

## Canada rulers face a severe political crisis

### Support for Québec self-determination grows

BY STEVE PENNER

MONTREAL — "Canada has become ungovernable," claimed *La Presse*, Québec's most important French-language daily. "The country is burning," warned the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's chief big-business daily.

The two newspapers were commenting on the serious political crisis now facing this country's capitalist rulers as a result of the refusal of the Québec government to accept the 1982 Canadian federal constitution without amendment.

While the federal government in Ottawa reached agreement with the Québec government in 1987 on a constitutional amendment that would allow Québec to ratify the constitution, it has been rejected by three other provincial governments — Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. They claim that the proposed amendment — the "Meech Lake accord" — makes too many concessions to Québec. If it does not receive the unanimous consent of all 10 of Canada's provincial governments by June 23, the amendment falls.

Meanwhile, as Canada's capitalist rulers argue among themselves about just how many rights Québec should be allowed within the Canadian constitution, support for the formation of an independent or "sovereign" Québec is growing rapidly.

Opinion polls show up to 65 percent of the population of Québec supports such an option. All three of Québec's major labor fed-



Demonstration in Montréal March 1989. Sign reads, "To live in our country in French or to die in their province in English." Québécois face discrimination as a French-speaking minority in Canada.

erations have endorsed either independence or "sovereignty-association" — a greatly strengthened Québec government within a loose Canadian federation.

The new constitution was imposed in 1982 despite the overwhelming opposition of Québec's 5 million French-speaking people.

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## N. Korea returns U.S. GI remains, calls on U.S. to sign peace treaty

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — The remains of five U.S. GIs killed in combat during Washington's 1950-53 aggression in Korea were turned over by the North Korean government to a U.S. congressional delegation in Panmunjom, Korea, on May 28. The GIs had been listed as missing in action. The town of Panmunjom sits on the 38th parallel, which divides North Korea from the South.

Just a few days earlier Kim Il Sung, the president of the Democratic People's Repub-

lic of Korea — the government of North Korea — announced a package of proposals for the reunification of the country.

Ho Jong, DPRK ambassador to the United Nations, explained these developments in an interview here on May 28 — Memorial Day — a U.S. holiday in memory of U.S. soldiers killed in war.

The return of the remains of the U.S. servicemen by the DPRK has been planned for several years, Ho explained. "In 1985 we were approached by American veteran associations and Korean War veteran organizations, like the Chosin Few, for help in searching for the remains of American soldiers missing in action," he said. Chosin Few is a group of veterans who fought during the U.S. retreat from the Chosin Reservoir in North Korea.

But a proposal by DPRK representatives to the Military Armistice Commission in 1986 "to set up administrative measures to proceed with this work" was turned down by the U.S. side, Ho said. MAC, which meets in Panmunjom, was established as a result of the armistice signed in 1953 between the DPRK and the UN forces headed by the United States, the ambassador explained.

Officially, U.S. forces in Korea under the UN flag are still in a state of war with the North. The U.S. army occupied Korea on Sept. 8, 1945, to deny Korean independence fighters the victory they had won over Japanese imperialist forces. Korea had been a colony of Japan since 1910.

### Human toll of Korean War

In 1950 Washington poured massive military forces into Korea in an attempt to preserve imperialist domination of the peninsula. U.S. and UN forces were fought to a stalemate at the 38th parallel by Korean forces, who were joined by thousands of Chinese troops. During the struggle almost 55,000 U.S. troops died. Some 2 million Koreans were killed and 3 million were wounded.

The DPRK agreed to return the remains of the five U.S. GIs in January 1988, Ho explained. But charges by Washington that North Korea was responsible for the bombing of a South Korean airliner in November 1987 forced the DPRK to drop the plan, he said.

At the end of 1989 "we were approached again, this time by congressmen" in addition to the veterans groups and "we started to have

negotiations," the ambassador explained. "The congressmen had expressed strong intentions to cooperate with us to settle the issue this time." On May 14 Rep. G.V. Montgomery

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## Socialists fight disclosure of campaign contributors

BY GREG McCARTAN

The Socialist Workers Party is launching a fight to restore the right to withhold the names of financial contributors to its federal election campaigns. The Federal Election Commission has taken away the party's exemption from disclosure of these contributors that it won in 1979.

Under FEC procedures a party can submit a request for an "advisory opinion" in which the commission grants an exemption. The SWP has filed notice that it intends to submit a document presenting legal and constitutional arguments as well as factual evidence of ongoing harassment. This will show why the exemption from disclosure is necessary to protect the First Amendment rights of the SWP and contributors to its campaigns.

Filing names of contributors to election campaigns with the FEC was first required under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The law as amended requires candi-

dates to file frequent, detailed reports identifying both contributors of more than \$200 and those who were paid for printing, rent, and other services.

A suit filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee challenged the constitutionality of the act and cited surveillance and harassment of those associated with the SWP by the FBI and other government agencies. Since the records are open to the public, the disclosure also opened campaign supporters up to victimization from employers, private spy agencies, and right-wing groups.

### 'Reasonable probability of reprisal'

After a five-year public campaign, the SWP won a victory in federal court. The ruling stated the socialists had demonstrated "a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of names of their members, con-

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## Eastern strikers keep up pressure

BY SUSAN LaMONT

When Eastern Airlines' creditors met in Miami May 23 with trustee Martin Shugrue, 100 striking Machinists were on a picket line outside the hotel at 7:00 a.m. that morning.

The strikers carried signs that read "Y-not a contract" — a reference to Eastern's bargain-basement "Y-not" fares — and "No contract, no peace, no passengers." Other signs thanked the creditors for pushing to remove Frank Lorenzo from Eastern management. The airline owes \$1 billion to General Electric, Boeing, and other unsecured creditors whose representatives attended the Miami meeting.

Lorenzo — who heads Eastern's parent company, Texas Air Corp. — was ousted on April 18 by the bankruptcy court that oversees the airline's affairs and Shugrue was

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*See editorial page 18.*

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appointed trustee to run the company. Lorenzo's removal was celebrated by strikers and supporters throughout the labor movement as an important victory in their fight.

The ramp workers, cleaners, mechanics, and stock clerks at Eastern went on strike 15 months ago after Lorenzo refused to withdraw union-busting demands that included the unlimited right to contract out work, pay cuts as high as 56 percent, massive work rule changes, hiring of part-time workers, cuts in pension benefits, and more.

With Lorenzo now forced out, the striking Machinists are pressing Shugrue to negotiate a decent contract and a return to work. While talks have been going on between the Machinists union and Shugrue for several weeks, strikers are pushing hard for some concrete motion in their direction.

Larry Burgess, from International Association of Machinists Local 702 in Miami, was on the picket line when Shugrue met with the creditors. "This is a very sensitive situation," he said. "Unless we keep the pressure on

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# Lively exchange during visits to logging towns

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

SEATTLE — During the recent international circulation campaign to win thousands of new readers to the socialist press, supporters of the *Militant* from British Columbia,

sions over unemployment and defending the environment. Fifty residents of these towns bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and 150 purchased copies.

The timber barons throughout

working people to oppose measures to protect old-growth forests and to support a ban on log exports, which they say will save jobs in Canada and the United States.

Over the past month, three demonstrations of 3,000 to 10,000 businessmen, independent loggers, truckers, and workers have been held in the region. Some demonstrators carried signs that read, "Save a logger, eat an owl" and "If it's hootin', I'm shootin'." Counter-pickets by environmentalists met each of the actions.

Supporters of the *Militant* joined these discussions. They knocked on doors and stopped mill workers at plant gates to raise the idea of defending the environment through less devastating logging practices and of creating jobs by reducing the workweek.

Many people greeted the team members by stating outright their

hostility to efforts to protect endangered species because, they said, it would threaten their jobs. *Militant* supporters quickly pointed out that the big timber giants, not the little spotted owl, were responsible for the speed-up and other measures that have cost logging and mill jobs. Lively discussions ensued.

In Hoquiam, Washington, 16 people signed up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks within a few hours in door-to-door discussions. Almost all were mill workers or others who work in the timber industries.

On Vancouver Island, British Columbia, supporters visited the Crofton paper mill. One woman picked up a copy of the *Militant* and invited team members to her union meeting after taking a look at the coverage on the Eastern Airlines strike. At Crofton and two other mills, 43 workers bought copies of the paper.

At a labor rally in Toledo, Oregon, three striking members of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers Local 13 subscribed to the *Militant*, and 24 workers bought single copies.

Workers at the giant Weyerhaeuser Co. mill in Cosmopolis, Washington, had just voted down a proposed contract. Seven purchased a copy of the *Militant* at the mill gate before Cosmopolis police asked the sales team to leave.

At a May 19 rally in Kelso, Washington, a former truck driver bought a copy of the *Militant* and explained that he was forced to sell his rig after being squeezed out by increased fuel prices, insurance payments, and government tonnage fees. Hard times and unemployment have "nothing to do with the spotted owl — but with what the different companies and the government do," he concluded.



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

Washington, and Oregon teamed up to visit logging and mill towns throughout the U.S. Pacific Northwest and British Columbia.

Nearly every week a sales team got out to the Olympic Peninsula, Vancouver Island, and elsewhere, joining sometimes heated discus-

this region have whipped up a massive propaganda campaign to blame the endangered northern spotted owl and "foreign" workers for the unemployment that plagues the area.

With the assistance of most trade union officials and many capitalist politicians, they try to convince

# Fund helps prisoners get 'Militant,' stay informed

BY YVONNE HAYES

"The *Militant* is my 'wake-up' pill," writes a prisoner from Lovelady, Texas.

Every week a couple of dozen letters like this arrive at the *Militant*'s business office commenting on the paper. Many include requests for subscriptions or for literature from Pathfinder Press. These resources help some of the many workers behind bars keep in touch with the world.

"They could put me aboard a Titan missile and blast me past Canis Major," says an inmate in Marianna, Florida, "just as long as they blast every weekly issue of the *Militant* to me."

