 years, Cuba has been portrayed by the press and politicians as the epicenter of maliciousness in the hemisphere. Indeed, no other country in the socialist bloc has faced the same unremitting pressure as Cuba.

Now that Cuba is up against the wall and increasingly isolated from the East Bloc, the Bush administration would be wise to take advantage of the crisis as an opportunity to normalize relations with Cuba.

U.S. officials ought to work toward developing closer ties to the Cuban government rather than eagerly awaiting what they feel to be the imminent fall of Castro and company. The Bush administration and Congress are dreadfully mistaken if they believe anything positive can come from a collapsed Cuba.

On several occasions, Castro and other prominent government officials, as well as scholars like Tablada, have stressed the need to thaw the ice between the United States and Cuba.

But the United States is not moving toward the direction of detente with Cuba. On the contrary, the multimillion dollar fiasco of TV Martí, coupled with military maneuvers near Florida in response to threats of Cuba interfering with radio signals inside the United States, paints an ominous portrait of the future of U.S.-Cuban relations.

The last thing Cubans need to be told is that their country is in hot water. They're aware of that. And they don't need to be made to feel like the doomed, cornered gangster from a Jimmy Cagney film. After three decades of aggression, the least we could do is lend a helping hand to Cuba while encouraging the Cuban people to select their own destiny.

This was the message Carlos Tablada brought to the United States, and it's a message we had better start listening to.

## Che Guevara:

## Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism

by Carlos Tablada

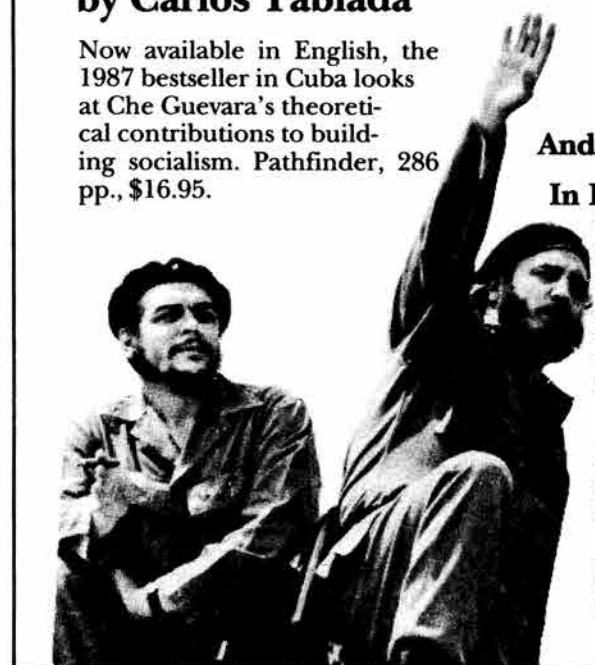
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# Disruption lawsuit aims to undermine Curtis' defense

BY PETER THIERJUNG

A motion for summary judgment in a civil lawsuit against Mark Curtis was filed in Iowa District Court May 8, the same day Judge Arthur Gamble ordered the suit to trial on July 9.

Stuart Pepper, attorney for plaintiffs Keith and Denise Morris, filed the motion that asks the court to rule that Curtis' guilt has already been established for the purposes of the July trial. If Judge Gamble rules in favor of the plaintiffs, the July jury trial will be restricted to determining what kind of monetary award Curtis would have to pay the plaintiffs.

The Morrisses are seeking punitive damages for the "pain and suffering" they claim Curtis inflicted on their daughter. The suit also asks the court to assign to them "any monies" received by Curtis "as the result of the commercialization of his acts."

## Using frame-up as proof

Curtis is currently serving a 25-year jail term in an Iowa state prison on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction. The motion for summary judgment in effect asks the court to enter the September 1988 frame-up conviction against Curtis as proof of his guilt.

A challenge to the motion will be filed by Curtis' attorneys. The court's decision on this "will determine whether Mark gets his day in court," George Eichhorn, one of Curtis' attorneys, said in a telephone interview. A hearing before Judge Gamble, who will decide the matter, hasn't been scheduled yet.

## Iowa prison officials transfer Curtis from Anamosa to Ft. Madison prison

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Mark Curtis was given a direct order by a prison officer May 15 to pack his bags and prepare to be transferred to another prison. When Curtis asked why he was being moved, he was told that no reason was necessary.

"You haven't been happy here in a while," his prison counselor added. "I didn't request the transfer and didn't want it," Curtis said in a phone interview with the *Militant*.

Since Dec. 8, 1988, Curtis had been incarcerated at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, serving a 25-year jail term on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction. Curtis had become widely known among inmates for his political views and had been elected secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, an inmates' group.

He helped lead several efforts to win inmates' rights, including the right to receive literature in languages other than English. He also wrote several articles for the *Militant*, describing conditions, activities, and political discussions in the Anamosa prison. He had become a target of prison officials, who framed him on gambling in January and took other measures against him.

## Telling fellow inmates was rough

Curtis said it was "pretty rough" letting his fellow inmates know that he was leaving. Through the struggles and conditions they shared, Curtis and many of the other prisoners had become close friends. "I want them to know that they should keep up the good work and stay strong," Curtis said.

On May 16 at around 8:00 a.m. Curtis was carted off. Two-and-a-half hours later he arrived in Fort Madison, Iowa, and was delivered to the John Bennett Correctional Center, which is located directly next to the "maximum security" Fort Madison State Penitentiary.

The center, like the Anamosa prison, is a medium security jail, said Ron Welder, the executive assistant to the Fort Madison warden, in an interview. The penitentiary, the center, and two "minimum security" jails are part of one prison complex in Fort Madison, he explained. About 125 inmates are housed in the John Bennett center. The entire complex stands on the banks of the Mississippi river in the southeast corner of Iowa. Travel time from Des Moines — where Curtis' wife,

The frame-up of Curtis by Des Moines police and Polk County prosecutors stems from his defense of Latino coworkers who had been victimized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service at the Swift meat-packing plant where he worked.

On March 4, 1988, Curtis was arrested and beaten by Des Moines police, who called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds." He suffered a shattered cheek bone and required 15 stitches. At his September 1988 trial, the conviction hinged on the testimony of police officer Joseph Gonzalez, who arrested Curtis and testified that he had caught him with his pants down at the scene of the alleged rape.

Other than Gonzalez' testimony, the prosecution was unable to present evidence substantiating the charges against Curtis. Information that Gonzalez had been suspended from the police force for lying in a previous arrest was excluded from the trial.

"The conviction won by the Polk County prosecutor against Curtis in 1988 was not a convincing one. The lawsuit helps to shore up the frame-up," said John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

At an earlier court hearing, Pepper has indicated that he intends to target Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and Studer to collect any monies a jury might award the Morrisses. Studer said that including him as a target shows that one aim of the lawsuit is to go after funds the defense committee has raised to publicize Curtis' fight for justice and help

supporters, and defense committee are located — to Fort Madison is a little longer than to Anamosa.

Curtis was taking some classes at Anamosa and did not know whether he would be allowed to continue them. He started his new job at Bennett May 17 — kitchen cleanup. He said that the men are housed in two large dormitories with single beds and some bunk beds, unlike the cell setup in Anamosa. Each prisoner is allowed a footlocker and a drawer for personal items. Because he is a newcomer, he was assigned to a top bunk bed.

Curtis said he was convinced that one

## Appeal filed with Iowa Supreme Court

### Continued from front page

Moines Police Department because of his political views and activities on behalf of coworkers who were arrested at the Swift Processing Plant shortly before his arrest.

"Mr. Curtis was prepared to present testimony and evidence," the petition continues, "which would have corroborated his claim that he was innocent and subject to harassment by the Des Moines Police Department. However, the State blocked admission of this evidence."

The petition focuses on four violations of Curtis' legal and constitutional rights.

- Curtis was denied the right to confront the state's central witness against him, Des Moines police officer Joseph Gonzalez. Gonzalez, who claimed to have caught Curtis with his pants down, had been suspended from the police force for lying and brutality in an earlier arrest. Curtis was barred from questioning Gonzalez about his record at the trial.

- The Court of Appeals agreed that Gonzalez was a "very material witness," the petition argues. "The Trial Court erred in excluding this evidence which was directly related to the officer's credibility."

- The motion calls for a new trial because evidence of political bias by the authorities against Curtis was improperly kept from the jury. This evidence was important to Curtis' "defense that he had been framed by police." It includes Curtis' brutal beating by police who called him a "Mexican-lover, just like



Curtis defense table at April 9, 1989, abortion rights march in Washington, D.C. Thousands worldwide have backed his fight against the cops and prosecutors who framed him. Lawsuit against him aims to disrupt this support. See editorial page 14.

pay his legal expenses.

On May 8 Pepper argued before Judge Gamble that Curtis should not be granted a later trial as requested by his attorneys because Curtis' supporters were subjecting the Morris family to an "international smear campaign". "We want to put a stop to it," he said. The judge denied the request for a later trial date.

Studer denied Pepper's charge and ex-

plained that the lawsuit squares with an aggressive campaign against Curtis and his defense effort spearheaded by an antilabor outfit known as the Workers League. The group has a long history of harassment, provocation, and disruption against labor strikes and workers' struggles.

Through their international circulation of a letter by Keith Morris pushing the Des Moines cops' story; the wide distribution of their book called *The Mark Curtis Hoax: How the Socialist Workers Party Tried to Dupe the Labor Movement*; and articles in their newspaper, the *Bulletin*, the Workers League has attempted to undermine support for Curtis' fight.

"The campaign against Mark and his defense effort," the defense coordinator explained, "attempts to shift the public's focus off the Des Moines cops' frame-up and Mark's fight for justice. It smears him as a vicious rapist. Its goal is to shut down his defense committee and break his will to fight back. The lawsuit becomes a weapon to attempt to drive this campaign through."

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee will soon be publishing a new piece of literature to aid Curtis' supporters in winning support to turn back this attack, Studer said. He appealed to supporters to contribute to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's \$60,000 fund.

reason he was moved was because of his political activities in Anamosa. "I'm not going to change and won't be isolated," Curtis said. "I'm still a political activist."

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is calling on supporters around the world to write Curtis at the new prison. Letters should be addressed to Mark Curtis #805338, Box 316 JBC Dorm, Fort Madison, Iowa, 52627. The sender's full name and address must be on the upper left hand of the envelope, with the name signed in full at the end of the letter. Greeting cards are permitted, as are photos, but not larger than 8 1/2"x11".

you love those coloreds." Curtis had also been targeted by the FBI for his political activities.

- Curtis proved at his trial that he was in a restaurant with dozens of coworkers at the time the woman he was accused of raping insisted the assault occurred. "When witness Brian Willey testified that Mr. Curtis was elsewhere at the time of the alleged attack... the State sat silent without objection," the petition explains. The conviction should be overturned, it argues, because the trial court improperly refused to instruct the jury that this was grounds for acquittal.

- The petition urges the Supreme Court to review and reverse Curtis' unjust conviction because of "several allegations of jury misconduct."

The Iowa state attorney general's office is now considering whether to file papers opposing Curtis' petition, Assistant Attorney General Roxanne Ryan said. Ryan argued against Curtis' appeal before the Iowa Court of Appeals. The state has until May 28 to submit its arguments.

According to court clerks, the Supreme Court will make public its decision to grant or deny a hearing on Curtis' petition on June 29. If a hearing is granted, then the court will review the briefs. It may take up to four months for a decision to be rendered. A denial of Curtis' petition by the court ends the appeals process in the Iowa state courts.

"The fight for freedom for Mark Curtis is

important for everyone's political rights," said John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "The frame-up of Curtis is aimed at intimidating union and political activists. The fight to free Mark can ensure the authorities will not succeed in this."

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

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. The committee is currently on a drive to raise \$60,000 this spring to meet the rising legal costs of Curtis' defense effort and to publicize his case. More than \$14,424 has been raised so far.

Contributions can be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Tax deductible contributions should be made out to Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

## Funds needed in defense effort

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

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# Nicaragua nationwide strike ends after settlement with Chamorro government

BY LARRY SIEGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A settlement was announced by government negotiators and union officials late May 16 in a nationwide strike by public employees. Workers began returning to their jobs the next morning. The strike was an initial test of strength between the government of Violeta Chamorro and the labor movement. Threats to fire workers, combined with some police efforts to push through picket lines, failed to dislodge the strikers who occupied workplaces.

Unions demanded wage increases — to catch up with runaway inflation — and guarantees against firings of political and union activists.

The walkout began May 10 with office workers occupying many government ministries. After several days of stalled negotiations, they were joined by bank clerks, telephone and telegraph operators, municipal bus drivers and mechanics, airport personnel, and workers in other vital services.

Having declared the work stoppage illegal, the capitalist regime concentrated its efforts on turning public opinion against the strikers. Government officials accused the workers of sowing "chaos" and bearing responsibility for the disruption of essential services.

The belligerent stance of the pro-Washington government became evident before the walkout began. Chamorro announced a series of measures that seemed calculated to provoke working people.

Among the government moves were:

- Sharp devaluations of the national currency, which sparked a new round of inflation, with many prices doubling or tripling inside of two weeks. The government de-



Workers at May Day march in Managua this year. Capitalist government is putting increased pressure on Sandinista Front to curb union militancy.

creed only a 60 percent wage increase for public workers and flatly rejected union appeals for a raise that would match the rise in living costs.

- Suspension by presidential edict of a civil service law enacted by parliament just prior to Chamorro's inauguration. Many working people had looked to the legislation as protection against arbitrary firing of political and trade union activists in the state sector.

- Unilateral voiding of union contracts that government employees negotiated in the final days of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government.

- Promulgation of two presidential "decree laws" accelerating the privatization of large farms and other property nationalized by the FSLN government following the 1979 revolution. The decrees call for a review of all expropriations and authorize the immediate renting of some lands now part of state farms.

- Continued government refusal to act against armed contra units in the countryside.

## 'The people decide'

When the strike began, many workers were confident that with a little pressure Chamorro would give way and make concessions to the unions.

"The president doesn't understand that here it's the people who decide," said Alejandro Fletes, a striker who works in the accounting department of the Olof Palme convention center.

Fletes was one of 3,000 who turned out for a citywide mobilization May 11. The demonstrators marched to Chamorro's offices, demanding that she agree to negotiate with the union.

Union efforts to reach an accommodation got nowhere, as the government refused to give ground. Workers, who had earlier anticipated a relatively easy victory, began preparing for a more serious fight after Francisco Rosales, the minister of labor, proclaimed the walkout "unlawful, illegal, and nonexistent."

At a May 14 news conference, Rosales also appealed to unemployed workers to "occupy the posts left vacant by the strikers" and warned unionists they would "fire themselves" by not returning to their jobs at once.

Upping the ante still further, the labor minister declared that government force would be used to "maintain public order." Rosales said the army and the police now had "the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the president and the constitution." The command structures of the army and the police remain almost entirely in the hands of members or supporters of the Sandinista Front.

Following Rosales' statements, riot police armed with clubs and tear gas were ordered to try to push through picket lines at several ministries.

At the foreign ministry, a unit of cops wearing gas masks, flak jackets, and helmets tried to escort Foreign Minister Enrique Dreyfus into the building through a human barricade. The workers refused to give way even after a couple of tear gas canisters were fired. The ensuing shoving match proved too much for the elderly minister, who quickly ordered a retreat, to cheers and hoots from strikers and supporters.

Before long, however, the mood changed, as the cops regrouped and advanced again. With the minister safely out of the way, they were somewhat rougher, though still refraining from using clubs or making arrests. This time they temporarily broke through the

picket line, and several workers were hurt, none seriously.

Many of the strikers were visibly outraged, and surprised, that the cops — still wearing the "Sandinista Police" badge on their shoulders — would use force against them. Some shouted furiously that the cops were acting like the National Guard under the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Others appealed to the police to "unite with the people."

The rulers' decision not to order the cops to use force to evict the strikers led to a standoff at most ministry offices.

As the strike continued, capitalist spokesmen put increasing pressure on officials of the Sandinista Front to act to curb union militancy. During a wave of strikes in mid-April, top FSLN leaders publicly criticized the walkouts on the grounds that they threatened to "destabilize" the Chamorro government and could lead to "chaos" and "anarchy."