Before reading about Nelson Mandela's release in the *Militant*, "I had no knowledge of his release from prison," says a writer from Corcoran, California. "You see, I am presently confined in prison, without TV or radio."

There are 420 prisoners now receiving the paper. Most of these men and women have scant income and limited financial help from friends and family.

"For my labor I am paid a lousy 60 cents a day," writes a prisoner from Auburn State Correctional Facility in New York, "generally used toward purchasing toothpaste, soap, and other hygiene items that prison officials are beginning to cut back on."

Some prisoners find ways to buy subscriptions or save up enough to send a contribution themselves.

"A friend took out a one-year subscription on my behalf and at my request," says a reader at New Folsom prison in Represa, California. "Your special issue on Panama was fantastic. Keep up the good work."

Recently, a prisoner from Anamosa, Iowa, sent in a check for \$37 from his account at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory, full payment for a year's subscription.

### Prisoners' subscription fund

But those who cannot pay are the majority. Their subscriptions, which will cost \$10,000 this year, are funded by special contributions from our readers — \$800 so far in 1990.

Many prisoners write requesting books or pamphlets. The speeches of Malcolm X are in the highest demand — some 80 percent of all requests — followed by the writings and speeches of Nelson Mandela and books and pamphlets on the Cuban revolution. Many prisoners also request books on women's liberation — especially the book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* — along with a wide range of other literature.

Due to the increasing number of requests and Pathfinder's limited resources, the publisher was forced last October to end its policy of honoring requests for free literature. In a mailing to the 1,200 prisoners who have sent in requests since, Pathfinder explained it now

## Revolutionary ideas break through isolation imposed on workers behind bars.

offers them a discount of 50 percent and free shipping and handling of "seconds" — slightly damaged books and pamphlets still in good condition.

Some prisoners pool their funds to get books. Others have been able to get agreement from prison libraries to buy books. At the Anamosa prison, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization — an inmates' group — purchased books and pressured the prison authorities to make those books available to everyone. A study group in Rosharon, Texas, has used Pathfinder books in its discussions.

### Sharing literature

By sharing literature, many of our readers behind bars break through the isolation imposed on them and deal with the problem of limited funds.

"Your newsletter is greatly appreciated by myself as well as at least 10 others I know of, reading in succession," says a reader from Safford, Arizona.

In Dillwyn, Virginia, a subscriber says, "I'm making sure the newspaper is well uti-

lized by sharing it with fellow prisoners here in the 'hole.'"

However, inmates often confront official and unofficial censorship. Some subscribers send in copies of notices received from prison mail rooms rejecting the *Militant*. Other times it just suddenly stops coming.

Even when the paper gets through, passing literature along can be an issue. "I would like very much to receive your publication," writes a prisoner in Anamosa, "as sharing someone else's here is a no-no."

Once in a while, a cancellation comes in, like this one from Jefferson City, Missouri. "I do want you to know how much I enjoyed your newspaper. Keeping me up to date on labor and civil affairs that I might have missed out on during my incarceration. I will be buying a subscription in the near future after my release."

Contributions earmarked for the prisoner subscription fund can be sent to the *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Enclosed is \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10 ☐ other \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks or money orders payable to the *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund.

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## No issue next week . . .

The *Militant* will not publish next week so that our staff can participate in the Socialist Workers Party national convention to be held in Chicago. We will resume publication with the issue dated June 22, which will include coverage of the convention and of the Mark Curtis defense rally to be held in Chicago June 9.

**'After 15 months on the picket lines you know who your friends are. We must keep worker solidarity alive and moving. The *Militant* brings all of these struggles together and tells it like it is! We recommend it highly!'**



**BILL SCHENCK**

*Eastern Airlines strike activist and grand lodge representative (retired) Machinists union, Greensboro, N.C.*

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# Britain anti-apartheid protests greet de Klerk's London tour

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

LONDON — Anti-apartheid campaigners mounted a vigorous protest against the visit here by South African President F.W. de Klerk. They demanded of the British government that "sanctions must stay."

In a statement prior to de Klerk's arrival, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) said the "forthcoming visits to Europe and the USA by the South African State President represent a serious setback to the international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime and will serve therefore to reduce the pressure on it."

On the eve of the May 20 talks between Thatcher and de Klerk, an AAM-sponsored rally heard Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chair of the AAM; Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress; Dennis Goldberg of the African National Congress; and a former South African police lieutenant, Gregory Rockman.

Rockman was fired from the police force last November for publicly saying apartheid police had acted "like wild dogs" when they

attacked a peaceful protest in South Africa. He heads a newly formed group of police and prison guards called the Police and Prison Officers Civil Rights Union, which is "fighting for a nonracial, democratic South Africa," Rockman said.

"We are sick and tired of police brutality, police acting above the law, a force that oppresses Black people, that discriminates on the basis of color," he explained to the crowd.

De Klerk's meetings with Thatcher and the chairmen of major British firms was part of an 18-day tour to several European Community member countries. De Klerk's aim is for the EC to relax economic, political, and cultural sanctions against the apartheid regime at its meeting in Dublin, Ireland, at the end of June. He held top-level government meetings in Athens, Paris, Brussels, and Lisbon. U.S. President George Bush has also invited de Klerk to visit Washington in June.

The trip was the most extensive high-level international tour by a South African presi-

dent since the codification of apartheid in 1948. He was met by protests in each city.

Currently banned by the EC member states are new investments, export of arms, import of gold coins, trade in iron and steel, and nuclear cooperation with South Africa. Thatcher has been pressing the EC to drop all sanctions. She lifted British restrictions on new investment and tourism when Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February.

## Meetings picketed

The meetings in Britain — held at Chequers, the Prime Minister's official country residence — were picketed by anti-apartheid protesters. The Conrad Hotel where de Klerk stayed, as well as his press conferences, were also the focus of protests.

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo said that sanctions must continue "until there is irreversible progress towards ending apartheid." Sanctions were adopted "as part of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid, which is still in place. As Nelson Mandela



South African President F.W. de Klerk

has said, he went to prison for 27 years and came back to find that he still has no vote," the ANC leader said.

Responding to sounds of the anti-apartheid protest outside of one press conference, de Klerk conceded that "public opinion in Europe is not yet quite ready and it may take some time" to get rid of the sanctions.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, following a meeting of EC foreign ministers, said on May 20 there "has been a clear shift in the attitude of most EC governments, and there is a desire to give some encouragement to the South African government."

But foreign ministers of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which Britain also belongs, appealed to the EC members to uphold sanctions until there is "further incontrovertible evidence of an irreversible process of ending apartheid."

Hurd called the Commonwealth letter, "somewhat unreal and a one-sided account of what is happening in South Africa."

## Cuban diplomat meets Black farmers

BY GAIL SKIDMORE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "If it weren't for the fact that I know I'm in the United States," said Clinton Adlum as he walked down a rural dirt road, "from the conditions I have observed, much of this area could be in any Third World country."

Speaking to a group of 20 Black farmers, Adlum, the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., went on to describe the many advances for farmers and Blacks made by the Cuban revolution in the past 31 years. The farmers were members of the Western Alabama Farmers Cooperative and they were meeting at the Federation of Southern Cooperatives Training Center in Epes, Alabama.

"In Cuba we have gotten rid of race discrimination," Adlum pointed out. "Of course, there are still people with racist ideas, totally eradicating such ideas will take much longer — but racial discrimination is against the law and that is enforced."

The Cuban diplomat described the gains made by farmers and agricultural workers in Cuba through land reform and rural development — bringing teachers, doctors, housing, and other social necessities to the countryside. He fielded dozens of questions about conditions of farmers and Blacks in Cuba today.

One question centered on travel to Cuba and the possibility of going to see for oneself what is taking place there. In response Adlum issued an open invitation to the farmers to see firsthand how Cuban cooperatives function and to observe other advances made by the revolution. In addition, he told his listeners, such a delegation would have an opportunity to exchange experiences with the Cuban National Association of Small Farmers.

Adlum's meeting with farmers was one of the high points of the tour of Alabama organized by the Cuba Solidarity Tour Committee — an ad-hoc committee established for the Cuban diplomat's April 21-24 visit to the area.

The tour began with a reception where 30 people welcomed the Cuban to Birmingham. Following the reception, Adlum spoke at a public meeting and answered questions.

His talk centered on the history of Cuba's struggles for national sovereignty. He described the origins of Afro-Cubans, the important struggle in Cuba to forge a nation, the 19th century fight for independence and the freeing of the slaves.

The Cuban diplomat described the role of the U.S. government in delaying Cuba's independence victory from Spain at the turn of the century and the struggles of the Cuban people leading up to the revolution of 1959.

The discussion period lasted two hours and was followed by more informal discussion at a party later that evening.

On Sunday, April 22, Adlum attended a unity prayer breakfast where he spoke and took questions. Some 60 local politicians, church leaders, and several Greyhound strikers participated in the event.

Later that day, Adlum addressed the congregation of the Hutchinson Missionary Baptist Church in Montgomery. An organizing center during the mid-1950s Montgomery bus boycott, the church was the target of bombing by racist opponents of the Black civil rights movement. Adlum's speech was carried on radio throughout the Montgomery area as part of the regular broadcast of the church service.

## 'Militant' sales set for Mandela visit

BY GREG McCARTAN

Supporters of the *Militant* are gearing up for the June 20-30 tour of the United States by African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela. During the eight-city tour, the ANC leader will speak at rallies, union meetings, the United Nations, and civil rights events.

Anti-apartheid sentiment has forced South African President F.W. de Klerk to cancel a planned meeting with President George Bush in Washington just prior to Mandela's arrival. De Klerk said the trip was canceled "due to a controversy that has arisen in the United States as regards to the possible timing of my visit." Mandela meets with Bush during a three-day stay in the capital.

In the weeks leading up to and during the tour, thousands will be receptive to buying the *Militant*, Mandela's *The Struggle Is My Life* published by Pathfinder, and *New International* issue No. 5. *Militant* supporters can join in this effort by contacting a nearby Pathfinder bookstore listed below.