Not all members of the FSLN agreed with those statements at the time, and differences of opinion within the organization continue to be expressed. Some members have labeled as "extremists" or even "Stalinists" those who called for a general strike and for other mass action to pressure the government. Others say that the FSLN top leadership is making too many concessions to Chamorro.

Sandinista Front officials released a declaration at a news conference May 12, the third day of the walkout. Appearing were Daniel Ortega, Luis Carrión, and Henry Ruiz, the members of the executive committee of the party's National Directorate.

The declaration expressed solidarity with "the just protest of workers and producers who have been pushed aside from making decisions" relating to the recent government decrees. It called on the government "to be consistent with its statements about reconciliation" and "to promote a dialogue with state workers" as well as other sectors of society.

The FSLN officials called on the government to live up to the "transition agreement" signed March 27 between the Sandinista Front and the Chamorro forces, under which the Front agreed to have its members participate in the new administration.

"Taking into account that what is at stake is national interests, we agreed to leave in their posts directors of enterprises and other high functionaries, including the Minister Director of the Institute of Energy, compañero Emilio Rapaccioli."

The FSLN declaration ended with a slogan, "No to Somozaism! Yes to national reconciliation, unity, and peace!"

Asked by a reporter "how long the FSLN will permit its cadres" to remain in the government given Chamorro's actions, Ortega replied, "We are calling on the government to rescind the measures it has taken and to not continue deepening the crisis."

"In other words, we are giving it an opportunity for peace. We are not calling for war."

## Disarming peasants

In the meantime, Chamorro is taking maximum advantage of the willingness of the FSLN to help implement the government's antiworker and anti-peasant policies.

One key objective of Nicaragua's rulers is to continue disarming peasant militias. Chamorro has assigned chief responsibility for this to Gen. Humberto Ortega, head of the army and the senior Sandinista Front representative in the government.

"Ortega disarms civilians," proclaimed a banner headline in the progovernment daily *La Prensa* May 12. The paper said that the general had signed orders directing the army to begin "the disarming of Sandinista civilians and to proceed with the destruction of the confiscated weapons."

However, the pretense that the contras are abiding by an agreement to turn in their weapons has all but evaporated, as even government officials concede that only a small percentage of the mercenaries' weapons have been surrendered. The accord calls for the contras to be completely disarmed by June 10.

## Cuban author's tour wraps up

Continued from Page 3

us is not the jobs but defense of the rights of working people. In Cuba I saw working people who were ready to fight and die for their revolution, for their country — which they see as responding to their needs and interests. But more than that, I saw a people that was ready to fight for all of the oppressed throughout the world."

Mailhot ended by saying, "My visit to Cuba and my more than 14 months on strike at Eastern Airlines have strengthened my conviction that the day will come when working people in this country will show the same unshakeable strength and determination as is being shown today by the revolutionary people of Cuba."

At the beginning of his presentation Tablada explained, "Until the Cuban revolution, both Western economists and the economists of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe never understood that there was a real relationship between what we have been talking about up until now this evening and economics. In other words they never understood what it means to be a human being."

Tablada stressed over and over again in his talk, and during the question and answer period, that the parties and economic structures of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are in tumult today because, "they were not building the socialism and communism that Marx, Engels, and Lenin dreamed of."

"The Cuban revolution, too," Tablada explained, "had been on a course that was leading it toward disaster. This began at the time in 1975 when Cuba began to copy the economic planning and management systems of these countries and turned its back on political motivation. It went on until 1984 when a process of rectification was initiated by Fidel Castro and the Cuban Communist Party."

"Czech youth at the university recently discussed and approved the idea of not studying Marxism anymore," said Tablada. "In part I can understand this, because the Marxism-Leninism that they were getting was incomprehensible. Cuban students were using somewhat similar textbooks, but they got together and met with Fidel. They asked him to help them get rid of these books, and the professors that advocated them, and to be able to study, instead, the original works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Che."

This process of correcting the conse-

quences of what happened after 1975, Tablada explained, will be consolidated further at the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party next year.

Discussions have already begun among workers — those participating in voluntary work brigades, and those who work in the factories and fields — to prepare for this congress.

Not everyone at the meeting enjoyed Tablada's talk. Two counterrevolutionary Cubans interrupted a youth from Central America who was asking Tablada during the question and answer period whether Cuba is reliant on the Soviet Union for aid. They left the room shouting and calling Tablada a liar.

The Cuban economist in answering the question explained that the economic relationship between the Soviet Union and Cuba is one of fair prices and interdependency. Three weeks ago Cuba signed a new trade agreement with the Soviet Union that increases trade between the two countries by 8.7 percent.

What did those who heard Tablada think of his talk? Robert, a Haitian-born factory worker from Long Island, said, "I can't find any words. The only thing I can say is that it was perfect."

An activist in the Antonio Maceo Brigade explained, "I thought it was wonderful: articulate, clear, not at all like you'd think an economist would speak." Another Antonio Maceo Brigade member put in, "The most important thing for me was how he spoke so proudly of Cuba. I'm a Cuban myself and I've been there. I'm glad that he explained that Cuba is very independent of the USSR regardless of what most people think."

Dick Mulcahy, a Machinist on strike at Eastern, said that he had come to the talk "on behalf of Ernie Mailhot being in Cuba" and also because of the impression that a picture of the half-million-strong May Day demonstration in Cuba had made on him.

Mulcahy said of Tablada, "I thought he was outstanding. I don't know all that much about the Cuban government. But I learned a lot about the U.S. government during the strike — it stinks. I think the blockade should be taken down and we should be able to come and go as we want."

In addition to this citywide meeting, Tablada spoke at seven New York-area campuses: Brooklyn College, Bard College, Yale, Adelphi, Princeton, the New School for Social Research, and Hunter College.



# Pennsylvania steelworkers dig deep for strikers

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news

a gate collection at the steel mill, according to an official of United Steelworkers of America Local 2227. About 1,000 people work at the mill.

The collection actually began the night before at the USWA local's monthly meeting. Some workers

Four Eastern strikers and one striker's son came to the gates and a few Steelworkers helped out on the collection. USWA Local 2227 has had reports from Eastern strikers at two meetings and they are invited back next month to report on the collection and the progress of the strike.

ferred and died because of unsafe work places. The 500 unionists attending then marched to the State House and Greyhound bus terminal.

And the next day, Eastern and Greyhound strikers again set up a joint table at a rally of 500 called by 15 unions at Amtrak, who are fighting the railroad's demands for concessions on wages, working conditions, and benefits. The unions have been in fruitless negotiations with Amtrak for more than two years.

Bill Conley, the Eastern strike coordinator for IAM Local 1726 at Logan International Airport, brought the crowd to its feet when he said it was time for labor to shut down all of transportation if the bosses can't treat workers decently. "We are winning," Conley said, "but you must fight. You can win if you fight."

The Eastern and Greyhound strikers sold hundreds of buttons and T-shirts to the rail unionists.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Eastern strikers reported to the May monthly meeting of the Fairness for Eastern Employees Committee that they are maintaining their picket line at the airport.

The five strikers — although stretched thin — picket in the morning and evening, five days a week: on two days they picket at noon. Members of the Communications Workers of America continue to help staff the picket line on Mondays. The strikers are asking for additional help on the picket line to let new Eastern trustee Martin Shugrue know they are a force to be bargained with, reports Fairness Committee member Bronson Rozier.

The Fairness for Eastern Committee, set up by the Louisville Central Labor Council, is broadening out its solidarity activities, Rozier adds. Through the Tobacco Workers union, it is organizing a food bank for anyone on strike in Louisville. The committee is backing the Greyhound strike, supporting an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union-recognition fight, and aiding Carpenters Local 64 on strike at Kister manufacturing.

"All of the solidarity and concern for us has shown me the importance of our unions," commented one Eastern Machinist after the meeting.

*Louise Halverson from Pittsburgh and Kip Hedges from Boston contributed to this column.*



## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

date, Wednesday, May 16, the strike was in its 439th day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

On May 9 Eastern strikers from IAM Local 1044 in Pittsburgh did a plant-gate collection at USX Irvin Works in nearby West Mifflin. The \$1,475 in donations set a record for

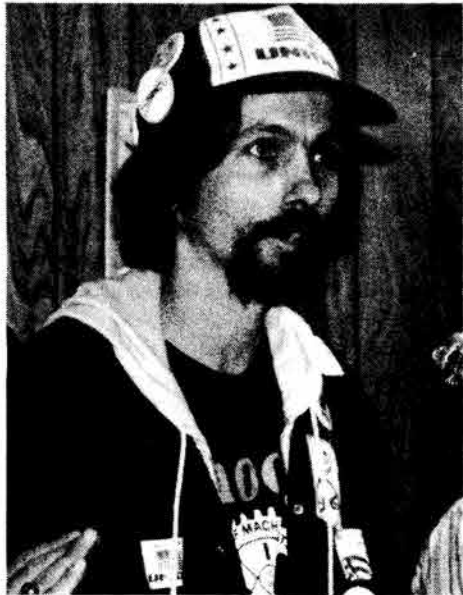
said they weren't scheduled to work the next day and made their contributions at the meeting. At the gate the next morning, many workers tossed in \$5, \$10, and at least one \$20 bill, besides those who gave a dollar or two. And some workers contributed again as they came out at the end of the shift that afternoon. The striking Machinists gave out hundreds of "No Lorenzo" buttons to contributing Steelworkers. Many of the USX workers had seen media coverage of Frank Lorenzo's removal from Eastern's management by federal bankruptcy court. Lorenzo heads Eastern's parent company, Texas Air Corp.

On April 22 a group of Eastern strikers fanned out through the crowd of 200,000 attending the Earth Day rally in Boston. They handed out thousands of flyers headlined, "Eastern strikers support Earth Day."

"All across the world, workers and unions are helping to lead the fight for a safe environment," the leaflet said. The Machinists on strike at Eastern "salute all efforts to make this a clean, safe, and liveable planet." The leaflet also explained the issues in the Machinists' fight and urged everyone at the rally to boycott Eastern and Continental airlines. Both are owned by Texas Air Corp.

A group of 20 Eastern strikers was also on hand for the Workers Memorial Day rally held April 27 at Boston City Hall. The rally was part of the AFL-CIO's annual commemoration of workers who have suf-

## Eastern strikers to trustee: 'No contract, no peace'



Militant/Sandra Nelson  
Kansas City Eastern striker Nick Angelos spoke at solidarity rally in Iowa May 12.

Continued from front page

Bryan and negotiations expected soon.

The Machinists strike bulletin is also stressing the importance of ongoing strike actions. When Shugrue "was appointed to run Eastern almost four weeks ago," the May 14 bulletin states, "all interested parties were willing to give him the benefit of time to grab the bull by the horns and put Eastern on a sure track toward recovery."

### 'Declaring labor war'

"It was disappointing to see that this week-end Eastern again carried an ad... for replacement mechanics. The company asks for labor peace and yet, every time it publishes this ad, it is declaring labor war. It would be a welcomed first step for the company to terminate these ads once and for all."

Besides continuing to hire scabs, Shugrue's efforts to create the impression that Eastern is getting "turned around" have consisted of slashing fares yet again, offering to refund any dissatisfied first-class passenger's fare, and hiring a new ad agency.

Meanwhile, Eastern's passenger load dropped to 46 percent, the May 10 strike bulletin reported. An Eastern official, however, said the new reduced fares and refund guarantees were causing advanced bookings to increase.

Rallies and other activities by strikers and their supporters are continuing around the country. These "are critical reminders to trustee Shugrue that his turnaround plans will be drowned out by the strike noise," says the May 15 bulletin. "A quick and fair settlement is the only remedy to Eastern's recovery." In the past several weeks, rallies and expanded picket lines — many held jointly with Greyhound and other striking workers — have taken place in Miami, New York, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Los Angeles, Boston, and Washington, D.C. An expanded picket line is planned for Detroit Metropolitan Airport May 19 and a rally with Greyhound strikers is set for Kansas City that same day.

Eastern strikers and other unionists in New York are planning a major rally on June 12, when Lorenzo is slated to receive an award

from a Columbia University alumni association.

### Iowa rally

Marshalltown, Iowa — a town of 27,000 — was the scene of a rally to back the Eastern and Greyhound strikers on May 12 — the first event of its kind there since the strike began. More than 150 unionists and farmers attended the rally, which was sponsored by the Central Iowa Labor Alliance and held in the United Auto Workers union hall. Some \$1,600 was raised for the strikers.

Packinghouse workers, rail workers, Machinists, UAW members, government workers, and other unionists came to the rally, along with almost a dozen farmers, including the entire executive board of the American Agricultural Movement Iowa chapter.

Eastern striker Nick Angelos, from IAM Local 561 in Kansas City, and Greyhound striker Jim Armstrong from Des Moines were the featured speakers.

"The guy who thought he could divide labor has created solidarity," said Angelos, referring to Lorenzo, who spearheaded the union-busting drive at Eastern.

"The reception we've gotten here is just fantastic," he said. "It shows that unity and solidarity are alive not only here, but across the country."

Kathy Angelos, a teacher and wife of striker Nick Angelos, spoke of the support her husband's local has received during the strike. "I've never seen such generosity in my whole life," she said. "This type of support and solidarity gives you a new view of what being a human being is all about."

*Nan Bailey from Des Moines contributed to this article.*

## United Machinists approve buyout pact

BY PATTI IYAMA

NEW YORK — On May 10 some 10,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) who work at United Airlines voted to accept a new five-year contract that includes approval of a proposal to buy out the airline through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). Nearly 4,500 voted against.

The contract includes the IAM's share of \$2 billion in wage, benefit, and work-rule concessions demanded from employees as "sweat equity" to finance the buyout, and a no-strike pledge.

While IAM officials nationally and locally pushed hard for a yes vote, they did not get the overwhelming mandate they sought. Of 25,623 members at United only 15,000 voted, according to official IAM figures. This represents 58 percent of all possible IAM votes.

While 70 percent of IAM members voting approved the contract ESOP proposal on a national level, the results varied widely from station to station. In the San Francisco Bay Area, members voted 60 percent for and 40 percent against. Among IAM members at New York's La Guardia and JFK International airports, the tally was similar. In Philadelphia the vote was 58 percent for, 42 percent against. On the other hand, in Los Angeles the vote was overwhelmingly for the contract.

In many stations, more B- and C-scale workers — the majority of the work force — and workers close to retirement say they

voted for the contract. A-scale workers were more apt to vote against it. This division is due to the fact that workers in the lower wage scales and those seeking early retirement receive small improvements under the new contract, while A-scale workers get only cuts.

The pilots' association and flight attendants' union have also ratified the plan.

The contract will go into effect only when the buyout is completed. On April 6 the board of directors of UAL — United's parent company — approved the \$4.38 billion buyout offer and gave the employee groups four months to complete bank financing. If bank financing can be obtained, the deal could be closed by the end of this year.

Initial reaction among IAM members to results of the voting has focused on the next step in the buyout: financing from the banks. Even many who voted for the buyout are hoping that the banks will turn down financing so that a better contract can be renegotiated.

Many IAM members are angry at union officials for changing their position from last October when they opposed an earlier buyout offer by the Air Line Pilots Association and management. At JFK International, some of this anger has been translated into mechanics signing up for the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA). The IAM "isn't representing us, so let's sign up with a union that will," said a mechanic with 23 years at United.

AMFA is a procompany outfit that specializes in raiding operations aimed at pulling IAM-organized airline mechanics into a separate craft "union." Some of AMFA's appeal has stemmed from its opposition to this particular buyout.

*Patti Iiyama, a member of IAM Local 1322, is a cleaner for United Airlines at JFK International Airport in New York.*

## TWA workers stage shutdown

BY KEVIN SHAY

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Almost 3,000 members of Machinists Local 1650 at the Trans World Airlines overhaul base here put down their tools and occupied part of the hangar for five hours May 10 to protest company attempts to discipline a fellow worker for "nonproduction."

As word of the shutdown spread, workers from the engine overhaul building stopped work and joined the action. Evening shift workers joined as they came to work, and day shift workers stayed until the protest ended at 6:00 p.m.

International Association of Machinists Local 1650 President Herb Johnson said that TWA President Carl Icahn agreed to postpone any disciplinary action against the worker for 15 days, pending an inves-

tigation. Johnson explained that the worker had been written up even though he was not assigned to a job.

IAM Local 1650 members and other unionists at TWA nationwide have been pressing Icahn for a contract for 18 months. IAM members have also been staging walk-throughs at the overhaul base to protest Icahn's plan to transfer TWA's domestic routes to America West airline, a move which would eliminate thousands of jobs. America West, a nonunion carrier, would also take control of a major TWA hub in St. Louis. TWA workers could then apply for jobs with substantially lower pay and benefits.

Meanwhile, IAM officials are working on an employee stock ownership plan to try to buy the airline from Icahn, who says it isn't for sale.





Militant/Susan LaMont  
Greyhound strikers and other New Jersey unionists rallied May 11 at Newark, New Jersey, bus depot. While strikers continue to picket and hold solidarity activities, Greyhound is experiencing mounting financial losses.

# Strikers press fight; Greyhound takes loss

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Greyhound Lines Inc., where 9,000 bus drivers, mechanics, clerks, and cleaners have been on strike since March 2, took huge losses during the first quarter of 1990 and may be headed into bankruptcy.

On May 4 Greyhound Chairman Fred Currey announced that the only U.S. nationwide bus company had losses of \$55.8 million during the first three months of this year. Some \$20 million of this sum was spent to combat the strike, including legal fees, "security," and training for scab drivers.

Because of the losses, the company did not make nearly \$5 million in lease payments on buses and properties due April 30 and \$9.8 million in interest payments due on May 15. Thirty additional days are allowed after May 15 before creditors could force Greyhound into filing for bankruptcy. The company has a debt of \$340 million and is negotiating with its creditors and lenders to avoid bankruptcy proceedings.

Despite Greyhound's claims to be servicing 87 percent of its routes, strikers point out that the company has simply dropped many stops from its system and ridership is down significantly.

On the May 5-6 weekend, brief negotiations took place between the Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents the strikers, and the company. Greyhound's proposal "was worse than the ones we had before," said Edward Strait, president of the Amalgamated Council of Greyhound Local Unions, the ATU's bargaining unit. "We're going backwards." This time, Greyhound's demands included a six-year contract with no pay increases in the first four years and 3 percent pay hikes in the last two years; elimination of 4,500 union jobs; pay cuts for drivers of up to \$7,000 a year; no pensions for workers hired after 1983; and job rights for scabs ahead of strikers. The company has hired 2,750 scab drivers.

Strikers were outraged at Currey's May 7 statement that the strike "is in effect concluded from the point of view of day-to-day operations."

Speaking to a May 12 labor solidarity rally in Marshalltown, Iowa, Greyhound striker

Jim Armstrong said Currey's claim was "like Napoleon claiming victory at Waterloo. It's both ridiculous and false." The strike is for "justice and dignity," he explained, calling on Currey to return to the negotiating table.

In Newark, New Jersey, Wilbert Allen, a driver with 22 years at Greyhound, said Currey's statement was "a stunt to try to get strikers to cross the line." Less than 500 ATU members have crossed, he said. "We're holding up pretty good. We're getting good moral support, and we can stay out as long as it takes."

Allen and 200 ATU members and other unionists were at a May 11 strike support rally in front of the bus depot at Penn Station. Some strikers have gotten other jobs, he said, and many stress that they will never go back to Greyhound under the conditions Currey is demanding.

Some 800 Teamsters, in town for a Midwest regional conference, rallied at the St. Louis bus station in support of the Greyhound strikers on May 9. The Teamsters also voted to donate \$4,000 to aid the defense of two ATU strikers arrested April 10 on federal charges stemming from the alleged shooting of a scab-driven bus. On May 11 the strikers — Harry Lewis and Roy Simes — were denied bail at a hearing held in federal district court in East St. Louis.

In Salt Lake City an AFL-CIO solidarity rally was held May 5 to back the Greyhound strikers. Utah AFL-CIO President Ed Mayne pointed to the example of the Eastern Airlines strike. "They said the labor movement wouldn't survive, but at Eastern, it's Frank Lorenzo who didn't survive, and at Greyhound, it will be Fred Currey," he said.

On May 14 an expanded picket line at the Louisville bus station drew 60, including Jesse Jackson.

Meanwhile, the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board has authorized the board's regional office to file an unfair labor practices complaint against Greyhound. NLRB general counsel Jerry Hunter found that the company had unlawfully imposed certain contract proposals before negotiations reached an impasse.

## Subscription Drive SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS		Total		Militant		New Int'l		Perspectiva Mundial		Lutte ouvrière	
Areas	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
<b>UNITED STATES</b>											
Austin, Minn.*	100	106	106%	65	70	10	13	23	22	2	1
Boston*	205	210	102%	125	114	25	36	40	44	15	16
Price, Utah	75	74	99%	53	49	10	10	10	14	2	1
Phoenix	85	82	96%	53	44	10	5	20	33	2	0
Los Angeles	400	382	96%	210	195	75	72	110	111	5	4
Brooklyn*	400	381	95%	200	161	60	83	60	55	80	82
Des Moines, Iowa*	190	179	94%	145	134	20	20	23	23	2	2
New York*	625	588	94%	280	238	115	125	110	103	120	122
Greensboro, NC	115	107	93%	90	79	15	15	8	13	2	0
Miami*	280	256	91%	125	108	55	51	30	25	70	72
Portland, Ore.	100	91	91%	75	71	13	11	10	9	2	0
Atlanta	165	149	90%	117	98	30	37	15	13	3	1
Philadelphia*	170	151	89%	108	86	25	34	35	29	2	2
Birmingham, Ala.*	172	148	86%	145	124	20	19	5	5	2	0
Seattle*	200	170	85%	115	91	30	30	52	47	3	2
Cleveland	93	79	85%	78	47	20	24	10	7	2	1
Salt Lake City	190	161	85%	138	109	30	32	20	19	2	1
Omaha, Neb.	110	93	85%	80	68	15	7	13	18	2	0
St. Louis	200	166	83%	162	131	25	29	10	5	3	1
Newark, NJ	385	317	82%	210	145	95	82	65	56	15	34
Charleston, WV*	130	107	82%	98	86	20	10	10	9	2	2
Pittsburgh	140	108	77%	113	74	20	28	5	4	2	2
Kansas City*	122	93	76%	78	55	32	30	10	6	2	2
Twin Cities, Minn.	210	149	71%	162	108	30	27	15	11	3	3
Detroit	250	163	65%	200	123	30	28	15	10	5	2
Baltimore	150	95	63%	112	55	25	28	10	11	3	1
Washington, DC	145	90	62%	100	55	20	14	20	19	5	2
Oakland, Calif.	185	114	62%	120	72	25	21	35	16	5	5
San Francisco	220	123	56%	150	80	30	19	35	23	5	1
Chicago	280	155	55%	185	94	45	37	45	22	5	2
Morgantown, WV	150	83	55%	113	64	30	19	5	0	2	0
Houston	145	64	44%	98	37	20	19	25	8	2	0
Anamosa, Iowa	15	6	40%	12	6	-	-	3	-	-	-
Cincinnati	7	2	29%	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Las Vegas, Nev.*	12	4	33%	12	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisville	10	7	70%	10	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other U.S.	-	29	-	-	26	-	2	-	1	-	-
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>6,448</b>	<b>5,282</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>4,144</b>	<b>3,110</b>	<b>1,025</b>	<b>1,017</b>	<b>902</b>	<b>791</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>364</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>											
<b>BRITAIN</b>	50	34	68%	25	25	8	4	15	5	2	0
Manchester	74	67	91%	50	43	20	22	3	2	1	0
Cardiff	59	53	90%	40	36	10	16	7	1	2	0
London	162	115	71%	105	86	30	24	25	4	2	1
Sheffield	107	68	64%	65	55	30	5	10	8	2	0
Other Britain	-	59	-	-	11	-	47	-	1	-	-
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CANADA</b>											
Montréal*	170	181	106%	65	53	20	15	45	32	40	81
Vancouver*	120	112	93%	75	67	25	20	15	20	5	5
Toronto	190	158	83%	120	81	30	27	30	42	10	8
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>94</b>
<b>FRANCE</b>	40	47	118%	10	7	5	12	5	6	20	22
<b>ICELAND</b>	41	50	122%	35	36	3	12	2	2	1	0
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>											
Auckland	100	106	106%	80	87	15	10	4	9	1	0
Wellington	70	70	100%	54	56	11	13	4	1	1	0
Christchurch	55	42	76%	45	38	6	3	3	1	1	0
Other N. Z.	14	8	57%	10	8	4	0	-	-	-	-
<b>N. Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>SWEDEN*</b>	98	98	100%	55	51	7	6	35	38	1	3
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	20	13	65%	2	3	1	0	16	10	1	0
Int'l teams	155	36	23%	75	15	25	20	50	0	5	1
Other Int'l	-	8	-	-	3	-	-	-	5	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7,973</b>	<b>6,607</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>5,055</b>	<b>3,871</b>	<b>1,275</b>	<b>1,273</b>	<b>1,171</b>	<b>978</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>485</b>
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>	<b>7,500</b>										
<b>TO BE ON SCHEDULE</b>		<b>6,667</b>	<b>89%</b>		<b>4,400</b>		<b>1,067</b>		<b>978</b>		<b>222</b>

\*Raised goal during drive

## All-out effort in final stretch can reach sales goals on time

BY RONI McCANN

Supporters around the world are in an all-out effort to win hundreds of new readers in the next few days and make the international sales campaign a success.

The goal of the nine-week circulation drive — which has become realizable in the last few weeks — is to sell 7,500 subscriptions to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* and single copies of *New Internationalist* and *Nouvelle Internationale*. With this week's scoreboard we have 893 to go.

Supporters in eight countries are mapping out plans to get as many subscriptions as possible in the remaining days.

Cars loaded up with the socialist publications are on the road as national sales teams canvass the Chicago area, northern West Virginia, New York, and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Readying for Malcolm X events slated for the weekend, supporters in Washington, D.C., are busy making posters and table displays advertising the *Militant*.

And on Saturday supporters internationally will fan out to working-class neighborhoods, farming communities, bus and subway stops, shopping centers, picket lines, and political activities in a push to complete the subscription campaign.

Big progress has been made over the last few weeks in the effort to introduce thousands of workers, political activists, and young people to the *Militant*. Maintaining this spirit and momentum is key to making the goals of the drive, especially the goal of winning 4,950 new subscribers to the *Militant*.

The final sales drive scoreboard will be printed in next week's issue of the *Militant*. Wednesday, May 23, at noon Eastern Daylight Time, is the deadline for receiving subscriptions, as well as figures for sales of *New Internationalist* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Taking advantage of every opportunity to win new subscribers over the final days can ensure success in the drive.

- Supporters in **Newark, New Jersey**, sent a campaign and sales team outside the city May 10-13. Socialist Workers Party U.S. Senate candidate Don Mackle reported that 23 new readers signed up, including farmworkers and unionists interested in having discussions with the socialists, who were invited to return soon.

- **San Francisco** supporters won 10 new readers on the job last week at refineries, airports, garment shops, and other workplaces.

- Six **Militant Labor Forum**—goers in **Pittsburgh** sent in subscriptions after receiving a letter promoting the paper.

- Ten delegates at the opening day of the biannual convention of the Canadian Labour Congress, being held in **Montréal**, signed up to get the *Militant* and 70 purchased copies of the paper.

- National sales teams in the United States last week won 30 new readers in the **San Francisco Bay Area** and 28 in the **New York-New Jersey area**.

- During the circulation drive, sales teams canvassing the **British coalfields** have signed up 61 new subscribers and sold 1,090 copies of the *Militant* and 11 copies of *New Internationalist*.

Ongoing student strikes in New York City, a May 19 "U.S. Hands Off Cuba" demonstration in San Francisco, picket lines by Eastern and Greyhound strikers, and a host of other political activities are good opportunities to win new readers in the final days of the drive. Combining these with sales to coworkers and Saturday street table and door-to-door sales, we can make the circulation drive goals on time.



# How Bolshevik-Leninists of 1920s, '30s fought for a communist course in USSR

BY PETER THIERJUNG  
(Fifth in a series)

The rise to power in the Soviet Union of a privileged caste of bureaucrats and administrators in the 1920s and early 1930s was the culmination of a violent counterrevolution.

In last week's article we reviewed how this bureaucratic counterrevolution was a complete break with the policies fought for by communists in Lenin's time and led to the reversal of many gains of the October 1917 Russian revolution.

The caste, however, was not able to consolidate its power without resistance from the most politically conscious sections of the working class. This resistance was expressed in a sharp political struggle that erupted in the Communist Party in 1923.

A majority in the CP's leadership had begun to retreat from a communist perspective under the pressures of the challenges and difficulties faced by the revolution. This layer, led by Joseph Stalin, gave expression to the narrow interests, prejudices, and fears of the growing privileged bureaucratic strata. It clashed with central leaders of the revolution, including Lenin, who insisted on continuing the revolution's communist course.

Lenin had begun to lead the fight to stem this retreat, but illness removed him from political activity in early 1923. He died in January 1924. Other prominent leaders of the CP then stepped forward to continue the Bolshevik-Leninist course.

## The 1923 'platform of 46'

In October 1923, 46 leaders of the CP submitted a manifesto to the party's Central Committee. This "platform of the 46" began with the economic difficulties confronting the revolution and the party leadership's shortcomings in meeting these challenges. It hit directly at the faction secretly built by Stalin, who controlled the administrative apparatus of the party.

"The party is to a considerable extent ceasing to be that living independent collectivity," the document asserted. It noted the "division of the party between the secretarial hierarchy and 'quiet folk,' between professional party officials recruited from above and the general mass of the party which does not participate in the common life." Party congresses, it charged, were becoming "the executive assemblies of this hierarchy."

Signers and supporters of the platform included figures such as V.A. Antonov-Ovseenko, who helped lead the October 1917 seizure of power in St. Petersburg; Yevgeny Preobrazhensky, a leading Bolshevik and economist who had joined the party in 1903; Christian Rakovsky, who headed the first Soviet government in the Ukraine; Nikolai Muralov, who also joined the Bolsheviks in 1903 and was a commander of the Red Army during the 1918-20 civil war; Ivan Smirnov, the chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee in 1920-21; Lev Sosnovsky, the head of the party's Propaganda and Agitation Department; and many others.

## Public debate breaks out

In November 1923, just six months before the CP's 13th congress, this political conflict surfaced in the pages of the Communist Party's daily *Pravda*, causing the newspaper's circulation to double. The Bolshevik-Leninists argued their case publicly. They won support in about a third of the party

organizations in the army. In factories where supporters of the "46" were allowed to debate their ideas, majorities were frequently won. The central committee of the Communist Youth declared its support and a large majority of the organization's student cells did likewise.

The most prominent leader to identify with this opposition was Leon Trotsky, who led the Red Army in the 1918-20 civil war and had been the Soviet government's first minister for foreign affairs. He publicly backed the "platform of the 46" in December 1923.

Those entrenched in the party apparatus fought desperately to preserve their position and used every means to marshal a majority. Stalin's faction punished supporters of the "platform of the 46" with administrative measures, including removing many from their governmental posts and jobs and halting votes on the platform in army party organizations. They disbanded the central committee of the Communist Youth and replaced it with one willing to submit to the Stalin faction, and they reshuffled the staff at *Pravda*.

The struggle continued after the 13th party congress. At the end of 1924, Trotsky wrote "The Lessons of October" to defend the historical record of the October 1917 revolution against distortions promoted by Stalin and his supporters for factional purposes. In 1925, political and economic conditions opened new divisions within the leadership of the Communist Party and paved the way for the 1926-27 United Opposition.

## The struggle of the United Opposition

By 1926, L.B. Kamenev and Gregory Zinoviev, central leaders of the CP who were previously in a bloc with Stalin, realized the danger posed to the revolution and attempted to retrace their steps. They formed a bloc, called the United Opposition, with veterans of the 1923 communist opposition. Zinoviev was the leader of the Leningrad party organization and brought with him support from important sections of the Leningrad working class.