Many will also be open to buying an introductory subscription to the *Militant*. The speech by Mandela in Luanda, Angola, in this issue and news coverage on South Africa is the kind of material the *Militant* carries regularly. In addition to the weekly coverage on the struggles of working people around the world, reading the *Militant* every week is an essential tool for all who are fighting to bring an end to the hated apartheid system.

Since January 15,000 copies of the collection of Mandela's speeches and writings published by Pathfinder in *The Struggle Is My Life* have been distributed. Five hundred copies of the Spanish *Habla Nelson Mandela* have also been sold.

In addition, *New International*, a Marxist magazine published in New York, contains in its issue No. 5 an article by Jack Barnes that describes the character and dynamics of the national, democratic revolution against apartheid rule.

Reading this, and accompanying articles by ANC President Oliver Tambo and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, deepens the understanding of the battle for freedom learned from *The Struggle Is My Life* and weekly coverage in the *Militant*.

A special focus of this effort will be sales of the books and the *Militant* to unionists. Many trade unions are involved in planning

The Cuban diplomat's tour also included a visit to the local union hall of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 where he met and spoke informally to members and officers of the local; two campus meetings; a meeting with the Birmingham City Council where he was welcomed by Mayor Richard Arrington; and three high school classes where he spoke to some 200 students about life in Cuba today.

Mandela's visit. He will be giving special presentations to the convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Miami and addressing auto workers in Detroit.

Dates Mandela is scheduled to visit each city and Pathfinder bookstore addresses are:

- New York (June 20-22) 191 7th Avenue, Manhattan (212) 675-6740 and 464 Bergen Street, Brooklyn (718) 398-6983;
- Boston (June 23) 605 Massachusetts Avenue (617) 247-6772;
- Washington, D.C., (June 24-26) 3165

Mt. Pleasant Street NW. (202) 797-7699;

- Atlanta (June 27) 132 Cone Street NW, (404) 577-4065;

- Miami (June 28) 137 NE 54th Street (305) 756-1020;

- Detroit (June 28) 5019 1/2 Woodward Avenue (313) 831-1177;

- Los Angeles (June 29-30) 2546 West Pico Boulevard (213) 380-9460; and

- San Francisco (June 30) 3284 23rd Street (415) 282-6255 and Oakland (June 30) 3702 Telegraph Avenue (415) 420-1165.

## CHICAGO

### 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

**Danny Davis**

Chicago alderman

**Maria Hamberg**

member, Swedish Food Workers Union Local 4, Stockholm

**Ruth Haswell**

member, General Municipal & Boilermakers Union, Sheffield, England

**Derek Jeffers**

coordinator, Paris supporters of Mark Curtis; member, Metallurgical Union Federation (CGT)

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**



# New Zealand, U.S. union veterans back Curtis

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, currently serving a 25-year jail term in a Fort Madison, Iowa, state prison on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; tele-

To all workers and freedom loving people:

In 1951, the year of the great waterfront lockout, I was charged with the criminal libel of a policeman. This charge was brought under the Law of Libel Amendment Act, Section II, an act passed by the New Zealand Parliament in 1910 by only 26 votes to 25.

This act was designed to frame a prominent writer and cartoonist whose chief delight was pillorying politicians and the judiciary. With-

but yet, just because of that, the value of our protests could well be of inverse proportion.

Mark Curtis has already suffered far too much. The mockery of his court trial has been and is condemned worldwide. To call it a kangaroo court would be an insult to such a one.

The fight against the framing of a fighter for workers' rights in any one country is the fight of workers and freedom lovers in all countries.

caucus, is also an endorser of Curtis' defense effort.

"I am interested in Mark's case as a meat-packer and as an immigrant worker," explained Ignacio as he signed a card to endorse the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. He is a Mexican-born worker at IBP (Iowa Beef Processors) in South Sioux City, Iowa.

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee met Ignacio at the Latino Center in South Sioux City during a recent meeting with several activists to review Curtis' case. Another immigrant worker from Panama explained that he could not sign because of recent problems with *la migra*, the Immigration and Naturalization Service police.

The director who organized the meeting explained that the center had developed out of a community campaign against IBP for its treatment of immigrant workers. IBP advertises jobs in Texas and in Mexico. Once these workers arrive in Iowa to work for IBP, they find a shortage of decent housing, food, and other resources. Most do not speak English. IBP gave an initial grant to the center two years ago, but has since done nothing.

While traveling through Iowa,

defense committee supporters were able to talk with many meat-packers about Curtis' fight. Like Ignacio, other immigrant workers were very receptive. While talking about the case, immigrant and native-born workers described one horror story after another about conditions in the slaughterhouses, especially at IBP. Ever-increasing line speeds, long hours, firings, injuries, and being treated worse than the livestock were common complaints.

The majority of workers at IBP are immigrants from Latin America and Asia.

Twenty-three students braved a storm to view the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* by Hollywood director Nick Castle in Wellington, New Zealand, April 23. Afterward several donated funds to the defense effort and signed an International Youth Appeal for Curtis. An older student who is a laid-off meat worker became an endorser of Curtis defense campaign.

James Robb from Auckland, New Zealand; Jeff Powers and Juliette Montauk from Detroit; and Katherine Lee from Wellington, New Zealand, contributed to this week's column.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

phone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

Below we reprint excerpts from an April 16 appeal by Jock Barnes, a veteran trade unionist in New Zealand. He is currently joint treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Fund in that country. In 1951 Barnes was national president of the Waterside Workers Union, which was locked out for 151 days in one of the most important industrial disputes in the history of New Zealand's union movement:

out this act, he had the right to trial by jury. Knowing that their chances of a jury returning a guilty verdict were nonexistent, the act was passed to deny him that right.

Such was the public outcry that the politicians chickened out and no charge was ever made. Public outrage and protest prevailed.

However, the act was never repealed and under the fascist regime that prevailed in 1951, I was given two months hard labour. That is the one and only time it has ever been used.

The comparison with the "trial" of Mark Curtis is self-evident.

New Zealand is a small country

Victor Reuther, the retired longtime leader of the United Auto Workers union, recently endorsed Curtis' defense campaign. He said every trade unionist should find out about Curtis' fight for justice.

Reuther, who has remained active in the labor movement since his retirement, signed up for Curtis at the New Directions Bargaining Conference held in Detroit April 28-29. The conference, sponsored by the New Directions caucus in the UAW, attracted more than 1,000 auto workers. A table with Curtis defense literature was well received. Several participants signed up on endorser cards. Others contributed money.

Jerry Tucker, the nationally elected head of the New Directions

# Kaku begins Canada tour with stop in Montréal

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

MONTRÉAL — Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, began a month-long tour of Canada here May 7. The Montréal leg of the tour helped win new support for imprisoned Iowa political activist Mark Curtis.

More than 60 people attended a May 17 defense campaign rally where Kaku, who is also Curtis' wife, shared the platform with other fighters for union and democratic rights.

Peter Mahlangu, the representative of the African National Congress in Canada, explained that Mark Curtis' arrest and imprisonment on frame-up charges "was not isolated from his own experiences in South Africa where some of our leaders in the anti-apartheid movement have been jailed. But through our struggles we have also had leaders who have come to see freedom."

Betty Sommers, president of the Ottawa Labour Council, said she had learned that "the police don't like people like Mark who stand up and fight for justice for all." She recalled that in 1981 her union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), was involved in an "illegal" strike. The police "hailed me off the picket line and I spent a week in jail," Sommers said. "The labor movement has to stand up for the justice of all workers," she concluded.

Fred Sweet, from the executive of the Montréal Labor Council of the Confederation

of National Trade Unions (CSN), stressed, "When Mark Curtis' rights are violated, we're all more open to attack from these same forces."

Sweet explained that the CSN had learned how police are used against working people during its struggle at the Manoir Richelieu hotel three years ago. There, union supporter Gaston Harvey was choked to death by cops on the picket line. The police and the government used an agent provocateur from the Canadian secret police, who had infiltrated the union federation, to frame-up the entire CSN and jail four of its staff members on charges of "bombing."

Other speakers at the rally included Marianne Roy, president of the Communist Party of Québec; Michel Prairie, editor of the magazine *Lutte ouvrière* and leader of the Communist League; Jean-Claude Bernheim, coordinator of the Prisoners' Rights Committee; Marie Simoneau, a representative of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 118 and one of seven workers fighting firings for union activity at Canadian National Railway; and Pierre-Paul St-Onge, a leader of the student strike against tuition fee hikes this spring.

Serge Bouchereau from the Committee in Solidarity with the Haitian people spoke just before Kaku. He presented her with a small Haitian flag to give to Curtis.

Chairperson Susan Berman, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, read a message received from Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Participants contributed more than \$700 in response to a fund appeal.

Kaku explained the advances the defense campaign was making around the world as more and more people recognize "that in fighting for Mark's rights we're fighting for all our rights."

Two members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad and Transport Workers who, like Peter Mahlangu and Betty Sommers, had come from the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) convention in town that week, were the first to their feet as the audience gave Kaku a standing ovation.

### CSN and CLC conventions

Kaku's stay in the Montréal region coincided with the conventions of the CSN May 4-10 and the CLC May 14-18. Kaku was also able to attend the annual conference of the National Action Council on the Status of Women, held in Ottawa May 11-13.

At the CLC convention Curtis supporters received a warm reception to an open letter distributed to the more than 2,000 delegates present. The letter — signed by union leaders



Kate Kaku, Mark Curtis' wife, speaks at Montréal defense rally. She kicked off her speaking tour of Canada by winning support at conventions of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

such as Jean-Claude Parrot, Sarwan Boal, president of the Canadian Farmworkers Union, and Mike Barker, an executive member of the Hospital Employees Union in British Columbia — urged delegates to endorse the Mark Curtis defense campaign and to take the case to their unions.

While attending the convention, Kaku spoke in the Visible Minorities Caucus and addressed the Action Caucus, a regroupment of CLC activists, where she received a warm reception. She was also introduced from the chair in a workshop on the CLC's international relations. Before chairperson Pock James from CUPE could finish her explanation of who Kaku was, the 75-100 delegates present broke into spontaneous applause.

Kaku talked with dozens of other unionists during the convention. Approximately 150 delegates signed a petition protesting attacks against Mark in prison; convention participants contributed more than \$160 to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

### Early support for Curtis

Since Curtis was arrested in March 1988, the CSN has been an important supporter of his fight for justice. Kaku's presence at the CSN convention helped to consolidate that support.

During the convention and in meetings the following week, she was able to speak with national executive committee members,

leaders of the CSN women's and youth committees, and with members of the International Solidarity Committee of the CSN's Montréal Labor Council.

The International Solidarity Committee of the CSN teachers' federation provided Curtis defense supporters with space on its table at the convention. This committee had just donated \$150 to the campaign, as did another affiliate of the CSN's teachers federation at John Abbott College, which contributed \$200.

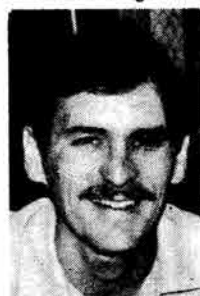
While in Montréal, Kaku also met with leaders and members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; Jim Joyce, an Amnesty International activist; and internationally renowned sculptor Armand Vaillancourt, who decided to give one of his sculptures to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines as a financial contribution. *Le Devoir*, a major French-language daily in Montréal, published an article based on an interview with Kaku.

A highlight of Kaku's tour was a visit to the picket line of striking Machinists at Eastern Airlines. In addition to the 19 strikers present, five IAM members from Air Canada and Canadair also came to express their solidarity with the Eastern strikers and Mark Curtis. Chief steward Martial Jasmin introduced Kaku to a meeting in the strikers' airport office, following the picket line.

After Montréal, Kaku will visit Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver.

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

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



Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$1.00 for postage and handling.)



# Lessons from int'l circulation drive

## Organized efforts to reach trade unionists with 'Militant' got results

BY RONI McCANN

After the contents of the final express-mail package to arrive in the *Militant* business office last week were tallied, the scoreboard for the international circulation drive registered a resounding success — 8,414 new readers to the socialist press! That's 112 percent of the international goals for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Lutte ouvrière*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *New International*.

More than a 1,800 new readers were won in the last seven-day stretch alone as supporters around the world pulled out all stops and drove to make the campaign goals on time.

As momentum was generated in the last few weeks of the drive, supporters took advantage of every opening to win new readers. From all-day participation in big political events to systematically making lists of potential subscribers and calling them — the result was a rounded, aggressive sales effort that was successful in the end due to widened political openings and hard work.

### Sales to unionists, strikers

It's useful to evaluate the nine-week campaign so that we can appreciate what we achieved and be better prepared for the next drive. One of the most significant lessons was that organized efforts to reach strikers and other fighting workers and unionists with the *Militant* got good results. The overwhelming majority of *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* readers are workers. Moreover, a growing layer who are members of trade unions and identify themselves as such are subscribing to the socialist publications.

Twenty-seven percent of all the new readers to the *Militant* that signed up during the drive in the United States identified themselves as members of unions. This is a 7 percent increase over the previous nine-week sales drive that ended in November.

Presently 301 members of the Machinists union subscribe to the *Militant*, as do 122 union coal miners, 119 union steelworkers, and 104 union auto workers. Also, 86 striking members of the Amalgamated Transit Union battling Greyhound Lines Inc., signed up for the paper. Altogether 1,064 *Militant* readers out of 4,005 in the United States are identified as union members. This includes 232 unionists, 70 of whom are Machinists, who renewed the subscriptions to the *Militant* they bought during the sales drive.

Of the total number of new U.S. readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière*, 1,234 listed their union as identification. This includes some 150 in the New York-New Jersey area, 67 of whom are Machinists — including 29 on strike at Eastern Airlines.

Many of these workers are fighters that *Militant* supporters have gotten to know on picket lines, at union halls, and from numerous solidarity activities for striking airline workers, coal miners, bus drivers, and others. When supporters began systematically approaching these cofighters and meeting others on the job and at union activities, they found a serious and interested response, with many subscribing for the first time. Among workers who were already reading the socialist press, an increased number renewed their subscriptions or were interested in doing so.

### Reflects new pattern of struggle

This reflects the increased labor resistance developing in the United States today to the bosses' demands. It shows a new pattern these struggles have taken — where new fights break out and overlap with other battles, each reinforcing the other.

The increased number of fighting workers open to reading the *Militant* indicates the gains made by the labor movement in the course of these struggles. Thousands of workers are inspired by and seek to emulate the strike against Eastern Airlines; coal miners throughout Appalachia have gained confidence from the victory at Pittston; Cincinnati telephone workers are standing on the shoulders of communications workers' battles last summer; and striking garment workers in Los Angeles and Brooklyn are reaching out and winning support from other unionists.

Many workers in struggle are realizing that to lead an effective fight it is necessary to know the facts about what is happening in the rest of the labor movement. For many the *Militant* has become an indispensable tool

for struggle. It offers weekly coverage of their battles, coupled with a broader view that integrates their struggles with what is going on in the working class throughout the world.

### Wide range of political activities

In the campaign to sign up new readers to the socialist press, supporters went near and far to a wide range of political activities and struggles going on in the United States and internationally. Many new readers subscribed at anti-apartheid concerts and rallies, a union farm workers' convention, Earth Day events in Utah and New York, protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, a North Carolina rally for Palestinian rights, a West Virginia construction workers' solidarity event, "U.S. hands off Cuba" marches, Malcolm X picnics and birthday celebrations, a Kentucky mine union organizing rally, Wisconsin Native American spearfishing battles, rallies of logging and mill workers in the Pacific Northwest, a memorial event for the Kent State massacre victims, British miners' actions, and auto workers' protests in Sweden.

### Tried and true methods

It was during the last few weeks of the drive that many of the tried and true methods of introducing and winning new readers to our publications were put into action in a systematic way — gaining thousands of subscribers.

- Hundreds of interested workers and youth, who did not have the money for a subscription the first time they were approached, signed a subscription card and were later called back or visited. In New York and Miami, for example, supporters report some 30 new readers were won this way, and the effort became a real strength of the last two weeks' work.

- In Pittsburgh 10 new readers subscribed after receiving a letter from the *Militant* Labor Forum there. The weekly, public forums are sponsored by the socialist publications, and the letter urged forum-goers to subscribe or resubscribe during the circulation campaign. One friend xeroxed a stack of the letters and used them at his university to introduce others to the publications and the events.

- Many supporters continually drew up lists of coworkers, political activists, and union fighters they work with so they could approach everyone in an organized fashion. A supporter in Brooklyn signed up 22 new readers on her job at the airport, five of whom signed up on the last day of the drive. She and another supporter exhausted three lists as they organized to talk to their coworkers.

- On weekends, sales teams headed out to surrounding areas. St. Louis supporters, for example, averaged two trips a week to the coalfields of southern Illinois, Kentucky, and Indiana. Austin, Minnesota, supporters

traveled every weekend and went door-to-door in Austin during the week to make the drive. Supporters in Sweden went to auto workers' communities, in Iceland to sheep farms, and in Britain to the coalfields.

These are the kinds of activities and methods we can start with in the next drive to get off to a solid beginning.

### Upsurge in student protests

Regular political work on campuses, centered on introducing students to the socialist publications and revolutionary literature, resulted in hundreds of new readers during the subscription drive — and new members of the Young Socialist Alliance, as well.

During the tour of Cuban economist and author Carlos Tablada, who spoke on numerous campuses across the United States, many students became more open to supporting the Cuban revolution and to socialism. Signing up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks, supporters told them, is the only way to read and learn more about the fight to build socialism in Cuba. This coincided with a rise in student activism that is taking place on college campuses today in the United States and bodes well for circulation efforts in the next drive.

New Zealand supporters won some 50 new readers on campuses this spring.

One of the most important conquests made during the drive were the efforts to sell *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Continued on Page 9

## 'Militant' welcomes new staff writers

BY DOUG JENNESS

The *Militant* is making some important changes in its staff following our one-week break, including expanding it by one.

Three new members have been added and two others are leaving.

Those who have been added include James Harris, 40, who is national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. An activist in the labor movement and the struggle for Black rights for more than 20 years and a member of the SWP Political Committee, he was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York in 1988 and for mayor of New York City in 1989.

Harris was part of a *Militant* reporting trip to Zimbabwe and Zambia last September and has traveled to many other countries where he has given speeches and participated in discussions with revolutionary workers.

Judy Stranahan, 35, has been heading up the statewide committee in Utah that directs the expansion of the *Militant* in the western coal fields and coordinates our coverage of developments in the United Mine Workers there. She is a member of the Coal Employment Project, which fights for jobs for women in the coal mines. She is currently a garment worker in Price, Utah, and is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Local 294. She has participated in many *Militant* reporting and sales trips in the western coal region, from northern Wyoming to New Mexico.

Stranahan was the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Utah's 3rd Congressional District in 1988 and for mayor of Price in 1989. She was on the national staff of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1982-84 and worked on the *Young Socialist*.

Cindy Jaquith, 42, is replacing Larry Seigle as director of the *Militant*'s bureau in Managua, Nicaragua. Jaquith has been on the *Militant* staff most of the last 18 years and has served as one of the paper's editors. She was director of the Nicaragua Bureau from 1985 to 1987.

In the past 18 months Jaquith has been on reporting trips to Panama, El Salvador, and Cuba. She is the coauthor of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Panama: The Truth About the U.S. Invasion*, which is based on articles that first appeared in the *Militant*.

Seigle, 45, who has headed the Nicaragua Bureau since 1987, will edit a selection of speeches and articles by Carlos Fonseca, Nicaragua's first Marxist and the central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front from its founding in 1961 until he was killed in battle by the Somoza regime's National Guard in 1976. Many of the selections for the book, which is to be published by Pathfinder, have never appeared in English.

Correspondents Seth Galinsky and Susan Apstein will continue to work in the bureau.