In preparation for the 15th party congress in December 1927, the United Opposition published an extensive platform, "The Party Crisis and How to Overcome It," and a daily bulletin. It had a leadership that met, exchanged ideas, and led the fight to win the party back to a communist course.

Representatives of the opposition were sent out to party branches in Moscow and Leningrad and to provincial areas to win support. Despite physical attacks and harassment by Stalinist thugs and the secret police, meetings numbering from 20 to 200 were organized to discuss the opposition's proposals and ideas. Trotsky estimated that about 20,000 people took part in such meetings in Moscow and Leningrad. In one instance a

technical school was occupied and a meeting of 2,000 was held.

Repression by Stalin's faction again followed. Leaders of the opposition were expelled from the CP, denied jobs, and deported to remote parts of the Soviet Union. Under these pressures, the United Opposition split and Kamenev and Zinoviev capitulated to Stalin. Between 15,000 and 20,000 members of the CP were expelled as oppositionists, including Trotsky who was exiled to Turkey in 1929.

## Communist resistance continues

Trotsky and others continued to keep fighting for a communist perspective. They published a Russian-language magazine called *Bulletin of the Opposition*. It was edited by Trotsky and had to be published outside the Soviet Union because of the Stalinist terror. From 1929 until 1941 a total of 65 issues were printed in Paris, Berlin, Zurich, or New York and then smuggled into the Soviet Union for distribution. *The Militant Bolshevik*, a publication by Bolshevik-Leninists who were political prisoners, was also clandestinely distributed.

Leaders and members of Communist Parties in other countries who resisted the Communist International's break with Lenin's policies also faced persecution — including expulsion, thug attacks, burglaries, and vilification in the CP press — by the Stalinist bureaucracy. "The regime of the personal dictatorship has been fully transmitted from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to all the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries," Trotsky wrote in 1933. By the late 1930s, Stalin's assassins systematically murdered communists who resisted the bureaucracy's course.

In France, the United States, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, China, Austria, Mexico, Argentina, Greece, and other countries, communists fought to maintain the policies and perspectives of the Communist International in Lenin's time and identified with the struggle of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union.

## Communists' conclusions

Trotsky analyzed the nature of the counterrevolution carried out by the bureaucratic caste and explained its meaning for the Soviet Union in his book *The Revolution Betrayed* published in 1937. "The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism," he wrote. This halfway situation, he said, would prove to be transitional.

"Further development of accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism," Trotsky said. "On the road to capitalism the counterrevolution

would have to break the resistance of the workers. On the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy." But "the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses," he explained.

The central gains of the October 1917 revolution — state property relations in basic industry, the state monopoly on foreign trade, the nationalization of the banks, and economic planning — had not been reversed or fundamentally altered by the Stalinist counterrevolution.

There also remained a generation of workers who had gone through the rich experience of the Russian revolution. Many still had an understanding of what communism is and supported it.

These two facts were the assumptions underlying Trotsky's conclusion that a political revolution by the workers and peasants to sweep the caste from power was possible. To prepare and lead this struggle would require a communist party, like the Communist Party in Lenin's time, he said.

## Foundation for new party

The foundation for the new party, Trotsky explained, existed in the ranks and organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists. They had fought to continue the communist perspectives and policies of Lenin. It would be their responsibility and task to prepare to lead the masses in a showdown with the Stalinist bureaucracy, he said.

It was this possibility that Stalin's murder machine sought to eliminate in the 1930s through the show trials, frame-ups, mass executions, imprisonment in slave-labor camps, and assassinations of Bolshevik-Leninists, which eliminated an entire generation of communist fighters.

Nationalized property relations in basic industry remain the economic foundation of the Soviet Union today, but communist political consciousness among working people was eradicated. By World War II, the communist organization in the Soviet Union had been so destroyed as to preclude its revival even under the impact of the postwar revolutionary victories in Yugoslavia, China, and elsewhere. Subsequently, even any communist continuity of individuals in the Soviet Union has been severed altogether. No communism or working-class vanguard exists in the Soviet Union today. A new communist party can only be reborn as part of a broader advance of world revolution.

Our next article will examine the Soviet Union's survival of the imperialist onslaught in World War II and the postwar overturn of capitalist property relations in the countries of Eastern Europe.

(To be continued)

# Albania lifts some rights restrictions

BY RONI McCANN

On May 9 the Albanian People's Assembly passed a series of laws loosening the regime's grip on the country's population of 3.3 million. These include measures allowing the right to travel and worship and reducing the number of crimes punishable by death.

Citizens of the southeastern European country have not been allowed to travel outside Albania since 1944 except on official missions. Since the country was declared the "first atheist state in the world" in 1967, the practice of any religion has not been allowed. And Amnesty International says it is impossible to estimate the number of political prisoners arrested and detained by the Sigurimi, the secret police.

More moves to end Albania's decades-long, near-complete isolation are also being considered, including resumption of relations with the United States and the Soviet Union and improved relations with the European Community.

Only six months ago Albanian President Ramiz Alia, responding to the fall of totalitarian regimes throughout Eastern Europe

under the weight of massive popular protests, said, "Events occurring there do not concern us." He said this was something Albania would never experience.

On May 12, however, Alia stated that his policy of opening things up is now "unstoppable." These comments came at his first-ever news conference with foreign journalists, invited to the country during the first visit to Albania by United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

The People's Republic of Albania was created in 1946 after the Communist Party, which was aligned with Moscow, took power. The government was headed by Enver Hoxha for four decades until his death in 1985. Hoxha never established diplomatic relations with the United States. He broke off relations with the Soviet Union in 1961, during the rift between Moscow and Beijing, aligning with the Chinese government. But these relations ended in 1978 as ties between Washington and Beijing increased and following the death in 1976 of Chinese leader Mao Zedong.

After taking power in Albania, the Hoxha regime expelled, imprisoned, and executed

priests and clergy of all religious affiliations. Seventy percent of ethnic Albanians were Muslim, 20 percent Greek Orthodox, and 10 percent Roman Catholic. In the spring of 1966 the regime launched an "Ideological and Cultural Revolution," closing more than 2,000 mosques, monasteries, and churches.

The regime also imposed strict travel laws. The majority of Albanians have never had a passport. Borders are secured by an electrically wired fence and booby traps. And while several thousand Albanians have escaped, an uncounted number were killed trying.

One of the recent laws passed reduced the 34 crimes punishable by death to 11. Under the reign of the regime's secret police, thousands of Albanians have been deported to remote labor camps or interned without trial.

Private ownership of automobiles is illegal and the majority of Albanians travel by oxcart or on foot.

In March the Alia government began to allow citizens to dial direct to 50 countries and has agreed to accept incoming telephone calls from the United States.

—from Pathfinder—

## The Revolution Betrayed

By Leon Trotsky

How a parasitic caste arose in the Soviet Union in 1920s and '30s • How communist leadership was overturned • The bureaucracy's reactionary domestic and foreign policies

\$11.95. Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 postage and handling.



# Unions score victories in S. Africa

BY GREG McCARTAN  
AND RICH PALSER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The rise of a militant trade union movement in South Africa over the last decade is a central feature of the unfolding battle against apartheid. Union organizing drives, strike actions, and worker demonstrations are a central part of the growing revolutionary mobilizations here.

Today, after years of hard-fought battles against the employers and the apartheid regime, strong trade unions exist in most industries. From a few tens of thousands in the mid-1970s, 1.5 million Black workers now belong to trade unions.

The nonracial Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is the largest federation in the country. It has grown from 500,000 members at its founding in 1985 to 1.3 million today.

The only other federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), is also nonracial. Nactu, says its General Secretary Cunningham Ngcukana, has 240,000 paid-up members. There are also "whites only" unions.

As a union federation, COSATU plays an active and leading role in the broader anti-apartheid struggle. It supports the Freedom Charter, a document adopted by a broadly representative congress in 1955, which outlines the aims and objectives of the liberation struggle.

COSATU members, wearing their union's T-shirts and carrying union banners, participate in every anti-apartheid activity. COSATU has actively campaigned against repressive legislation, police killings, and other issues. It organizes an unemployed league, the Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee. Leaders of the federation speak at many rallies and protests.

Neil Coleman, COSATU's information officer, explained that the unions are playing an important role in uniting broad layers of the working-class in the anti-apartheid struggle. Apartheid's aim was not only to weaken the struggle of workers by creating divisions between workers who are white and Black. The system sought to pit Africans against those classified by the regime as Indians and Coloureds. The apartheid regime has gone to extreme lengths to use tribal origins and language and regional differences to divide Africans. It also attempts to turn immigrant

workers from other southern African countries against those born in South Africa.

By organizing Africans, Indians, Coloureds — and even some whites — into common unions and one federation, these divisions created by apartheid are broken down. Both in the workplace and in the townships and the so-called bantustans, the common experiences, organization, and political leadership shared by COSATU members welds a powerful unified force.

## Offensive against the unions

Coleman explained that over the past two years, "We have seen more repression, more of an offensive, particularly by capital against the trade unions and workers."

In early 1988 COSATU, along with dozens of anti-apartheid organizations, was "restricted" by the white minority regime. While not completely banned, the unions were prohibited from organizing political actions. In addition, Coleman said, a new Labour Relations Act was enacted in September 1988.

These moves by the government came in the midst of a general crackdown against the anti-apartheid struggle, including the imposition of a state of emergency in 1986. Thousands of activists were rounded up and jailed. "Since then," the union leader said, "we have seen a systematic attack on the trade unions and all our hard-won gains over the past 10 years."

The Labour Relations Act's central goal "was to erode and remove collective bargaining rights we have won," Coleman said. It severely restricted the union's right to strike and engage in solidarity actions. The legislation was "met by a wave of worker action," which has "forced both capital and the state to retreat on the measure."

The government's National Manpower Commission recently released recommendations for a new labor act, with the backing of COSATU and Nactu. The measures also have the tentative support of the employers' association, the South African Coordinating Consultative Committee.

The commission's recommendations include extending labor rights to cover the nominally independent "homelands," civil servants, farm workers, and domestic servants; the decriminalization of strikes and a bar on selective dismissals; and the right of every employee to freedom of association.

Bringing farm workers and domestic workers under the law would be "a major victory," Coleman said. "They have traditionally been under semifeudal conditions." Pushing back the regime and the bosses is a result of the "systematic and protracted campaign we have waged," he added.

## Shifting tactics

The other aspect of the antiunion drive has come directly from the employers. For years the employers would only negotiate with unions on a national level, Coleman explained. This tactic was used to avoid bargaining on a plant-by-plant basis with the emerging militant, but still numerically small, unions. Today, when strong countrywide unions exist, the bosses "are trying to break down the system of national collective bargaining which is built up," he said. "They are trying to force unions to bargain plant by plant."

Coleman said these trends indicate, "Whereas the state has moved into a defensive posture in the political arena, on the industrial front there has been an offensive posture, especially from capital's side."

But, in response, "there is a very militant spirit among workers which reflects the spirit at large." This determination has been reinforced by the unbanning of the African National Congress and the lifting of the restrictions on COSATU in early February. "There is a lot of strike activity," Coleman explained.

A particular focus of protest is the regime's plans "to sell off, essentially at bargain prices, whole areas of the state sector to capital in order to break up and fragment these sectors," he said.

This privatization would not only result in layoffs, attempts to weaken the unions, and worsening conditions on the job, but "consumers stand to pay high prices for essentials like electricity."

These moves are an "attempt to deny the future democratic state the resources with which to run the country," Coleman stressed. As a result of workers' mobilizations "elements in the state and big capital are making



Militant/Greg McCartan

Members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa on strike at a British-owned auto parts plant. Seeking a wage increase and protesting discriminatory practices, workers clock in at the start of the shift and picket inside the main gate.

noises about retreating on the privatization issue. We would also see this as a partial victory."

## Transport workers' strike

A recent example of the growing strength of COSATU's affiliates was the recent national strike by rail and dock workers. Since the strike ended in January more workers are joining the South African Rail and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU), according to the union's Secretary-General David Moete.

The docks, and rail, bus, and air transport, are part of the state controlled Transnet. "We won no immediate wage increase as a result of the strike," but they agreed to enter into wage negotiations for the first time with the union, Moete explained. While wage negotiations cover only the Natal region, once Transnet "sets wages for Natal, they will have to set the same for everybody," he said.

The 13-week strike was a hard-fought battle. Union members were attacked by armed police and company-organized vigilantes. Many strikers were injured or killed. Despite this, Moete says, "we see this strike as a victory for the workers, including those who didn't strike. We fought hard for many years."

Moete, a laborer at the Durban docks, was fired in 1985 for his union activity. During a tour of the giant port and nearby rail facilities, he pointed out places where he used to slip in and out of work areas to talk to workers and persuade them to join the union.

While based initially among African workers, SARHWU is making progress in building the union among the entire work force. Indian workers are "coming to us in large numbers," he said. "We also are starting a campaign to organize white workers."

Responsible for coordinating the campaign is Johann Beauvois, an Afrikaner fired by Transnet for his union activity. "During the 1980s," Beauvois explained, "economic conditions have started changing in South Africa. It became more difficult for the ruling National Party government to give regular wage increases" to white workers.

Following the union's victory in the strike, more workers who are white are interested in joining SARHWU, Beauvois explained. They are currently organized in a whites-only union. At the beginning of April some 10,000 struck, demanding Transnet give them a 17 percent wage increase. This was the first strike by white workers in the industry in 31 years.

## Backing negotiations

COSATU is also backing the process of negotiations between the government and the African National Congress, Coleman explained. "The position of the ANC and the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement], a broad anti-apartheid coalition, 'has been clear all along: It is no good talking if you are being shot at or if the result is the disarming and demobilization of your people. The purpose of the negotiations in our view is to advance to a nonracial and democratic South Africa,'" he said.

"From the side of the MDM and COSATU we accept the leading role of the ANC in our liberation struggle. In the national, demo-

cratic revolution the ANC is the leading force," he added. The COSATU leader stressed that a "climate of free political activity" must be established for negotiations to be successful. "In other words, people have to be able to organize, meet, and protest without the fear of being shot at, detained, harassed, and so on."

The unbanning of the ANC and the South African Communist Party led to COSATU holding two important meetings recently. At the end of March, COSATU leaders met in Harare, Zimbabwe, with the SACP leadership. In mid-March a meeting was held in Lusaka, Zambia with leaders of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

SACTU, formed in 1953, has operated in exile after the regime unleashed extensive repression against it in the early 1960s. Since then SACTU has collaborated with the emerging trade union movement inside the country. In a joint statement following the Lusaka meeting the two federations agreed that "SACTU does not see itself reemerging inside the country."

COSATU and SACTU "agree to the phasing out of SACTU with the objective of achieving the principle of one country, one federation," the statement explained.

SACTU members will be integrated "into COSATU and unions as far as it is possible," inside South Africa.

Coleman said the meeting with the SACP leadership was "quite historic because it was the first opportunity that the two organizations had to share ideas on the role of the working class in the future South Africa, on the perspectives of the revolutionary national state after liberation, the relationship between the Freedom Charter and socialism, the relationship between the trade unions and the party, and so on."

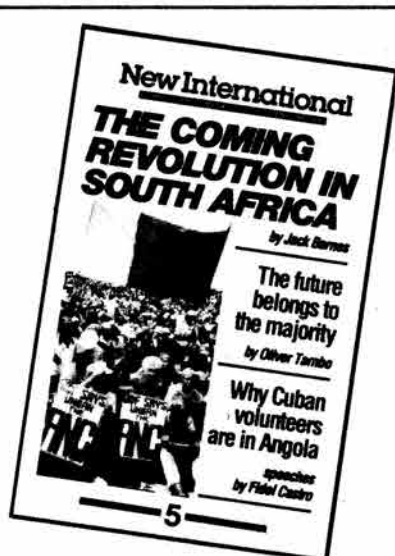
Coleman emphasized that "COSATU is not a political party, it is a trade union movement." The unions "cannot subscribe to the socialist program," as a political party can.