Leaving the *Militant* staff is Susan LaMont, 43, who came on the paper in mid-1987. Before that she had been a member of the United Auto Workers in Cleveland. Just before coming on the *Militant* staff, she was part of a *Militant* reporting team that covered several important strikes of miners in the western coal fields.

Since the Eastern Airlines strike began 15 months ago, LaMont has been responsible for organizing the weekly column on the Machinists strike and coordinating the *Militant*'s coverage of the strike in general. She has shown up at picket lines or strike headquarters to talk to strikers and their supporters up and down the East Coast. The staff additions will make it possible to continue

and expand our coverage of the Eastern strike and other labor struggles.

### Index project

LaMont will take charge of an important project that has already begun of preparing and editing an index of publications that are a key part of the heritage of the revolutionary workers' movement. These include all the bulletins of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and their predecessors coming out of the fight to defend the continuity of the Communist International in its early years; the Education for Socialists series distributed by Pathfinder; and the *International Socialist Review*. The index, which will include materials going back to 1928, is being put on a computer.

This project will make an abundant wealth of material far more accessible for the education and use of revolutionary workers today and the generations of fighters that are coming.

John Gaige, 43, will become the SWP's national organization secretary. Gaige is currently the SWP's trade union secretary and farm work director and a member of the Political Committee. He became active in the labor movement 20 years ago as a leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Ohio. As an SWP leader in Minnesota and Iowa at different times over the past decade, he was directly involved in helping to lead activities in defense of working farmers.

While living in Des Moines, Gaige became involved in the leadership of the Mark Curtis defense committee from its beginning and is the author of the defense committee pamphlet *The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis*.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Judy Stranahan (left), James Harris, and Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Margrethe Siem



# Strikers stand out at New York's Shea stadium

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to

attended the sold-out New York Mets vs. San Diego Padres baseball game at Shea Stadium.

They sat as a group, wearing red T-shirts, with the "Stop Lorenzo"

that the strike is still on. Their spirits were not dampened by the fact that the Mets lost the game, 5-4.

gate at the municipal airport and then proceed at 3:30 p.m. to the Greyhound Bus Depot at 624 19th Street North.

Some pickets walked through the terminal wearing "Stop Lorenzo" T-shirts. Eastern management then called in the state police, who told those wearing the T-shirts that they would be arrested if they did not leave or remove the shirts. The cops were unable to convince the workers to leave, however, and no arrests were made.

Eastern strikers say they plan to continue to exercise their right to wear whatever they choose in the airport.

At National Airport outside Washington, D.C., strikers are planning an expanded picket line on June 6, from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m., in front of the main terminal.

"Let management and the public know we're still on strike!" the leaflet for the picket line says. "Don't fly Eastern and Continental airlines. Stop Lorenzoism. We want a decent contract now!"

Striking Machinist Nancy Brown from Alexandria, Virginia, contributed to this column, along with Anna Schell from New York, Betsy Farley from Birmingham, Jeff Powers from Detroit, and Kip Hedges from Boston.



## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, May 30, the strike was in its 453rd 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 27 — a sunny Sunday afternoon on Memorial Day weekend — 150 Eastern strikers from La Guardia and Kennedy International airports in New York, their family members, and supporters

symbol on the front and "Machinists on strike, Don't fly Eastern" on the back. Frank Lorenzo was head of the airline until he was removed from Eastern management in April by the bankruptcy court.

The block of red T-shirts stood out during the "wave." Before the sixth inning, the group drew applause when the scoreboard flashed "Welcome Eastern strikers."

Shea Stadium is close to La Guardia Airport. Whenever an Eastern plane flew overhead during the game, other fans joined the strikers in booing and chanting, "Don't fly Eastern." An IAM strike banner was hung on the stadium fence.

The trip to the baseball game was organized as a way for the Machinists to get together for a little relaxation — and also to let people know

In Birmingham, Alabama, a June 2 labor rally to support the Eastern and Greyhound strikers has won the backing of the Alabama state and Jefferson County AFL-CIO labor federation, the United Mine Workers of America, and IAM District 100, which represents Eastern strikers in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico.

Additional sponsors include locals of the United Steelworkers of America, Communications Workers of America, United Food and Commercial Workers, American Federation of Teachers, and others.

Initiated by Alabama Jobs with Justice, the rally is seen by union activists as a way to put the Eastern and Greyhound fights back in the public eye. "Contrary to what management at both companies has been saying, these fights are not over!" says the leaflet for the rally.

Fliers for the rally are being distributed by union members, at mine portals and plant gates in the Birmingham area.

The rally will assemble at 2:00 p.m. in front of the Eastern Airlines

Forty people attended a spirited picket line at Detroit Metro Airport May 19. Auto workers from several locals, bus drivers on strike at Greyhound, steelworkers, postal workers, and Machinists who work at Northwest Airlines turned out, in addition to Eastern strikers.

The pickets marched directly in front of the Eastern ticket counter, chanting, "Don't fly Eastern!" A big banner was hung from the railing on the floor above Eastern's area, asking passengers to back the Machinists fight.

Several people who had gone to the counter to purchase tickets decided not to fly Eastern. After an hour of picketing, the strikers and their supporters marched through the airport and held a rally.

On May 12 Eastern strikers, Greyhound strikers, Teamsters, and rail workers from Amtrak gathered at the Eastern terminal at Boston's Logan International Airport for an expanded picket line.

## Striking Machinists keep up pressure on Eastern

Continued from front page

these people, especially now while they're losing millions every day, we won't be able to get an equitable solution. We don't want to see a liquidation. But we don't want our lives flipped upside down. We need sensible negotiations to get a contract, the ability to sit down and talk — not 'take it or leave it,' like Lorenzo.

"I don't know if Shugrue's claim that he wants labor peace is just rhetoric or not," the striker continued. "But it's not feasible for them to operate as long as we're out here. Maybe a merger with Northwest Airlines is a possible solution."

"Don't expect anything until you see it," said another picket. "An acceptable contract needs to put everyone back to work and get the scabs out. It isn't going to be money. We won't be getting much when we go back."

"Without a contract, there'll be no peace," said Donald Mitchell, who is active in the

Local 702 outreach committee. "What else could Shugrue say in public but that he'll keep the scabs. Otherwise he'd have even worse problems of morale. But the scabs' days are numbered."

Strikers raise the possibility of Northwest buying Eastern because of reports in the *Miami Herald*, *Business Week*, and elsewhere that discussions have taken place between Shugrue and Northwest about a possible sale.

On May 23 Shugrue sent a letter to "the men and women of Eastern" that went to scabs, noncontract workers, strikers, and laid-off workers. As in earlier statements, Shugrue went out of his way to reassure the scabs that they are part of the "Eastern team."

"Our internal relationships also need rebuilding," Shugrue said. "There is extraordinary skill and commitment among all Eastern employee groups: management and contract, working and nonworking employees alike."

"We're all stakeholders in the future of

Eastern," the trustee continued. "We must accept that fact to succeed in turning our airline around. Only a genuine effort to reassemble all the elements of Eastern will achieve our full potential. We have opened a dialogue with our labor organizations to move that process forward."

Meanwhile, the airfare war that broke out in mid-May involving Trans World Airlines, USAir, Continental, American, Northwest, Delta and other airlines will make it harder for Eastern to increase its sagging passenger load or boost income through discount fares.

Strike activities are scheduled in several cities in the next few weeks. Machinists from New York and Newark are planning a major protest on June 12, when Lorenzo is scheduled to get an award from a Columbia University alumni association — an award that protests from strikers and supporters got canceled last year. The New York Central Labor Council is backing the action, as are unions

that represent workers at Columbia. Strikers from other cities in the Northeast are also planning to attend.

A labor rally to back the Eastern and Greyhound strikers is set for Birmingham, Alabama, June 2. That day Eastern strikers in Boston are holding an expanded picket line. An expanded picket line is also set for Washington, D.C., June 6. Texas Air holds its annual meeting that day in Houston and Machinists there will be holding a rally to coincide with it.

The Machinists battle at Eastern has recently won some new international support. The May 25 strike bulletin reports that the International Metalworkers' Federation is asking its 13 million members not to fly Eastern or Continental airlines.

On May 28 a federal appeals court ruled that Continental workers who lost wages and benefits after Lorenzo voided their union contracts in 1983 are entitled to damages. The court ruled, however, that Continental workers are not entitled to full reinstatement of the wages and benefits they would have received had the contracts not been abrogated. The appeals court sent the case to bankruptcy court to determine the damages that will be awarded.

Pete Seidman from Miami contributed to this article.

## In Boston, Greyhound feels impact of strike

BY RUSSELL DAVIS AND KIP HEDGES

BOSTON — A chanting crowd of 100, mostly unionists, joined an expanded picket line at the Greyhound bus terminal here May 25 and kept buses from rolling for almost two hours.

Finally, extra cops arrived and charged the crowd, clearing a path for three waiting buses that — after much pushing and shoving — finally got through. Three pickets, including an Ironworker and an Eastern Airlines striker, were arrested. A Greyhound scab, who had attacked pickets with a nightstick grabbed from a cop, was also arrested.

A week earlier a Greyhound strike rally of 400 took place, sponsored by the Massachusetts AFL-CIO and local unions. In Boston 100 members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1205 are on strike; none have crossed the picket line.

A Greyhound spokesperson told the *Boston Herald* recently that Boston had lost the most business of any city since the strike began. "The visible strike activity has undoubtedly had an impact," the company representative said, "plus there's public sentiment there in favor of labor."

Greyhound strikers and Machinists on strike at Eastern have joined each other on the picket line and at rallies. And they are organizing a common food bank, along with two other local strikes.

The city of Boston is suing Greyhound for \$500,000 owed by the company for paid police details at the bus terminal. The City Council is also considering a version of New

York's antiscab law, which aims at limiting a company's ability to hire replacement workers.

In mid-May a scab attacked Local 1205 President Roy Nutter with a club, sending him to the hospital for stitches. No arrest was made. Many strikers, however, have been arrested on various charges.

Two strikers were recently sentenced to one and six months in prison. The striker who got the longer sentence was accused of breaking a bus windshield, even though the scab driver testified that the striker only threw iced tea. Both strikers are free, pending appeals.

Strikers' morale here remains high. "We'll stay out 'til we get a decent contract," said one striker. "If they can't afford that, they should go out of business."

### NLRB ruling

On May 22 the ATU nationally made an unconditional offer to return to work, following a ruling by the National Labor Relations Board general counsel that Greyhound had engaged in unfair labor practices. Greyhound is appealing the NLRB ruling. If the decision is upheld, the return-to-work offer by the union could be the basis for forcing the company — which lost \$55.8 million in the first quarter of 1990 and may be headed for bankruptcy — to pay millions in back pay.

The strike against Greyhound by more than 9,000 bus drivers, mechanics, cleaners, and clerks began March 2 after the company refused to back off from a contract proposal

that included the unrestricted right to contract out maintenance work and routes, gutting of the union's grievance procedure, elimination of seniority, cuts in medical benefits, and no wage increases.

## Hundreds join New York picket



Militant/Marea Himelgrin  
NEW YORK—Several hundred unionists, students joined Greyhound strikers' picket line at Port Authority bus terminal May 25. After marching through the station with union banners, several supporters were arrested outside the station after holding a sit-in to block a bus.



# Miners in Kentucky, W. Virginia battle for a union contract

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

VAN LEAR, Ky. — Union coal miners here and in nearby Ragland, West Virginia, are battling with Agipcoal USA Inc. for a contract.

Until 1989 the Holden No. 25 Mine near Ragland and the Pevlar Complex in Van Lear were owned jointly by Island Creek Coal Co., a large U.S. coal operator, and ENI (International Hydrocarbon), which is controlled by the Italian government.

Four mines in the two states made up the joint venture, called Enoxy, and miners were covered by the industry-wide contract between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Some 500 union miners worked at Enoxy-run strip mines, deep mines, and coal-preparation plants.

In 1987 Enoxy pulled out of the BCOA and demanded a concessions contract with the

## Union miners, steelworkers, and others rally for 'workplace dignity.'

union. The company began laying off miners and stalled union attempts to negotiate.

Then in 1989 Island Creek Coal and ENI dissolved their partnership and divided the jointly owned mines. ENI renamed the Holden No. 25 and Pevlar mines Agipcoal USA and leased the mining operations to nonunion subcontractors.

Today at the two operations only workers at the coal-preparation plants remain UMWA members. Leonard Fleming, co-administrator of UMWA District 30 in nearby Pikeville, Kentucky, described this corporate maneuver as "the old eastern Kentucky screw-the-workers paper shuffle."

This sentiment was echoed by workers who filled the union hall of UMWA Local 1827 here in Van Lear on May 6 for a solidarity rally in support of the fight for a contract. A week earlier, 350 members and supporters of UMWA Local 9603 gathered at the junior high school in Delbarton, West Virginia for a similar event.

Billed as a "Solidarity Rally for Workplace Dignity" the May 6 gathering drew together 150 UMWA members, their families, supporters from the steelworkers and construction trades unions, high school students, retired miners, and local politicians. Also present were Pittston Coal company miners just back to work after their hard-fought, victorious 1989-90 fight to save their union.

Many members of UMWA Local 1827 face hard times. Martha, who began at the Pevlar Complex in 1979, has been out of work since 1988. She described the frustration of watching five underground and two surface mines being opened at the complex by nonunion companies while she and other

miners lost their jobs, homes, and cars.

This region of eastern Kentucky has double-digit unemployment and there is little chance of getting jobs outside the coal mines.

### Inspired by the Pittston strike

Van Lear lies north of the area in Kentucky where Pittston operates mines, and many UMWA members here participated in actions supporting the 11-month strike. Yellow ribbons, a strike-support symbol, were tied to car antennas in the parking lot, and Pittston strike T-shirts and pins were worn by rally participants. The door prize was a shirt from the Pittston miners' Camp Solidarity in Virginia.

A miner who recently returned to work at a Pittston operation in southwest Virginia, and his wife, drove up to tape the rally for a video on the Pittston strike. He talked proudly about trips they had made to Washington, D.C., and the Pittston corporate headquarters in Greenwich, Connecticut, to win support during the strike.

The keynote speaker at the rally was the secretary-treasurer of UMWA District 28, Don McCamey from Virginia. McCamey described the fight at Pittston.

"When we were locked in battle with Pittston," he said, "you and thousands like you came to our rescue. We battled federal troops, state marshals, judges, and the multinational corporations together."

McCamey referred to the broad international support as "the real turning point in the Pittston strike." He pointed out that Agipcoal, like Pittston, has holdings outside the United States, including in South Africa.

McCamey concluded his remarks with a pledge from the Pittston miners. He told the cheering crowd, "Every struggle now is not



Militant/Michael Carper

Pittston coal miners in Hardy, Kentucky. Hard-fought 1989-90 Pittston strike inspired workers throughout coalfields, including those now fighting to gain a contract from Agipcoal USA, a largely nonunion operator in Kentucky and West Virginia. A Pittston miner speaking at a May 6 rally for the Agipcoal miners said, "Every struggle now is not your struggle, it's our struggle."

your struggle, it's our struggle!"

In Ragland, the current battle for a contract is the most recent fight with the coal boss.

Residents had to sue Island Creek, the previous owner, to make it clean up the sludge being dumped into local creeks from the strip mine.

On an earlier visit to the area, Wilburn, a former electrician at Holden No. 25 Mine who was forced by the company to retire early, described what he called the "scam" at the mine to break the union — shutting down underground and strip mines and leasing

them to nonunion companies.

While most of those who were laid off remain unemployed, some former UMWA members have been hired by the new operators. This has prompted discussion among miners and others in the community. Some referred to those workers as "scabs" for going to work in a non-union mine. Others spoke about the need to win them to the fight for a contract at the mine. The expansion of non-union coal operations in southern West Virginia, and what to do about it, was frequently discussed.

## Union farm workers win pact in Ohio

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

TOLEDO, Ohio — Farm workers in this area scored a victory this spring with a new agreement between the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Heinz USA, and Heinz cucumber growers, Rick Velasquez said.

Velasquez, second vice-president of FLOC, explained that the union has waged a two-decade-long struggle to win justice for the thousands of farm workers who travel to Ohio and Michigan each year.

After the union's successful seven-year boycott of the Campbell Soup Co. led to the first farm worker contract in the Midwest in 1986, FLOC secured contracts with Heinz and Vlasic Foods, a Campbell subsidiary. A year ago FLOC renegotiated a contract with Campbell and the Tomato Growers Association and is presently negotiating a new contract with Vlasic and its cucumber growers.

FLOC's three-way contracts between the union, the large processing companies, and the growers are unprecedented in the history

of farm labor. FLOC now represents 3,000 workers in Ohio and 600 in Michigan.

Velasquez noted that one of the most important features of the new four-year Heinz agreement is that it aims to eliminate the sharecropping system no later than the 1993 growing season. Under the sharecropping system, workers are designated as "independent contractors" who split the crop profit with the grower rather than getting an hourly wage. This system has been used to deny workers' compensation and unemployment insurance to farm workers.

In addition, Velasquez explained, these workers are required to pay the higher "self-employed" rate on Social Security taxes. The importance of eliminating the sharecropping system, he said, can be seen in the aftermath of this year's freeze in Florida, where thousands of farm workers, many of whom had worked the season in Ohio, were left with nothing and were ineligible for unemployment.

Although negotiations with Vlasic and its cucumber growers are not complete, agreement has already been reached on eliminating the sharecropping system in that contract as well.

At a news conference announcing the Heinz agreement, FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez reaffirmed the union's goal of eliminating the sharecropping system throughout the cucumber industry. FLOC has already begun discussions with Dean Foods, which owns both Aunt Jane's and Green Bay Foods.

### Talks with Black farmers

Toward the goal of securing a contract with Dean Foods, FLOC has also begun discussions with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the organization of Black small farmers in the South. Outside of the Ohio area, Dean Foods' source of cucumbers is Black farmers in the Carolinas where, Velasquez said, the grower on a tiny plot "is both farmer and farm worker."

FLOC has also increased its activities in Florida. Velasquez explained that the union began winter organizing in Florida after winning its first contracts. At that time its purpose was to educate FLOC members about the contracts in Ohio and Michigan. Committees were organized where the members lived in Florida.

This year, Velasquez said, "the committees really took off. With the freeze, the poisoning of 150 workers in the cauliflower fields, and the implementation of the H2A legislation," Velasquez said, "farm workers are waking up to the fact that they have to come together."

H2A allows the corporate growers to import workers from other countries based on local labor shortages. Velasquez said that while some growers are so notorious for inhuman conditions that no one will work for them, it is not true that there is a labor shortage. Historically such legislation has been used in the United States to provide agribusiness with cheap labor and block unionization.

Velasquez made it clear that FLOC has nothing against the refugees from Central America coming on their own into Florida. "They're worse off even than we are," he said.

## Auto workers hear Mexico strike leader

BY JOE CALLAHAN

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Workers from Ford's assembly plant here attended a 3:00 a.m. after-work meeting April 21 to hear from a leader of Mexican auto workers, Mark Antonio Jiménez. He spoke about a strike that took place earlier this year at Ford's car and truck assembly plant in Cuautitlán, outside Mexico City.

Jiménez, organization secretary of the Cuautitlán Ford union, spoke to 35 United Auto Workers Local 879 members on the St. Paul stop of a brief North American tour that also took him to Detroit, St. Louis, and Toronto.

In July 1989, Jiménez said, Ford fired 200 union leaders and activists from the Cuautitlán plant. The workers responded with a 35-day hunger strike, marches, and rallies, but the company refused to back down.

In December year-end bonuses and profit-sharing checks were drastically cut, in some cases, to zero. Some workers, Jiménez said, were even told that they owed money. Work-

ers at the Ford plant earn about \$180 a month.