The meeting concluded that COSATU should not affiliate to the ANC, the SACP, or any other political organization "because while the trade union movement is a mass organization of the working class, the Communist Party sees itself as a vanguard organization — a political party of the working class," the COSATU leader said.

Coleman explained that "there are many workers in COSATU who support the Communist Party and have the greatest respect for the role it has played. COSATU sees itself in alliance with the SACP."

While the trade union movement must "protect and advance the objectives of workers" on the factory floor and in society at large, "we must learn the lessons of the socialist countries that the trade union movement must not allow itself to become transmission belts for the policies of the state, the party, or any institution," Coleman stressed. "It must retain its independence."

By building alliances with the ANC and the SACP, the trade union movement "can develop shared perspectives and approaches," and "come together for certain objectives," he said.



This issue of *New International* focuses on the revolutionary struggle in South Africa, its impact throughout southern Africa and worldwide, and the tasks of opponents of apartheid in the labor movement internationally.

The feature article, *The Coming Revolution in South Africa* by Jack Barnes, discusses the national, democratic revolution to overthrow the South African apartheid regime and establish a nonracial democratic republic.

Also included:

- **The Freedom Charter**
- **The Future Belongs to the Majority**, a message by African National Congress President Oliver Tambo
- **Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola**, three speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro

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# How Lebanese masses were cheated of their victory in 1975-76 civil war

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN  
AND HARRY RING

(Last of four parts)

In the 1975-76 civil war, the Lebanese masses were cheated of their imminent victory by a massive invasion from Syria. Fearful that revolutionary victory could curb their influence in Lebanon, the Syrian rulers moved in with a major force and imposed a "truce" in the fighting — a truce that served to perpetuate the reactionary status quo.

The Syrian forces were able to accomplish this only after a fierce struggle. At one point

## CONFLICT IN LEBANON: The historical background

the joint Lebanese-Palestinian forces drove the Syrians from the port city of Sidon and battled them to a standstill outside Beirut.

But there were other powerful forces arrayed against the Lebanese and Palestinian fighters.

The Israeli regime, also fearful of a revolutionary victory in Lebanon, provided the right-wing Phalange with an arsenal of weapons. Israeli officers helped to train Phalange forces and to plan strategy for them.

All of these efforts to crush the Lebanese revolution had Washington's seal of approval.

The Syrians were able to cripple Lebanon's economy by blockading various areas of the country. In Beirut and elsewhere, the people were deprived of food and other basic needs.

Meanwhile, the Phalangists, bolstered by the outside support, made renewed assaults on Lebanese and Palestinians. There were heavy bombardments and massacres by right-wing Maronites and Syrian forces. The casualties were heavy. Estimates of the war dead run as high as 40,000, with as many as 15,000 of them Palestinians.

On March 16, 1977, Kamal Jumblatt was assassinated near a Syrian checkpoint. His death was a further setback for the progressive forces.

Heavily outnumbered and outgunned, the Lebanese and Palestinian combatants were compelled to accept a cease-fire.

### Buffer against Israel

Since that reactionary intervention in Lebanon's internal affairs, Syrian forces have remained in the country. Concerned with the threat of aggression, the Syrian rulers have looked upon Lebanon as a military buffer against Israel.

But the Syrian rulers have additional concerns. One is the presence of Palestine Liberation Organization forces in Lebanon. Apart from small dissident PLO factions that are loyal to it, the Syrian government has not been able to dominate the PLO and fears its attractive power and its revolutionary impact.

Syria's rulers want a stable regime in Lebanon, one that will accommodate the interests of Syria's government and not challenge its policies.

The Syrian regime intervened in the 1975-76 civil war because it feared an independent Lebanon where the long-standing religious divisions would be finally overcome. Such a development, it realizes, would open the way for the workers and farmers of Lebanon to fight for their full emancipation.

At the same time, Syria recognizes that the Maronite effort to subjugate the Muslim majority creates a social and political powder keg. And the Syrian regime is also concerned that a Maronite government would align itself with Israel.

For these reasons, the Syrian government now supports a rearrangement of the Lebanese political structure that would give more representation to the Muslims. But it favors such a reshuffling within the framework of continuing religious division.

With their intervention in the 1975-76

civil war, Syrian armed forces dealt Lebanon's working people a heavy setback. But they have been unable to establish a stable, unified rule in the country.

### Israeli rulers backed by Washington

The Israeli rulers have also persisted in efforts to impose their solution on Lebanon. Backed by Washington, they launched a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in 1982. They aimed to install a stable Maronite regime that would take their orders.

And high on the Israeli agenda was the goal of crushing the PLO forces in Lebanon. The invasion inflicted a heavy toll in human lives. And, for a period, it did force the departure of the PLO's armed units from Lebanon. But in the years since, many of the PLO forces have been able to regroup in Lebanon.

Over the years, the role of French imperialism has declined in Lebanon, and Washington's role has increased. There have been two direct U.S. military interventions in the country.

In May 1958, a revolt erupted against the regime headed by then President Camille Chamoun. It cut across religious lines, involving Shiite and Sunni Muslims, Druze, and various Christian sects, including Maronites. These forces, however, were unable to bring the regime down and a stalemate developed.

The stalemate was broken in July when President Dwight Eisenhower dispatched 15,000 marines to Lebanon. The intervention,

intended to end the crisis in Lebanon, was also a threat to a nationalist regime that had come to power that month in an uprising in Iraq.

With the U.S. Marines in Lebanon, a cease-fire was imposed in the civil war. The Lebanese army chief of staff, Gen. Fouad Shehab, became president.

Then, in September, the Phalange unleashed a wave of kidnappings and murders. It forced a reshuffling of government posts and, for the first time, its chieftain Pierre Gemayel was given a top spot.

### 1982 imperialist intervention

The next time U.S. troops were sent into Lebanon was in 1982 to buttress the heavy blows of the Israeli invasion.

When the PLO fighters agreed to leave Lebanon at the end of August 1982, there was a proviso that a special U.S., French, and Italian force would shield them from possible Israeli attack. Washington also agreed that troops would remain in Beirut to assure the safety of Palestinian civilians.

As soon as the PLO troops were gone, the U.S., French, and Italian forces pulled out.

Then followed the infamous massacre at two Palestinian refugee camps — Sabra and Shatila. The unarmed Palestinians were butchered by Phalangist killers acting with the full complicity of the Israeli forces.

With the massacre done, a U.S., French, British, and Italian "peacekeeping" force returned.

An agreement sponsored by Washington

## Under Israeli occupation

There has been a good deal of media focus on the Syrian troops garrisoned in Lebanon. But not too much is written about the 325-square-mile "strip" of southern Lebanon occupied by Israel. The strip runs along the border between the two countries.

After Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978, its troops held onto a stretch of land six miles wide, which included 59 Lebanese villages.

After its 1982 invasion, Israel extended the occupied strip. It now ranges up to 30 miles in width and embraces 171 villages with more than 200,000 residents, nearly 8 percent of Lebanon's population.

Palestinian residents of the area were driven out and a refugee camp razed.

Tel Aviv asserts that control of the area is necessary for Israel's security.

The Israeli government now issues its own

and the Israeli regime again installed a Phalangist, Amin Gemayel, as head of state. But that regime too was unable to hang onto power.

### U.S. bombardments

By 1983 Washington had 14,000 troops stationed in Lebanon or on ships off its coast. These troops regularly bombarded areas held by forces opposed to the Phalangist regime. Syrian-held areas were hit as well.

But the resistance continued and the U.S. forces suffered some blows. In October 1983 came the truck bomb attack on the U.S. Marines compound at the Beirut airport. The blast left 239 U.S. soldiers dead.

The costly incident sparked a strong clamor in the United States to get the troops out of there and, in a short time, they were withdrawn.

Currently, Washington seems to favor the efforts of Lebanese President Elias Hrawi to establish his authority. It remains to be seen if he will be able to do that and achieve his declared aim of modifying Lebanon's political structure to offer a greater role to Muslim politicians.

The present events — and the history of Lebanon — confirm that there will be no durable peace or social progress until the Lebanese toilers are able to put an end to fratricidal religious divisions, unite in a struggle to overturn the proimperialist capitalist regime, and establish a government of Lebanon's workers and farmers.

license plates to the cars in the zone. Some key water sources are connected to the Israeli water system and Lebanese residents must pay the Israeli government for the water they use.

Villages deemed to be cooperative with the occupation get water supplies and are hooked into the Israeli telephone system. "Uncooperative" villagers get their water and electricity cut off.

The area is mainly policed by a Lebanese mercenary force called the South Lebanon Army. The ranks of the SLA are recruited, trained, and financed by the Israeli military. While Christians are a minority in the strip, the SLA is headed by a Christian and its ranks are mainly Christian.

The mercenaries are paid more than can generally be earned in the area. Their relatives are given permits to work in Israel.



South Lebanon after 1982 Israeli attack

## Chernobyl nuke disaster toll still mounting

BY HARRY RING

Four years after the explosion and fire at the Soviet nuclear power plant in Chernobyl, the damage and the casualty toll continue to mount. Recent Soviet government revelations confirm that the scope of the disaster was greater than initially reported.

When the blast occurred, April 26, 1986, Soviet officials said 31 people died in the accident and in the weeks immediately following it, and that 300 people had been hospitalized, 145 with acute radiation sickness.

Yuri Shcherbak, a Ukrainian doctor and a representative to the Soviet legislature, told reporters that an estimated 300 additional people have died since the initial casualties.

The Chernobyl complex is in the Soviet republic of the Ukraine, a few miles from its border with the neighboring Soviet republic of Byelorussia. An estimated 70 percent of the Chernobyl fallout is said to have struck Byelorussia.

Vladimir Lipsky, who heads Byelorussia's Children's Fund, declared that 2.2 million Byelorussians — one in five — are living in areas contaminated by radioactivity.

He added that in a hospital in the city of Minsk, one or two children now die every week of leukemia. Before the accident, the rate was one or two a year.

Altogether, it is estimated that some 4 million people in Byelorussia, the Ukraine,

and western Russia are living on contaminated ground. Soviet authorities now say that 150,000 people are suffering serious doses of radioactive iodine in their thyroid glands.

Among people who have worked at the Chernobyl plant since the blast, the death rate is now 10 times higher than before the disaster.

In the immediate aftermath of the explosion, 116,000 people living within an 18-mile radius of the plant were evacuated and relocated. Now, officials agree, it will be necessary to relocate an additional 200,000 people.

In one Ukrainian agricultural district 37 miles from the reactor, levels of radioactivity is still nine times higher than deemed "acceptable."

There's been a big increase there in cases of thyroid disease, anemia, and cancer. Residents complain of fatigue and loss of appetite and vision — symptoms of radiation sickness. A local doctor said children are the most affected.

Igor Kostin, a Soviet photographer, has been covering the disaster since shortly after it occurred. An exhibit of his photos will be touring major U.S. cities beginning in Baltimore this month.

Advance release of some of the photos tell a grim story: fish much larger and weaker than normal, a colt with eight legs, and eyeless pigs.

The economic toll of Chernobyl is also enormous. The massive relocation program will finally cost about \$26 billion.

A Soviet government economist recently estimated that when the price of the cleanup and the value of lost farmland and production are included, the cost could run as high as \$358 billion.

Since the Chernobyl accident the Soviet government has postponed or canceled 30 projected nuclear power plants, some in the face of strong public protest.

The plight of the people of the afflicted areas has been compounded by Kremlin moves to shift part of the burden of the cost on to them. Ukrainian and Byelorussian officials are now appealing for help to United Nations agencies and to various governments.

At the end of March, 139 children who lived near the nuclear complex and need medical care were welcomed to Cuba by President Fidel Castro.

Irina Ivasenko, head of the Chernobyl Children's Association, said they have sought help from the World Health Organization and others, but so far the only significant response has been from Cuba.

She said an estimated 100,000 children in the Ukraine and Byelorussia are in need of medical care. Castro said Cuba could provide such care for up to 10,000 of these children.



# 'Unions: their past, present, and future'

The following selection from in Pathfinder's soon-to-be-released book *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky is a short resolution titled "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future," written by Karl Marx.

Marx, with Frederick Engels, was the founder of scientific socialism. In 1848 — as young members of the Communist League, an international association of revolutionary workers — Marx and Engels published *The Communist Manifesto* and participated in the revolutionary upheavals that swept Europe that year.

In 1864 Marx took part in the London meeting where the International Working Men's Association was founded, and became a central leader of its General Council. Marx's resolution on trade unions in the coming Pathfinder book was written for the 1866 congress of the association, held in Geneva, Switzerland.

The International Working Men's Association was the first mass international organization of the working class. It drew together unionists, socialists, and working-class fighters from England, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and other European countries, and the United States.

The association led political and union campaigns to advance the international unity, organization, and education of working people. It fought to extend the right to vote to workers in England. It campaigned for progressive labor legislation, including a shorter working day, an end to night work, and protective legislation for women and children. It helped organize unions, supported strikes, and sought to educate workers about their historic role in abolishing capitalism and transforming society. The First International, as it was known, supported the fight against the southern slavocracy in the U.S. Civil War. And it hailed the French workers who rose and took power for two months in the Paris Commune of 1871.

Most of the articles in the new Pathfinder book, which has a publication date of July 1, were written by Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was a central leader of the 1917 Russian revolution, the Communist Party of Russia, and the Communist International.

The selections by Trotsky are introduced with prefaces by Farrell Dobbs, who was a leader of the Teamster struggles in the Midwest in the 1930s and a leader for many years of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

\* \* \*

## (a) Their past

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force [labor power]. The contract between capital and labor can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labor on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The

force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves*.

Trades' unions originally sprang up from the spontaneous attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of trades' unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediences for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labor. This activity of the trades' unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalized by the formation and the combination of trades' unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trades' unions were forming *centers of organization* of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trades' unions are required for

the guerrilla fights between capital and labor, they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wages labor and capital rule*.

## (b) Their present

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trades' unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International [Working Men's] Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the

advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

## (c) Their future

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the nonsociety men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

\*The Sheffield conference, July 17-21, 1866, drew 138 delegates representing 200,000 organized workers in Britain.

## Gov't S&L plan fails to stem crisis

Continued from front page  
increased insurance premiums.

Nine months later, estimates of what the total S&L bailout will cost have risen to between \$300 and \$500 billion — and get higher with each passing day.

Instead of slowing down, the S&L crisis has accelerated.

S&L losses in 1989 soared to \$19.2 billion, far larger than in 1988, when they were \$13.4 billion. During the last quarter of 1989, when the new law was already in place, losses totaled \$6.5 billion.

In February Florida's largest S&L, Centrust Bank of Miami, failed and was seized by the government. L. William Seidman, chairman of the RTC, said the bank will cost \$2 billion to close. Other regulators estimate \$3 billion — far more than the cost of closing Lincoln Savings and Loan Association, the California S&L that was the costliest failure until now.

By mid-March, 393 S&Ls had been seized by the federal government and 550 others were insolvent or nearly so. Government regulators estimate that by 1992, as many as one-third of S&Ls will have failed and been taken over by the government — a "de facto nationalization of a large segment of the savings industry," commented the March 13 *New York Times*.

While expenses mount, income to the federal government from S&Ls is shrinking. The government had assumed that under the new law S&L deposits would grow 7 percent a year in the coming period, adding to insurance premium receipts by \$12 billion. Instead deposits have dropped sharply, as "healthy" S&Ls have contracted to meet the law's new

capital-to-loan requirements and because the RTC is selling some seized S&L deposits to commercial banks.

## Real estate sale

On May 8 the RTC decided to hold a fire sale on the \$16.4 billion in real estate and other properties it holds from insolvent S&Ls.

Prices for properties that have been held for six months or longer without being sold will drop 15 percent, followed by another 5 percent cut in three months if they remain unsold. Properties still not sold after that can be auctioned off at 30 percent below their appraised value. The RTC's first major auction is in July, when the agency will try to unload \$300 million in seized real estate.

The RTC's expanding real estate holdings include single-family houses, undeveloped land, partly completed apartment complexes, vacant office buildings, half-built resorts, and other assets from S&L investments-gone-bad and loans made by S&Ls that were defaulted on.