In January, 2,400 workers occupied the plant for 15 days after armed thugs attacked the workers early in the month. The occupation ended when 2,000 riot police were sent in to remove the workers.

Workers continued to strike despite Ford's announcement that they were firing the workers who had occupied the plant, Jiménez said. The company backed off, however, and an agreement was negotiated between Ford, the Mexican government, representatives of the Cuautitlán workers, and the Confederation of Mexican Workers, Mexico's main union federation. The agreement called for all workers to be taken back over a 30-day period and for negotiation of the bonus payments.

Despite the agreement, the auto worker reported, Ford has not taken back 750 workers and has hired 600 replacements instead. This prompted the workers to blockade the plant on April 17. The next day, the workers blockaded Ford's offices in downtown Mexico City.

The Cuautitlán workers are demanding se-

curity inside the plant, including withdrawal of police and a guarantee that violence like the armed attack will not be repeated; payment of all earnings due, including bonuses and profit-sharing; reinstatement of all workers without reprisals; immediate democratic union elections at all Ford's plants in Mexico and recognition of the workers' leadership in Cuautitlán; and prosecution of all those who ordered and carried out the January attack.

"This struggle is part of a broader struggle of workers, not only in Mexico but in other countries," Jiménez told the St. Paul UAW members. "We need solidarity — beyond sharing experiences — that can lead to organizing throughout Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Otherwise companies will attack us plant by plant."

"Our purpose is to bring a message of solidarity and to say that solutions can only come from workers ourselves, they won't come from outside."

Joe Callahan is a member of UAW Local 879 at Ford's assembly plant in St. Paul.



# Nicaragua peasants face contra occupiers



Members of Carlos Fonseca collective farm have taken their guns back to defend themselves against contras. Despite agreement with Chamorro government, few contras have disarmed.

BY SETH GALINSKY

SAN RAFAEL DEL NORTE, Nicaragua — On April 28, three days after Violeta Chamorro was inaugurated president of Nicaragua, José Francisco Gadea heard a knock at his door. "Open up, we're the commandos," a voice said.

Gadea and his wife were still in bed when the contras burst into their home on a small farm a few kilometers from here. They beat him and raped his wife. They also stole their money and rifle. Before leaving they cleaned their boots with the Gadeas' blanket.

San Rafael del Norte and the Gadeas' farm, in the north-central part of the country, are within the "demilitarized" section of "Zone No. 1."

Seven "security zones," or enclaves, surrounded by 20-kilometer-wide demilitarized belts, were designated in an April 17 accord between the contras and the Chamorro government. The mercenary troops were to move into the enclaves and turn in their arms to troops from the United Nations Observer Group for Central America (ONUCA).

The agreement called for the contras to be completely disarmed by June 10. The accord also required the withdrawal of government troops from the demilitarized zones and the disarming of militias and civilians there.

But as of May 17, only 1,000 out of an estimated 12,000 to 14,000 contras in the country had turned in their weapons. In Zone No. 1 only 34 out of 5,000 had disarmed.

On May 18 contra chiefs announced the indefinite "suspension" of the demobilization.

## Occupation army

Inside the enclaves and in large parts of the surrounding demilitarized zones the contras are an occupation army, living in peasant homes, demanding collaboration, and intimidating the population.

Even in the parts of the countryside outside the zones many contras roam freely, rustling cattle and horses, stealing money, and in some instances carrying out assassinations.

After the April 17 agreement was signed, army officials and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leaders called on people within the zones to turn in their weapons.

"We felt really torn, giving up our guns," said Orlando Jirón, a leader of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in San Rafael del Norte. "But we knew it was necessary to achieve peace."

A few days after the weapons were relinquished in San Rafael del Norte, Jirón recalled, a group of contras marched into town. Some of them sat down to rest on his front doorstep. "I was ready to explode, but what could I do? My wife even had to give them water."

After negotiations with UN observers and the army, the contras agreed to leave the town and have not returned. However, some remain encamped nearby. Twenty government soldiers are now stationed in the town to provide some semblance of protection.

The residents of Yalí, 30 kilometers to the north, are not so lucky.

There are no longer any armed police or

soldiers in this small town on the west edge of the contra enclave, and many working people have given up their weapons. Armed contras come into town every evening to drink.

"We're essentially without the rule of law here," said Manuel Ruiz, FSLN political secretary in the area. "It's every man for himself."

Ruiz and his family stay home at night, and even in the daytime the FSLN leader worries about going out.

After one commando killed another mercenary in town during a drunken dispute, Israel Galeano, the most prominent contra chieftain, ordered the offender "arrested." When the commando resisted, he was gunned down. Galeano told one reporter, "Our law here is the law of Moses — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

## Peasants pressured to disarm

Some peasants and workers have resisted pressure to disarm by the army, contras, and UN forces. "Taking away my rifle is like taking away my land," one farmer said.

"The army told us to put our weapons in storage," a member of the Carlos Fonseca collective farm said, standing guard at the roadside with an AK-47 automatic rifle. "But after the contras disarmed the Mancotal co-op, we took our guns back out." He was referring to a nearby farm occupied by the mercenaries April 24.

Some peasants are not working their land at all, out of fear of the U.S.-trained mercenaries. Others, like the members of the Carlos Fonseca collective farm, are spending less time in the fields. In the past, when small groups of contras were the only threat, the peasants felt their self-defense was adequate. But now, with units as large as 200 passing by, they worry about what would happen if the mercenaries attacked.

Although some of its troops are stationed near the demilitarized zones, the army is doing virtually nothing to prevent the contras from preying on peasants.

This reporter accompanied an army patrol when it visited a group of contras encamped on a farm near the town of Pradera on the eastern edge of Zone No. 1.

"You know you really shouldn't be here," the army officer told the contra commander as dozens of peasants walked by. "This is the demilitarized zone, not the enclave."

"We needed to find some more food," the contra answered. "We'll be here a few days."

The army officer complained about a contra group on a hill overlooking a cooperative. "People are afraid to leave their houses and tend the fields," he said.

"Tell them not to worry," the contra responded. "We won't hurt them."

After 20 minutes of discussion, the army patrol returned to its camp.

Some peasants in the area are contra sympathizers. Others feel they have no choice but to do what the mercenaries ask.

"The contras are always hungry," one farmer said.

How many chickens, pigs, and head of cattle have the contras taken over the last few

weeks? "There's no point in keeping track," said Carmen Herrera of the Bernadino Díaz Ochoa co-op. "We're never going to send them a bill."

The UN forces claim to be impartial, but there are growing complaints about their actions.

"ONUCA doesn't seem very neutral to us," said Pradera mayor Reynaldo Guardamuz. "They continue to demand that the peasants and the people disarm, but they don't say anything to the contras."

FSLN leader Ruiz from Yalí complained of "insufficiencies in ONUCA's attitude." He said several collective farms inside enclave No. 1 gave up their weapons after ONUCA agreed to station two armed observers at each farm. But after two days, the observers withdrew. "Now the contras are there, threatening the peasants every day," Ruiz recounted.

ONUCA troops have developed friendly relations with the mercenaries, even playing volleyball with them.

According to some reports, the UN group, in violation of its mandate, has been searching for a camp of Salvadoran refugees said to be in the northern mountains.

On the eve of Chamorro's inauguration, demonstrations and strikes in Estelí, Jinotega, and other towns demanded that the contras disarm and the army distribute weapons so people could protect themselves.

According to UNAG leader Justo Angel Picado, the actions in Jinotega were organized by members of the unions and cooperatives, along with "historic collaborators" of the FSLN and disabled veterans. The demonstrations have now largely died down.

"Everyone was speaking out against the contras," Picado said. "It was almost an uprising. But we told people not to ask for arms in the interest of peace. Since the people respect their leaders, they did what we asked."

"Make no mistake. If June 10 goes by and the contras have not disarmed, there could be a war here. But for now, everyone is tired out

because they saw that all their demonstrations didn't achieve anything."

Francisco Javier Sáenz, UNAG president for north central Nicaragua, said that some members of the FSLN had wanted to launch "an offensive" against the counterrevolutionaries. There are "extremists" both in the FSLN and in the coalition that backed Chamorro in the elections, he said. "But we are for supporting the new government in the measures that it takes to get the economy moving and to obtain peace."

However, Sáenz added, "we are against any further disarming of the cooperatives or workers until there is at least a beginning of disarming on the part of the contras."

## 'National reconciliation'

The UNAG leader was opposed to the strikes that took place in the middle of April. "It's not the right moment," he said. "What we need here is national reconciliation."

José Benito González, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation in Matagalpa, looks at things somewhat differently.

He rejects the label of "extremists" that FSLN leaders, including former president Daniel Ortega, have applied to unionists who have been raising the slogan of a general strike to force the contras to disarm.

"Extremism would be to remain passive in the face of a situation where the most affected are those who have nothing," González said. "You can't say that our extremism is incorrect when we're fighting to end bloodshed and to bring stability. Maybe our extremism is healthy."

Most peasants doubt the contras will disarm. "They've been fighting for a long time," Justo Angel Picado noted. "Many of them enjoy the life of banditry." But, he said, "we have to wait and see what they do."

As long as the contras are armed, Yalí FSLN leader Ruiz said, "Doña Violeta has to take responsibility for us."

# Fired twice, union activist is ordered reinstated at Hormel

BY LEE OLESON

FREMONT, Neb. — The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has ordered the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. to reinstate union activist Bob Langemeier. The meat-packing company had spied on and fired Langemeier for his union activity.

"It's a real victory," Langemeier said, "not just for myself, but for all workers. It shows what we did was the right thing to do."

Langemeier and others were involved in building solidarity at the Hormel plant here for the 1985-86 strike by members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union at Hormel's flagship plant in Austin, Minnesota.

The company response was to fire Langemeier twice. He was fired the first time in December 1985 for wearing a "P-9 Proud" sticker on his helmet. When he was reinstated, strikers from Local P-9 were picketing the Fremont plant. Langemeier, and others, refused to cross the picket line, and he was fired again. After Langemeier won agreement to be placed on a preferential hiring list, Hormel refused to rehire him, charging him with organizing a boycott of its products.