The money realized from the real estate sales will go toward reducing the cost of the bailout, government regulators say. Lack of buyers for what the government already is holding adds \$9 million a day to the cost of the bailout.

But the decision to sell the government-held real estate at far below appraised value is not without dangers.

Unloading vast amounts of real estate at below-market prices — in effect, "dumping" — could further drive down real estate prices — especially because 70 percent of the seized real estate is in the Southwest where real estate prices are already depressed. "Plunging property values would hurt landlords, cause still-solvent banks and thrifts to fail, and even trigger a nationwide recession," cautioned the *Washington Post* before the RTC made its decision.

Commercial banks are also threatened by their increased dependency on real estate loans. Two-thirds of all new lending by banks is related to real estate. Write-offs of these loans have nearly quadrupled. In the Northeast, where real estate values have also dropped substantially, a number of large banks recently announced that they were increasing the reserves set aside to cover such bad loans. Nationally, nonperforming loans and foreclosed property increased by one-third in 1989.

## More junk bonds

Among the seized assets now held by the RTC are \$4.24 billion in junk bonds. These are bonds issued by companies whose credit ratings are below investment grade — some 96 percent of U.S. corporations. Because they are riskier, junk bonds pay higher dividends in order to attract investors. Before the new law was passed requiring S&Ls to sell their junk bonds by 1994, thrifts held billions of dollars in such bonds. As thrifts have failed, the bonds have passed to the government.

The RTC, instead of getting rid of the junk bonds it now holds, "intends to become a long-term player in the junk market," the *Wall Street Journal* recently reported.

The RTC is trying to sell seized thrifts whole, but so far has had only limited success, despite massive tax breaks and other incentives for capitalist investors.

So anxious is the RTC to unload S&Ls and real estate that they now are offering a "money-back" guarantee allowing buyers one year to return to the government assets they decide they do not want.

But the very rules passed to stem the S&L losses — such as getting rid of junk bonds, higher capital standards, and the requirement that 70 percent of assets be in low-yielding home loans — mean lower profits, and investors look elsewhere.

The S&L crisis began in the late 1970s and early '80s when the government lifted the ceiling on the interest thrifts could pay on deposits. This was done so that they could hold onto funds being pulled away to commercial banks that paid higher rates. However, since their income was mostly from fixed-rate, low-interest home mortgages, S&Ls began to lose money in a big way.

In 1981 and '82, banking deregulation allowed S&Ls to offer variable-rate mortgages in order to raise revenues to keep up with the higher interest they were paying depositors. They were also permitted to diversify their financial dealings, and the amount of capital required by thrifts to back up new lending was lowered.

Depositors poured billions into the thrifts, to cash in on higher interest rates. Needing more income to pay the interest, S&Ls loaned money on increasingly speculative ventures. The looser government regulations made it possible for them to get into commercial loans, real estate, and junk bonds.

As the crisis worsened, the government stalled in closing insolvent S&Ls, sometimes for years, increasing losses and driving up the cost of the current bailout by at least \$42 billion.

Last August's savings and loan bailout legislation represents a decision by the capitalist rulers to have their government in Washington assume responsibility for the mounting losses of the banking system in an attempt to avert a broader crisis. The aim is not to protect the small checking or savings accounts of working people and small business owners. Rather it is to bail out the wealthy shareholders and bondholders, who stand to lose billions when these financial institutions collapse.

The problem is that the S&L crisis is getting worse, not better, and is just the tip of the iceberg of the financial strains on banks, insurance companies, pension funds, and semigovernmental mortgage and loan agencies.

RTC head Seidman, who also is chairman of the FDIC, reported recently that commercial bank failures had dropped. During the first four months of 1990, he said, 52 banks with assets of \$4.7 billion failed, as compared to 73 banks with assets of \$19.7 billion during the same period last year.

He also reported that the FDIC lost \$800 million last year, leaving the fund with \$13.2 billion.

That's enough to cover about 7 percent of insured deposits.

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

## TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY

BY LEON TROTSKY

includes *TRADE UNIONS: THEIR PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE* by KARL MARX

The trade unions "must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions."

— Karl Marx

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CALIFORNIA

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GEORGIA

Atlanta

**Malcolm X: One of the Greatest Revolutionaries of This Country.** Video with discussion to follow. Sat., May 19, 6:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

IOWA

Des Moines

**The Conditions in Prisons and the Fight for Prisoners' Rights.** Speakers: John Studer, coordinator Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Jane Harlan, lawyer for women inmates suing state prison over brutal treatment; others. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas and Their Relevancy for Today.** Speaker: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27. Sat., May 19. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

**In Defense of Socialism: Eyewitness Report from Cuba.** Slide presentation by members of Young Socialist Alliance just returned from participation in 21st contingent of Venceremos Brigade. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

Austin

**Lithuania and the Struggle for Independence in the Soviet Republics.** Speaker: representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., May 20, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

**Celebrate African Liberation Day: The Promise and the Reality of African Liberation.** Speaker: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party, professor of political science at U of M. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**Cuba's Role in Africa.** Speaker: Clinton

Adlum, first secretary of Cuban Interests Section. Fri., May 25. For more on time and location information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

**The Struggle Against Apartheid.** Speaker: Paris Mashile, African National Congress. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

**AIDS: The Myths, Facts, and How the Haitian Community Has Fought Racist FDA Policy.** Speakers: Ed Nonez, East Orange Haitian Students Association; Don Ransom, Paterson HIV health consultant; Don Mackle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

**Tear Down the Korean Wall! U.S. Troops Out of South Korea!** Speaker: Peter Thierjung, Militant staff writer. Translation to French and Spanish. Sat., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

**Cuba Mobilizes to Defend Its Revolution.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, Militant reporter at May Day events in Cuba; Ernie Mailhot, participant in international delegation of unionists at May Day celebration, staff coordinator International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. (at 21st St.) Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

New York City

**Behind the News.** Radio program hosted by Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Every Wed., 7-7:30 p.m. WBAI 99.5 FM.

OREGON

Portland

**Benefit Concert for Mark Curtis.** Fund-raiser for the framed-up and imprisoned Iowa unionist and political activist. Music by Harry Stamper, folksinger and longshoreman from Coos Bay. Presentations by Marc Thomas, coordinator Amnesty International's Portland chapter and Frank Johnson, member Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers from St. Helens. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. Peace House, 2116 NE 18th at Tillamook. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Oregon Supporters of Mark Curtis. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Houston

**Celebrate Malcolm X's Birthday.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

**What Socialists Stand For.** Speaker: Ellie Garcia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 2nd C.D. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 147 E

# Rally to Demand Justice for Mark Curtis

Hear:

## Kate Kaku

leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife who just completed a tour of seven European countries and Canada and attended this year's session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva

## Paul Chalmers

education and training officer, Northern Hotel, Hospital, Restaurant and Related Trades Employees, Industrial Union of Workers, Auckland, New Zealand

and others

Saturday, June 9, 7:30 p.m.

Bismarck Hotel, Pavilion Room, 171 Randolph

Donation: \$5

Sponsor: Chicago supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee

900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## BRITAIN

Cardiff

**Thomas Sankara and the African Revolution.** Video showing. Sat., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

**Eyewitness Report From Grenada.** Speaker: Geoff Revell, executive member National Union of Railwaymen. Fri., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Manchester

**Africa: The Roar of Women's Silence.** Celebration of the publication of the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara. Wed., May 30, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

**Energy and the Environment.** Speakers: members of National Union of Railwaymen and National Union of Mineworkers. Wed., May 23, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

## CANADA

Toronto

**Justice for Mark Curtis.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife; Andre Kolompak, president Toronto local, Canadian Union of Postal Workers; Dudley Laws, Black Action Defence Committee; Cherie MacDonald, organizer, Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics; Peter Mahlangu,

African National Congress chief representative in Canada; Ruth Morris, Prisoner Rights Advocate; Michel Prairie, editor *Lutte ouvrière*; Arturo Valencia, National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). Sun., May 27, 4 p.m. First Unitarian Congregation, 175 St. Clair Ave. W (west of Avenue Rd.). Program includes video showing of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, directed by Nick Castle. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tel: (416) 654-3431 or 861-1399.

**Germany Reunited? Which Way Forward for Working People?** Speaker: Margaret Manwaring, Communist League Central Committee, member Canadian Auto Workers Local 1967. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver

**Justice Denied: The Frame-Up of Donald Marshall.** Video presentation. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

**Victory in Namibia.** Speaker: Joe Shilongo, member South West Africa People's Organisation who participated in Namibia election campaign. Sat., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

**Defend Framed-Up Unionist Mark Curtis.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, leader of Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife; Claire Culhane, Prisoners' Rights Group; Pam Frache, former British Columbia chairperson Canadian Federation of Students; George Lai, African National Congress; Frances MacQueen, member, Amnesty International; Mike Barker, member Provincial Executive of Hospital Employees' Union. Sat., June 2. Reception, 7 p.m.; meeting, 8 p.m. Langara Student Union Building, Vancouver Community College Langara campus, 100 W 49th Ave. (southwest corner of campus, access through west doors). Donation: \$5. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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**Well said** — It's estimated that in next November's U.S. elections, a record two-thirds of those eligible



Harry Ring

to vote will stay home. Observed one pollster, "People don't feel any sense of ownership over the federal government. It isn't them, and it isn't theirs."

**Militant subscription, anyone?** — We didn't check the other New York dailies, but both the *Times* and

*Newsday* gave a slug of space to the assertion by Greyhound's chairman that, for all practical purposes, the strike against the bus line was over. The next day that crock of bull was exposed by Greyhound's announcement that, for two weeks, it was cutting fares in half. That story got one inch in *Newsday* and zippo in the *Times*.

**"Productivity plus" increases** — Top directors of British companies pocketed average salary increases of 33 percent — four times the official inflation rate and nearly four times the rate at which profits increased.

**Whatever** — Weapons that the Israeli government says it sent to Antigua in the Caribbean ended up

with a Colombian drug dealer. The Antiguan government says it neither ordered nor received the weapons. Israel said the order was confirmed by the minister of defense. Antigua said it doesn't have one. Earlier, Israel said the order came from the minister of national security. Antigua doesn't have one of those either.

**The caring system** — When a measles vaccine was introduced in the 1960s, the U.S. rate of infection dropped to a record low. Now there is an epidemic in 25 states. Last year 45 children died of measles, and 40 have died in the first four months of this year. Meanwhile, the government says it's run out of money for emergency vaccinations.

**Pure science** — A reader advises that DuPont is marketing the first patented animal. The Onco Mouse costs \$50 — 10 times the standard price for laboratory mice. Nonprofit labs will be able to breed only 100 mice from each DuPont mouse they buy. Commercial labs will have to pay a royalty for each product they develop with the mouse.

**A green administration** — As-  
sertedly to preserve salmon stocks, the New Brunswick provincial government in Canada auctions off fishing rights in the Restigouche River. James Irving, a top dog of Canadian capitalism, paid US\$378,000 for a 10-year exclusive on some of the best pools in the river. Responding to critics, an official said, "It's our

responsibility to generate as large a return . . . as we can."

**Things are tough all over** — A Tokyo store has unloaded more than 20 gold-plated Hitachi refrigerators, at \$57,000 each. But another Japanese store can't find a taker for a "lucky" New Year's packet: a solid gold statue; a 5-carat diamond ring; a lacquerware set; and a Mercedes Benz — \$1,400,000.

**Thought for the week** — "I really believe we are the Peace Corps with M-16s." — Maj. William Chadwick, head of the Green Beret unit that will begin operating as a counterinsurgency force in Africa.

## New Grenada government faces economic crisis

BY RONI McCANN

An economic and social crisis continues to deepen on the island of Grenada, as in all the Caribbean, placing a tall order before the recently elected government of Nicholas Brathwaite. He campaigned on a platform of promised improvement in the conditions of life for working people.

Brathwaite, leader of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), was named prime minister March 16, three days after general elections in Grenada.

With employment running at 40 percent, rising inflation, and a soaring \$200 million foreign debt, Brathwaite claimed in an interview with *Carib News* that his plan is to reorganize the economy, making it more productive to benefit all Grenadians.

Terry Marryshow, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), says he thinks this is impossible and that working people will continue to bear the brunt of the capitalist crisis. In an interview in New York last month, he said, "Generally the situation economically in the country is disastrous. After five years there is absolutely no major project that one can point to and say the government has done something, despite the fact that they have received over \$140 million in U.S. aid."

The MBPM, which also fielded candidates in the last parliamentary elections and won 2 percent of the vote, is named after the head of the People's Revolutionary Government that came to power in 1979 after toppling the U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy.

Bishop and other leaders of the government were assassinated by members of a counterrevolutionary clique led by Bernard Coard in 1983 which opened the door for the U.S. invasion and occupation of the island.

"In the period of the revolutionary government when we did not receive a single cent from the United States," Marryshow said, "we were still able to build what is probably the biggest infrastructural project in the history of Grenada — our international airport."

This — along with building schools, housing, improving health care, and taking steps to eliminate illiteracy — were some of the accomplishments of the Bishop-led government, which sought to mobilize workers and peasants.

### December strike

Today, Marryshow explained, social conditions have worsened, including deteriorating health care and rising drug addiction, particularly among the youth. Even by the official joblessness rate of 25 percent, unemployment has doubled since 1983.

"The National Party government, led by Herbert Blaize, prime minister until his death in December, embarked on a program of



Militant/Rena Cacoullos  
Terry Marryshow, leader of Grenada's Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. "Economic situation is disastrous," he explained in interview last month.

retrenchment and firing of workers over the last five years," Marryshow explained.

In December the government collided with unionized public workers. Thousands of members of the Public Workers Union walked off the job in response to an announcement by Blaize that the government did not have the funds to pay some \$9 million in back pay owed to them.

"It was one of the most militant demonstrations we have seen in Grenada since 1984," said Marryshow. "The government's five-year term ended with 7,000 public workers marching in the streets demanding justice for the years they had worked."

Just before the strike, the MBPM leader said, the government voted a \$240,000 pension for the ex-dictator Gairy, which was paid to him while the salary increases for workers were put off for three years.

The strike was widely supported by other workers and the government backed down, agreeing to pay. To do this it resorted to selling some of the state-owned enterprises, such as 21 percent of the telephone company, Marryshow noted. "Despite all of the government's efforts to stifle the militancy of the workers, the workers ended up taking a stand for their rights once again."

### Campaign of promises

Marryshow described the recent election in this framework of the growing economic and governmental crisis.

Unlike the elections held in Grenada in 1984, five different parties contested and no party won the majority of the 15 seats in Parliament. Brathwaite's NDC secured seven seats and then patched together a coalition with three defectors from vying big-business parties.

"The various campaigning parties spent millions of dollars on motorcades — some of the largest in the history of Grenada — T-shirts, and propaganda material," said Marryshow.

The MBPM, on the other hand, "tried to convince people through ideas, through honesty, and through commitment to the struggle." All 15 MBPM candidates spent less in eight weeks than one of the other candidates, Marryshow said.

The MBPM leader explained that in the 1984 elections winner Blaize had campaigned on an anticommunist platform, distancing himself from the Bishop government. "This time around," he said, "it became popular to campaign on a program that resembled the People's Revolutionary Government."

"Many people that were virulent anti-communists in 1984 had to go around the country making all kinds of grandiose promises to working people and poor people to improve their conditions, education, housing, and unemployment," Marryshow said. Brathwaite's party, for example, made a point of saying that many of its members resigned from the Blaize government over the retrenchment policy.

Another reason Brathwaite's party did well at the polls, according to Marryshow, was a widespead — and widely pushed — fear that with so many parties in the race ex-dictator Gairy might get reelected.

### MBPM's campaign

The MBPM used the campaign to get out as widely as possible and address the issues concerning working people, Marryshow said. MBPM candidates held public meetings that attracted good-sized crowds in towns and villages throughout the island, he reported.

In the 1984 elections, the MBPM established its voice, he said, and for the six years since attempts to stifle that voice, ban the

party, and prohibit its members the right to travel have proven unsuccessful.

"Because of our struggle we were able to gain a number of political openings during the campaign," said the MBPM leader. He cited the TV and radio air time MBPM candidates received and the public debates and forums they participated in.

Marryshow explained that some of the political work the MBPM will be carrying out now includes a recruitment effort especially aimed at young people.

Marryshow explained the party is also trying to continue, in a limited way, some of the programs started under the revolutionary government. This includes attempts to eliminate illiteracy, carry on the schoolbooks and uniforms program, and provide dental and medical assistance to the most needy.

### Book banning

A ban implemented in 1988 by the Blaize government is one of the obstacles faced by the Grenadian people interested in reading political books. Included in the list of banned books are titles by Nelson Mandela — whose autobiography has been unbanned in South Africa — Malcolm X, and Bishop.

Marryshow explained that under the Brathwaite government there is a chance for this law to be repealed. "They campaigned on the issue saying it was a backward law and they never agreed with it," he said.

"This backward law was passed during the days of Gairy," said Marryshow, "and in this day and age there is no way we can continue with such a retrogressive piece of legislation."

## — 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSLETTER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

May 23, 1980

Fidel Castro announced to the cheering May Day throng of 1.5 million that just that day Cuba had been informed by the U.S. government that the U.S. Marine landing exercise at Guantánamo had been "totally canceled." However, he emphasized, the nationwide protest demonstration set for May 17 would proceed as scheduled.

This demonstration will be, Castro declared, "a mobilization of the people against the blockade, against the base at Guantánamo, and against the violation of our air space."

And, he told the people, more would be done to meet the U.S. military threat.

To buttress the Cuban army, he announced, there would be a major expansion of the people's militia to form the Territorial Troop Militia.

It will be "made up of men and women, workers, peasants, students, all those who are able to fight, and will organize and structure them so they will be able to defend every piece of the national territory. All those who are able to fight and are not part of the reserves of the regular troops will be able to be part of the Territorial Troop Militia."

It should be clear, Castro continued, that in Cuba "aggression against us will be confronted not just through a regular war; it will

also be necessary to confront the enemy through people's war. Both things: resistance by the regular units and resistance by the whole people."

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

May 24, 1965

Price 10c

WASHINGTON, D.C. — An audience of 4,000 sat waiting for the main debate in the historic national teach-in on Vietnam here May 15 when it was announced from the podium that State Department spokesman McGeorge Bundy had backed out.

A brief statement of "regret" from Bundy was read and the audience listened with subdued anger at the section that said: "Seven hundred faculty members have made a protest against our policy in Vietnam. . . . Those who are protesting are only a small minority of American teachers and students."

There were far more than 700 protesting faculty members in the single audience here, and there were over 100,000 students and faculty participating in the 15 1/2-hour protest in other audiences at more than 100 campuses in 35 states across the country, to which the debate was being piped by telephone-radio.

The teach-in movement began less than two months ago at the first one held March 24 at the University of Michigan.

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# Disruption suit against Curtis

For more than two years, since his arrest on March 4, 1988, Mark Curtis has been locked in a battle for justice. On May 14 Curtis took another step in this struggle and appealed to the Iowa Supreme Court to reverse his frame-up rape and burglary conviction.

Curtis, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and supporters have unflinchingly kept their fire throughout this fight on the perpetrators of the frame-up — the cops and the prosecutors.

The charge made in Iowa District Court on May 8 by attorney Stuart Pepper that Curtis' supporters have conducted an "international smear campaign" against the Morris family, the family of the woman that Curtis was charged with raping, has not one shred of truth to it. There has been no smear campaign against the Morris family.

The defense committee has never referred to the name of the Morris daughter in its literature, public talks, or at press conferences. Curtis and his defense committee have always maintained that they have no idea why the Morris' daughter and son gave false testimony at the Curtis trial and have said that whatever pressure the Morris children were under to do so makes them victims too.

On four occasions the Morris parents, however, have leveled public accusations or taken other action against Curtis and his defense committee that have aided the cops' and prosecutor's efforts in trying to make the frame-up against Curtis stick. These include:

- When Keith Morris, the father, attempted to assault Curtis on July 15, 1988, at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Des Moines where Morris smashed the bookstore's plate glass windows. He told police just a few minutes before the attack that he was going to "kick ass." Police and prosecutors refused to file charges against Morris. An Iowa claims court later found Morris guilty of breaking the windows and ordered him to pay \$2,000 for damages. The judgment is still owed the bookstore.

- An Oct. 17, 1988, letter signed by Keith Morris that was circulated in the United States and internationally. The letter pushed the Des Moines police and prosecutor's frame-up of Curtis and slandered his supporters.

- An Oct. 19, 1988, attempt by Morris to falsely link Curtis' supporters with the burning of some leaves on the Morris' front lawn. He claimed to the Des Moines media that a cross had been burned into the lawn.

- The civil lawsuit filed by Morris and his wife at the end of 1989 in Iowa District Court against Curtis for harm they claim Curtis inflicted on their daughter in the alleged rape.

After each instance, Curtis' supporters issued statements explaining how these actions helped shore up the cops' frame-up against him.

Heading into Curtis' September 1988 trial, the prosecutors' office had three goals — to win a conviction, to make the trial and conviction convincing, and to politically isolate and demoralize Curtis and his supporters.

They failed in achieving the second two goals. The trial and conviction were not convincing. Curtis and his supporters have not been isolated or demoralized. Curtis remains

politically active in prison; and the tremendous support won for him during a recent tour of Canada and seven European countries by Kate Kaku, his wife, shows his cause has become an international one.

It's within this framework that an antilabor outfit known as the Workers League has spearheaded a countercampaign against Curtis and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

The group is notorious for provocations, harassment, and disruption activities against workers involved in union struggles, including the 1987-88 paperworkers' strikes, the recent Pittston coal miners' strike, the Machinists strike against Eastern, and the garment workers' strike at Domsey Trading Corp. in New York.

Through its newspaper, the *Bulletin*, leaflets, and a new book it has published called *The Mark Curtis Hoax*, the Workers League has aggressively promoted the cops' and prosecutors' story against Curtis.

It has circulated Keith Morris' letter around the world and is the main force peddling the lie that the defense campaign is aimed at the Morris family. The Workers League asserts that the defense campaign is a provocation by Curtis' party, the Socialist Workers Party, against a Black working-class family.

Objectively aiding the cops and prosecutors in trying to make Curtis' frame-up convincing is the Workers League's main activity today. Destroying the defense effort, it openly asserts, is its goal.

It was the Workers League that financed and organized a lawsuit by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party that lasted 10 years, disrupting the party's activities and draining its treasury. The suit was based on Gelfand's claim that his constitutional rights were violated because "FBI agents" in the party's leadership engineered his expulsion.

On Aug. 15, 1989 a federal judge ruled that there was no evidence to back up any of Gelfand's claims, and that his motivation in bringing the suit was "to disrupt the SWP." The judge said the suit was "abusive, harassing," and "one of its main purposes was to generate material for political attacks on the SWP by the Workers League."

The Morris lawsuit against Curtis, which goes to trial on July 9, and the remarks by Pepper, the Morris' attorney, square politically with the Workers League's countercampaign. The suit is consistent with the outfit's methods of using the courts to carry out disruption campaigns against workers' organizations and is aimed at financially crippling the defense effort. And the Workers League will certainly use the lawsuit to qualitatively step up its insidious countercampaign.

The July 9 trial and pretrial proceedings strike at the heart of Curtis' democratic right to defend himself and of his supporters' right to organize and speak out in his defense. The Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution guarantees the right of people "to petition the government for redress of grievances" made against them. If the court rules in favor of the Morris suit, it will be a blow against this right and against anyone unjustly framed up who attempts to defend themselves.

# Don't let up on sanctions!

The prime minister of Greece, following a meeting with South African President F.W. de Klerk in Athens, said he was "impressed" by developments in South Africa and would encourage "the European Community to reexamine its [anti-apartheid] policy." De Klerk is being welcomed by nine capitalist governments in Europe during an 18-day tour.

This statement is one in a series of moves by imperialist governments to relax or remove political, economic, military, cultural, and other sanctions against the apartheid regime.

All opponents of the inhuman apartheid system — working people, farmers, youth, and other defenders of democratic rights — must step up efforts to protest any attempts to undermine South Africa's international isolation. Every government claiming the right to speak for its people must implement and maintain punitive measures against the outlaw regime.

Governments in Britain, France, Greece, Spain and the United States, have lifted or are moving towards relaxing some sanctions. The tour of a president of the apartheid regime is itself a step backwards from sanctions positions.

These governments hope to paint over the fact that the apartheid state, the state which de Klerk represents, must be overthrown. Though weakened, it remains intact. The entire state structure in South Africa is built on defending with force and violence the dispossession of Blacks, who make up 85 percent of the population.

To date, de Klerk has not lifted repressive legislation aimed at thwarting the anti-apartheid struggle. The main legal pillars of apartheid rule have not been done away with. Basic rights, such as voting, are denied the Black majority.

The African National Congress continues to hammer home the fact that only through the winning of a new

democratic government representing all South Africans, Black and white, can the land be opened to all who desire to farm, a true nation be forged for the first time, the dislocation and poverty created by apartheid be addressed, and democratic rights conquered.

The white minority regime cannot be reformed. Only a popular revolutionary movement can establish a nonracial, democratic republic and root out apartheid completely.

In Europe, de Klerk is being given a platform to repeat the oft-cited claim that sanctions do not hurt the regime but only the impoverished working people in town and country. Claiming credit for the concessions his government has been forced to make, he says the dropping of sanctions will allow the apartheid government to begin a program of social improvements for Blacks.

The ANC and other democratic organizations have long advocated the total boycott of apartheid South Africa. This demand represents the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South African Blacks.

The industrially developed, capitalist economy of South Africa is tied to, and vulnerable to pressure from, big-business interests in other imperialist countries.

Begun in India in the 1940s, the demand for sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime has been raised by students, trade unionists, Black rights fighters, and others in dozens of countries. The international isolation of the regime was a decisive factor in bringing it to the negotiating table with the ANC.

De Klerk's visits with his imperialist allies should be protested by all democratic, progressive, and revolutionary-minded people. All should join in rallies, parades, and other anti-apartheid events backing Mandela's call to "reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate apartheid should be wound down."

# Unification and German sovereignty

BY DOUG JENNESS

A long-time reader told me he found last week's editorial, "Another step in NATO's demise" convincing, especially in showing Washington's diminished role and German imperialism's ascending position in Europe. However, a couple of formulations about German unification puzzled him. Why, for example, were we so sure that Germany is "rapidly moving toward union?" And, would the reunified country be capitalist, as West Germany is, or based on state property forms, like those found in East Germany?

Clearly, there is widespread popular support in both parts of Germany for reunification, and the governments in both Bonn and Berlin are attempting to move as quickly as possible toward this goal. But our reader has a point; we

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

can't be sure how fast this will occur. That will depend a great deal on working-class resistance to the consequences of some of the measures cooked up by the capitalists in the west in league with the privileged bureaucratic caste in the east.

A great many strides can be made toward political and economic integration, however, short of a change in the ownership of basic industry in either the western or eastern parts of Germany. This includes establishing a single currency, increasing trade, holding Germany-wide elections, and setting up of Germany-wide political structures.

Naturally, class-conscious workers in that country, as well as internationally, would welcome and will do what they can to advance the fight for workers' and farmers' rule in a united Germany. But this should not be a precondition for working people supporting the just demand for German reunification.

The dismemberment of Germany by the imperialist rulers in the United States, France, and Britain, and the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was a gross violation of the German people's right to sovereignty. Germany's capitalist ruling families were defeated in World War II, and the German people as a whole were punished under the spurious notion of "collective guilt" for the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. I say spurious, because it was German working people and their trade unions and political parties that had to be brutally crushed before the Nazis were able to consolidate their power and launch their war of imperialist conquest.

In 1945 Germany was divided into four zones occupied by troops from the four allied powers. Many German plants in all the zones were dismantled and removed for the payment of reparations. In the Soviet zone, for example, complete factories and rolling stock as well as industrial goods, timber, and livestock were plundered. Reparations levied on East German production continued into the mid-1950s.

The French capitalists incorporated the rich steel- and coal-producing Saar region of Germany into its own economy. It was returned in 1955, but only after the West German government agreed to generous concessions.

In the western sectors the initial policy of economic plunder gave way to capital investments and economic reconstruction as the zones were unified and built up as a bastion to "contain communism." It wasn't until four years after the war that East and West Germany were permitted self-government by their respective occupiers. And it was another six years before West Germany was allowed to have its own military forces. Up until today the United States and other North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries have retained the right to station troops and missiles on West German soil. (Can you imagine the Belgian, British, or U.S. capitalists permitting German troops to be based in their countries today?)

Soviet troops, which crushed a workers' uprising in East Germany in 1953, have remained in that country since 1945.

Today, the "two plus four" discussions involving the two Germanies and four World War II victors assumes that governments outside of Germany have some rights in deciding how German reunification will take place. And that they have a right to keep a political, and if possible a military, toe-hold in a reunified Germany's affairs.

This is outrageous. It is the German people themselves who should decide if, when, and how to unify their country. Working people, especially in the countries whose governments still maintain troops on German soil, should unconditionally call for the removal of all foreign troops, military bases, artillery, and missiles. Moreover, justice demands that the four World War II allied powers should immediately withdraw from all talks on Germany's future and abandon any of the prerogatives that they have assumed were theirs as victors.

Reunification will draw the two parts of the German working class, which were forcibly separated, closer. The struggles of workers in the west against capitalist exploitation, and in the east against the effects of attempting to impose capitalist market relations and restore capitalist property relations in basic industry, will become increasingly intertwined.



# Rail workers prepare for showdown with Amtrak

BY MARK ZOLA

On Saturday morning, April 28, I joined 500 other Boston-area Amtrak rail workers, family members, and supporters in a rally to back our contract battle with the carrier. Amtrak Workers United, a coalition of 15 Amtrak rail unions in Boston, put together the event.

Throughout the meeting hall could be seen the banners, hats, buttons, and jackets of the United Transportation Union, Transport Workers Union, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Transportation Communications Interna-

## UNION TALK

tional Union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and other unions that represent the women and men who operate and maintain the U.S. passenger railway.

"I'm a Claytor Haytor" buttons were everywhere, a humorous reference to W. Graham Claytor, Jr., president of Amtrak.

Machinists union members on strike at Eastern Airlines and Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) members out against Greyhound were there, showing support for fellow workers under attack in the transportation industry.

The rally was the first gathering of its kind in many years and reflected the willingness of railroad workers to unite against Amtrak. Charlie Moneypenny, president of Transport Workers Union Local 2054 and coordinator of Amtrak Workers United, chaired. He noted the betrayal felt by Amtrak workers who, five years ago almost to the day, had gathered in a labor-management rally to save Amtrak from the threats of the Reagan administration. "And now this same management is on the attack against its unionized workers. This is not your typical labor-management conflict," he said, "but a virtual siege against the work force."

Among the best-received speakers were Bob Conley, strike coordinator at Eastern in Boston, and Mike Holden, vice-president of the ATU local on strike against Greyhound. When Conley said, "We made a promise when this strike began that we would last one day longer than Frank Lorenzo, and on April 18 Frank Lorenzo was taken out of Eastern Airlines," everyone in the room rose to their feet in applause.

Perhaps the loudest cheers came in response to John Davison, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance

of Way Employees, Northeastern System Federation. After speaking of the "orgy of job cutting and union-busting" being engaged in by the rail carriers, Davison suggested, "Perhaps it's time to call for a national transportation strike."

The show of militancy and unity came as a welcome relief to those present, many of whom had lived through the sharp attacks on rail labor of the past decade and seen rail employment nationally cut in half. Moneypenny called the event "a tremendous emotional boost."

Negotiations for a new contract between the 15 unions and the National Railroad Passenger Corp., commonly known as Amtrak, began in April 1988 when the carrier served notice to them under Section 6 of the Railway Labor Act. The RLA, signed into law in 1926, saddles railroad workers, and airline workers as well, with the most complex labor laws on the books. It imposes barriers to strikes for which there is little parallel elsewhere in U.S. industry.

It provides for months — and sometimes years, as in the case of Amtrak — of mediation, arbitration, and special boards, during which time the old contract remains in effect.

After two years of fruitless negotiation, both sides are preparing for a showdown. Twenty-five thousand Amtrak workers nationally are affected. This includes railroad workers on both the intercity passenger service as well as on the Boston-area commuter service, which is operated under Amtrak contract.

(On May 4 the Bush administration created an "emergency presidential board" to investigate the impasse in negotiations at Amtrak, postponing for at least another 60 days the final showdown between management and the rail unions.)

The National Railroad Passenger Corp. was created by the U.S. government in 1970 in response to the bankruptcy of the Penn Central Railroad. A key part of its mission was to protect the investments of the stockholders of the bankrupt giant. It is directly funded through the federal treasury and the White House appoints its chief officer, but a special series of stock establishes its ownership by those who owned old rail lines. Because of this, Amtrak is not a nationalized railroad under public ownership.

The stated goal of the last two administrations in Washington has been the total elimination of federal funds for Amtrak. While this has not happened, federal funding for

Amtrak has been reduced from \$900 million in 1981 to a little more than \$500 million in 1989. Meanwhile, the stated goal of President Claytor is for Amtrak to receive no federal money by the end of the decade.

The pursuit of this goal has resulted in a virtual war on Amtrak workers. In the past few years they have been hit with wage freezes and wage deferrals. Amtrak workers earn 12 percent to 15 percent less than workers in comparable jobs on other railroads, who themselves have been the victims of a major corporate assault over the past decade.

A worker on Amtrak's interstate service with seven years or more of service has donated more than \$20,000 in lost wages to Amtrak during that time. As an Amtrak Boston commuter rail worker, I earn a lower hourly wage today than my coworkers did in 1984.

Not satisfied with the concessions of the past several years, Amtrak's Section 6 proposals call for more and deeper concessions affecting wages, benefits, and working conditions. These vary with the unions involved and include a proposal to make the workers pay for part of their health insurance premiums, further extend the tier wage system established in the last contract, increase contracting out of maintenance work, create temporary and part-time positions, win more flexibility in work rules, weaken seniority rights, and further reduce wages.

The 15 unions have filed Section 6 notices aimed at recouping past concessions as well as making modest advances in wages, benefits, and working conditions. Each union negotiates a separate contract with Amtrak dealing with wages and work rules, while at the same time coordinating their bargaining efforts. Health and welfare provisions are negotiated in a common agreement with all unionized workers on all the major railroads.

In workplace discussions in the days following the April 28 rally, I and other participants felt good about what we had accomplished and hoped the example we had set in Boston would be followed by other Amtrak workers across the country.

Mark Zola is a conductor on the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority and a member of United Transportation Union Local 898.

## LETTERS

### Distortions?

I am dismayed at the limited coverage of the United Kingdom's poll tax in your paper. Though I do not support this regressive tax, your coverage of it has been distorted. Robert Simms in his "As I See It" column describes a family with two parents and a couple of children over 18 (a curious phrase!) living in a single house paying well over \$2,200.

This assumes either an extremely high poll tax level or that both the children over 18 are earning a sufficient wage to disqualify them from the 80 percent reduction in the tax for those with low income, not mentioned anywhere in your paper.

If I can perceive distortions in your coverage of issues I know something about, how can I trust your coverage of other issues like Cuba or Eastern Europe?

I.B.

Cambridge, England

**Editor's reply:** According to the Labour Research Department in Britain, the average poll tax in England is £363 per person, higher than the £350 figure that Simms used in his hypothetical case. At the present exchange rate of £1.68 to the dollar, this is \$610 per person — well over Simms' estimate of \$2,200 in a four-person household.

In some areas the tax is much higher. In the London district of Haringey, it has been set at £572.

Exemptions are granted to certain individuals such as prisoners, foreign diplomats, people with no

home, nuns and monks, and people who are severely mentally impaired. Rebates of 80 percent are granted automatically to those on income support — comparable to welfare payments in the United States.

Others with low income can apply for full or partial rebate. As the income rises, the rebate falls.

A person under 25 with no dependents whose tax is £363 and has a take-home pay of only £71 per week would be above the threshold for any rebate — a sum most would agree is a very low wage.

### 50 years ago

How about expanding the "10 and 25 Years Ago" column? Tell what was on the front page, what the main editorial was, etc.

Also, how about going back 50 years? Lord knows the *Militant* is old enough.

Peter Krala  
New Haven, Connecticut

### Drug 'testing'

The piece on Eastern in the April 13 issue of the *Militant* has the following paragraph:

"Confidence in Eastern's safety practices was also not helped by the April 1 reports that a pilot who tested positive for cocaine use last July was kept flying. 'It was a clerical error,' said an Eastern spokesperson. The pilot was fired March 20."

I don't believe any confidence at all should be extended to the bosses' use of "testing" equipment to ascertain use of illegal chemicals. In principle I view this as a club used against workers. Also, the test per se is not that reliable in most cases. I'm informed, for example, that in testing for cocaine use, if the testee had recently swallowed an aspirin, the test result would be positive.

Paul Montauk  
Oakland, California

**Editor's reply:** Paul Montauk's point is well taken. While the statement that "confidence in Eastern's safety practices wasn't helped" by



reports of the pilot-cocaine incident was intended as a simple statement of fact, it inadvertently gave credence to Eastern's drug-testing policy and the reliability of drug tests themselves.

Airline and railroad employees are now subject to federally ordered random drug tests — a policy that some unions are correctly protesting as a violation of workers' rights. Those workers who do have alcohol or drug problems should be helped, through union- or employee-controlled programs — not victimized or fired.

### FDA ban protests

The large and militant demonstrations protesting the FDA's ban on blood donations from Haitians and Africans are inspiring sights. The May 4 *Militant* article captured very well the political spirit of the crowd.

I was able to participate in a protest of 2,000 at the New England regional offices of the Red Cross April 20. The most popular chant was "Fight AIDS, not nationalities."

The FDA claimed its discriminatory policy would make the blood supply safer. This is a lie.

Today, all blood donated could be accurately tested for all manner of viruses using the polymerase chain reaction assay. This can detect the most minute amounts of viral DNA, including of all known strains of HIV. But this test is expensive compared to the standard test.

Haitians and Africans are not the reason the blood supply is not the safest it could be. It's because the government rubber-stamps policies and practices drafted by the medical industry and blood banks — policies based on considerations of profit, not human need.

Rich Cahalane  
Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts

### Censorship

Students of the prestigious School of the Art Institute are protesting the decision by the school president to remove a work from their Bachelor of Fine Arts Thesis exhibit. The work by Scott Tyler,

*How to Display the American Flag*, displays a flag on the floor.

In response to the censorship, 40 of 165 participating seniors removed their works from the exhibit and mounted an alternative show. Many other students chose not to remove their works but covered them with brown paper inscribed, "The art censor was here." Others left their works on display but added protest messages.

At the May 5 opening of the alternative show, one artist told me, "The issue is censorship. People here have all kinds of political views; many of us don't agree with what Scott Tyler says, but we defend his right to say it."

Cappy Kidd  
Chicago, Illinois

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.

## Correction

In an article on Vancouver garment workers winning contract gains (*Militant*, May 18), it was stated this came after a strike. A vote by the workers to authorize a strike was overwhelmingly approved, but the contract was achieved without the workers going out.



## S. Africa sanctions fight opens

### ANC leaders in interview: 'Help us destroy this monster'

BY GREG McCARTAN

Following the end of a first round of talks with the African National Congress (ANC) May 4, South African President F.W. de Klerk headed for Europe to drum up support for his hard-pressed government.

At the start of a nine-country tour, de Klerk was welcomed in Paris by French President François Mitterrand. No South African head of state has visited France since 1947, the year before de Klerk's ruling National Party came to power. The National Party then extended and codified apartheid.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, in Angola as part of visits to several African countries, urged West European governments to maintain military, economic, political, and other sanctions against South Africa.

While de Klerk said he was not in France "hat in hand," he is seeking to reopen channels of trade, investment, and direct state-to-state relations. He told the French president that sanctions were hurting the regime's ability to address South Africa's social problems.

"I have the impression that sanctions are crumbling because of the momentum of the situation," he said following the meeting with Mitterrand. He also met with French capitalists who have investments in South Africa.

In a mid-April interview with the *Militant* in Johannesburg, South Africa, ANC leaders Andrew Mlangeni and Walter Sisulu stressed the continued importance of sanctions. Only through the establishment of a democratic, nonracial government, the two long-time fighters said, will it be possible to begin to completely eradicate apartheid.

#### 'Continue economic sanctions'

"We are saying to the world and the democratic organizations that have been supporting us," Mlangeni said, "apartheid is still firmly rooted. We are asking the entire world to help us destroy this monster. One way of helping us to destroy this monster is for the governments of the international community to continue to apply economic sanctions. The sanctions have cost them [the South African

regime] a great deal in terms of money and human resources."

Sisulu and Mlangeni were both imprisoned in 1963 and later convicted, along with Mandela and five others, on charges of sabotage. All eight were sentenced to life imprisonment. Sisulu, Mlangeni, and several other ANC leaders were released in October 1989. They are both members of the ANC leadership structure inside South Africa, the ANC Internal Leadership Core.

Facing international isolation and continued anti-apartheid mobilizations inside the country, the regime was forced to unban the

pressure. Part and parcel of the international pressure is the internal activity of the people themselves who are oppressed in the country."

Mass rallies addressed by ANC leaders "have been a forum, among others, through which we have been able to explain to the people the policy of the ANC — what the ANC stands for," he said. "We have, through these rallies, sought their support."

This is especially important "for the younger generation," Mlangeni said. "It is our task, in order to recruit them, to familiarize them with the political perspectives of the ANC,

democratic revolution.

"The Freedom Charter is the basis of a new society," Sisulu said. "We are preparing people now for that new South Africa. Even the question of negotiations, in its various stages, is intended to build up toward a democratic, nonracial society in South Africa, in terms of the Freedom Charter."

Because of the extent of the divisions, denial of rights, and impoverishment of the vast majority in South Africa, "there is so much to be done before you say 'we are over apartheid,'" he stressed. Overcoming this legacy is a "task that will face the new government."

Mlangeni added, "All those discriminatory laws which are in the present books we will have to abolish. It is not just a question of signing a paper that apartheid is abolished. No, all the discriminatory laws must be scrapped completely. It is going to be a big task that the future government has to confront."

"The main pillars of apartheid are the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, Separate Amenities Act, and the Land Act," he said. "These are some of the major laws that must be done away with. But in other laws there are other aspects that must be dealt with."

These laws, which regulate every aspect of the lives of the Black population, are completely intertwined with the apartheid state structure. Apartheid is more than segregation, police violence, enforced poverty, and discrimination in employment and education. It is also a state structure that upholds and enforces through violence drastic limitations on the legal and social rights of Blacks.

"What is contained in the Freedom Charter are the immediate demands of the ANC — the minimal demands. There will be many other demands which will be made on the new government," Mlangeni said.

A new government is needed "to create harmony in this country, to create peace. These are our short-term goals. The distribution of land, the question of education and of culture, equal rights and human rights, the redistribution of wealth, housing and medical care, and much more — this is all contained in the Freedom Charter," he said.

Refuting the argument that sanctions should be lifted because they hurt Blacks, Mlangeni stressed, "It is true that disinvestment and sanctions has an effect on the lives of the people in this country. But despite that we are prepared to sacrifice because we are concerned about the human rights of the Black man in this country. This is our country, this is our birthright, these are our rights. But these we have been denied for a long time. Apply these pressures until such time that the African people are free."



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Mercedes-Benz automobile factory outside of East London, South Africa. Anti-apartheid forces internationally have fought for an end to all ties to the apartheid system.

ANC and other organizations in February and release Mandela from prison.

The blows to the regime included a stinging military and political defeat in 1988. Invading South African forces were defeated at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola, by Angolan, Cuban, and South West Africa People's Organisation troops. This opened the way for Namibia, occupied by South Africa, to win its independence.

"We were still in prison at the time when we read about the battle," Mlangeni said. "Cuito Cuanavale excited everybody."

The defeat "was historic," Sisulu added, "because it was a turning point. It was only this that brought about a new situation in the war of Angola. As such it really meant a great deal for the whole of southern Africa. To that extent we attach great significance to it."

Today in South Africa, "although we are saying that things have not changed — the basic conditions of people in this country have not changed — we are nevertheless prepared to negotiate with the government," Mlangeni explained. "We want to, as far as possible, bring any peaceful settlement to the problems facing people."

In the May 2-4 talks, the ANC leadership reiterated its demands to de Klerk that the state of emergency be lifted, troops and police be withdrawn from Black townships and "homelands," political prisoners be released, and exiles be allowed to return.

"These conditions have not been met," Mlangeni said. "Until such time that these conditions have been met, we don't see a way of going to the negotiating table to discuss with the government the shaping of the new nonracial, democratic South Africa."

Since being unbanned the ANC has sought to deepen the mobilization and political education of millions in the country. Reaching out to organize all who oppose apartheid, the liberation organization is making progress in bridging divisions created by the regime.

#### Mass mobilizations 'essential'

Continued mass mobilizations against apartheid are, "very important, absolutely essential," Mlangeni explained. "Through these marches the government is also feeling

to explain these things."

In addition, Sisulu said, "in dealing with the question of negotiations, it is our plan to keep the various organizations informed of what steps we are taking — inviting them, if they wish, to be part of the unity drive."

In the nominally independent homelands, where a majority of the African population is forced to live, "we are making progress," in unifying those who oppose apartheid, Sisulu explained. "When the ANC suspended the talks in early April, homeland officials also refused to meet de Klerk in solidarity."

#### Fulfilling the Freedom Charter

The liberation movement has "a program which explains the character of the future government and its tasks — fulfilling the Freedom Charter," Mlangeni said.

The Freedom Charter was adopted at a broadly representative congress in 1955. It states that "our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty, and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality." The Charter explains, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." It outlines the goals of the national,

## High court turns down ballot suit by socialists

BY JIM ALTENBERG

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — On May 14 the U.S. Supreme Court announced its refusal to hear an appeal filed by the Socialist Workers Party challenging West Virginia's restrictive election laws. The appeal in the ballot rights case was filed with the assistance of the American Civil Liberties Union after the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld most of the restrictions challenged by the suit. That ruling was made in November 1989.

The socialist's lawsuit asked the high court to allow petitioning for ballot status to take place before and after the primary elections are held, and to overturn the state's requirement that separate petitions be used to waive filing fees.

Currently a signer of a nominating petition loses his or her right to vote in a primary.

The Supreme Court decision came a week after socialist candidates in West Virginia turned in to the Secretary of State in Charleston the 6,500 signatures on nominating petitions required to place candidates on the ballot. The Socialist Workers Party is running Dick McBride for U.S. Senate, Maggie McCraw for state treasurer, and Clay Dennison for state attorney general.

In April the candidates submitted 4,000 signatures on a separate petition to waive large filing fees. The candidates also paid \$500.

## New York ticker tape parade to greet Mandela on his seven-city U.S. tour

African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela will visit the United States for 10 days beginning June 20, ANC leaders announced at a news conference in Washington, D.C., on May 15.

With his visit Mandela will express his gratitude to the anti-apartheid movement and urge the U.S. government "to maintain [economic] sanctions and intensify the sanctions," said the ANC representative to the United Nations, Tebogo Mafole.

A tentative schedule for the ANC leader includes visits to New York, June 20-22; Boston, June 23; Washington, D.C., June 24-26; Atlanta, June 27; Miami and Detroit, June 28; and Los Angeles, June 29-30.

Highlights of the visits include an address

by Mandela to a joint meeting of Congress and meeting with President George Bush in Washington; a welcome by Gov. Mario Cuomo and Mayor David Dinkins in New York City, along with a ticker tape parade and mass rally; and in Los Angeles a reception by Mayor Tom Bradley, and an event sponsored by entertainers.

ANC leaders and others denounced plans by Washington to receive South African President F.W. de Klerk at the White House a week before the arrival of Mandela. "It's not too late" to take "corrective measures," said Mendi Msimang, ANC representative to Britain. Anti-apartheid groups plan to stage protests and rallies to pressure the Bush administration to cancel the de Klerk visit.