In its April 30 ruling, the NLRB stated Langemeier was wrongfully fired by the company and must be reinstated. An attorney for Hormel said the decision was merely a "recommended disposition" — that is, not legally binding. He said the company will appeal the decision in June and would not comply with the ruling.

During NLRB hearings in January and March of 1989 it was revealed that Hormel organized a massive spy campaign against Langemeier and other Local P-9 supporters.

The spying included following and photographing Langemeier and members of his family, filming P-9 solidarity rallies he attended in Austin, attempting to tape a Militant Labor Forum he addressed in Des Moines, Iowa, and probing a trip to Britain in 1986 where he met with members of the National Union of Mineworkers and the British Labour Party.

During the NLRB hearings Hormel served Langemeier and his wife with subpoenas requiring them to supply bank records, pass-

ports, and drafts of speeches and leaflets put out by strike-support committees.

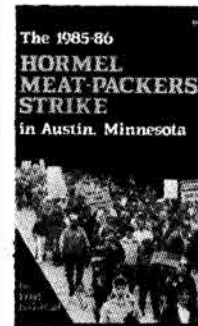
Langemeier said Hormel's actions violated his rights to privacy, free speech, travel and association. He does not expect the courts will punish Hormel for these actions and thinks his rehiring will be delayed by the company's appeals of the ruling.

"It could be years more before I get my job back," he said. The appeals are "meant as an example to frighten other workers from standing up for union rights."

"It goes to show the inequities in our legal system," he said. "Big business controls the people, and the courts and the government are just a rubber stamp for big business," he said.

Lee Oleson works at Beef America in Omaha, Nebraska, and is a member of UFCW Local 271.

## A pamphlet on meat-packers' struggle



The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota presents the facts about the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.'s union-busting attack on the workers at its Austin plant, and about how the Hormel workers fought back and won support from unionists and farmers across the country.

Every unionist facing takeback demands and other attacks will want to read this story. 44 pp. \$1.95

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# Canada rulers face a political crisis

Continued from front page

It was also opposed by the large majority of Native people's and women's rights organizations for failing to recognize their rights.

The Québécois, who make up 80 percent of the population of the province of Québec, are an oppressed nationality within Canada, a predominantly English-speaking country.

An additional half million francophones live outside Québec. They too face systematic discrimination on the basis of the fact that they speak French.

The imposition of the 1982 constitution, as well as its content, is widely viewed by Québécois as a flagrant denial of their right to national self-determination.

The Meech Lake amendment, designed to win Québec's ratification of the constitution, gives recognition on paper to the fact that Québec is "a distinct society" within Canada. However, all of Québec's major union, farmer, and nationalist organizations have rejected the accord on the basis that it restores none of the powers taken away from the Québec government in 1982. These included powers over language legislation and education, as well as a de facto veto over all constitutional changes that affect the national rights of Québec.

Nevertheless, even the minor concessions of the Meech Lake amendment have been rejected by a significant minority of Canada's rulers, including the three provincial governments. They claim that even the vague implication that the Québec government should have special powers to defend the oppressed Québécois nationality is a threat to maintaining a strong federal government.

The pro-Canadian unity and anti-Québécois campaigns waged by both those capitalist politicians who oppose and those who support the accord has helped spark the rise of an even more overtly chauvinist campaign led by the Association for the Preservation of English in Canada. Its supporters have desecrated Québec flags and denounced French as the "AIDS of Canada."

Some 40 cities and towns in Ontario have declared themselves unilingual English municipalities. These declarations were repudiated, however, by a large majority of delegates at a recent conference of Canada's municipal governments and denounced by several major unions.

## National oppression of Québécois

Québécois face systematic discrimination as a French-speaking minority among Canada's 26 million people. They earn on average 10 percent less than those whose first language is English, despite the gains won through decades of struggle for equal wages and rights.

Over half a million people in Montréal, a quarter of its population, live below the official poverty line. They constitute the largest concentration of poverty in Canada. Their numbers have been growing along with all

## Lessons of int'l circulation drive of socialist press

Continued from Page 5

spectiva Mundial and Lutte ouvrière. The response to these publications by workers who speak Spanish and French is a gauge of the deepening politicization among layers of the U.S. working class.

Most significant are the hundreds of new readers of *Lutte ouvrière*, especially among workers from Haiti in the New York-New Jersey area, Miami, and Boston. Supporters in New York made calls to some of these new readers to urge them to get the *Militant* which appears weekly. This effort won six new subscribers to the paper.

Supporters in Charleston, West Virginia, on a trip to Logan County visiting coal miners, ran across a miner from Québec. He and six others came to West Virginia to work at a small Québécois-owned nonunion mine. One bought a *Militant* subscription and another a *Lutte ouvrière* on a second visit. "We've decided," explained the sales director in Charleston, "that we'll never go out on sales with only the *Militant* anymore!"

aspects of national oppression ever since the 1981-82 economic recession.

Moreover, the contrast between the standard of living, health, and education of Montréal's French-speaking majority and its large English-speaking, white minority is considerable. And Blacks in Québec face a deeper oppression even if they speak English, but especially if they are French speaking.

For example, the proportion of university students is twice as high among those who speak English as among those who speak French. On the other hand, the rate of functional illiteracy — close to 30 percent — is twice as high among francophones in Canada as among anglophones.

## Divisions deepen among rulers

The current constitutional crisis has deepened as the June 23 deadline for ratification of the Meech Lake amendment approaches and as independence sentiment in Québec grows.

The differences among the capitalist politicians over the accord, though tactical, are of considerable importance. They cannot agree on what should be done to push back the growing resistance of Québécois to national oppression.

The federal government and its allies have been desperately seeking a compromise that would be acceptable to the three provincial governments. The various compromises that have been discussed all aim to assure opponents of the Meech Lake accord that it would give no new powers to the Québec government — in other words, that the "distinct society" amendment has no real content. This is exactly what the Québécois opponents of Meech Lake have argued all along.

These maneuvers have provoked a storm of protest in Québec. This led to the May 22 resignation from the federal cabinet of Lucien Bouchard, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's official Québec lieutenant, as well as two other Québécois members of the government. "This country doesn't work any more," Bouchard charged. "Québeckers must redefine the degree, the structures, and conditions of their participation in Canada."

Bouchard's resignation was widely applauded not only by a significant proportion of Québécois working people but by a substantial layer of businessmen in Québec as well. The day after his resignation the Canadian dollar fell by two-thirds of a cent in relation to the U.S. dollar, reflecting the growing concerns of capitalists around the world with the increasing political instability in Canada.

## Québec national struggle

What the rulers fear above all is a resurgence of the Québec national struggle, which dominated political life in Canada for much of the period between World War II and the early 1980s.

Over the course of those four decades Québécois were able to greatly narrow the gap that existed between their wages and living conditions and those of other working people in Canada. This was a huge gain for all workers of whatever nationality or language group.

The low wages paid to Québécois, Blacks, women, or any other oppressed layer of the working class are utilized by the capitalists to drive down the wages and conditions of all workers. The maintenance of this structure of oppression is also crucial for dividing working people against one another and preventing a united fight against the bosses and their government.

The struggles of the Québécois grew increasingly powerful during the 1970s. They helped to reinforce a broader wave of struggles by working people across Canada in the face of the capitalist rulers' drive to squeeze more profits out of workers and their growing attacks on democratic rights. This movement culminated in a one-day strike of a million workers on Oct. 14, 1976, against the imposition of wage controls by the federal government.

One month later a proindependence capitalist party, the Parti Québécois (PQ), won the Québec elections and formed a government. This was met by a massive anti-Québec campaign by the federal government. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau warned that his government would not hesitate to use force to



Militant/Roger Annis

"Work is a right": March 1983 demonstration in Canada. The struggles of Québécois helped reinforce a broader wave of struggles by working people across Canada.

prevent the breakup of Canada just as it had when it imposed martial law in Québec in October 1970.

The chauvinist campaign was supported by the leadership of both the New Democratic Party (NDP), which is linked to the unions, and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), the major national labor federation. Nevertheless, four of Canada's major unions adopted positions in support of Québec's right to self-determination, and the leadership of the CLC was ultimately forced to end its open support for Ottawa's attacks on Québec.

In 1980 the PQ government organized a referendum calling for sovereignty-association — greatly expanded powers for the Québec government while maintaining political and economic links with Canada.

The federal government launched a campaign to defeat this proposal with the support of all major federal parties, including the NDP. This campaign raised the threat of a massive withdrawal of capital from Québec and the consequent specter of mass unemployment. Ottawa insisted that it would not permit an independent Québec.

As a result, the sovereignty-association referendum fell short of an overall majority though it had the support of half of all Québécois. It was in the wake of this defeat that the federal government imposed the 1982 constitution.

The combination of NDP support for the anti-Québec constitution and the CLC leadership's refusal to oppose it began to undermine the unity that had been forged between the Québec affiliates of the cross-country unions and the rest of the labor movement.

The last common action held in defense of working people was a November 1981 demonstration in Ottawa of 100,000 against high unemployment. Since then the labor movement has been in full retreat from waging any serious fight against the capitalist rulers' antiworker policies.

This initially led to a wholesale rout of the labor movement in the period between 1981 and 1986, in which massive concessions were imposed on workers and their unions. By 1986, however, growing numbers of workers had begun to fight back, beginning with the Gainers meat-packers in Edmonton, Alberta; government workers in Newfoundland; and forest workers in British Columbia.

Along with this deepening labor fightback came a resurgence of struggles by Québécois determined to prevent further erosion of their rights.

On Dec. 14, 1986, some 20,000 people took part in a demonstration in Montréal in defense of French language rights and against antiunion attacks by the Québec government. Since then three other major actions have mobilized up to 60,000 people in opposition to any efforts by the federal government or courts to weaken Law 101, affirmative action legislation that favors Québécois in order to overcome anti-French discrimination.

The power of this resistance is at the heart of the difficulties confronting Canada's rulers. Like the employing class worldwide, they face a deepening crisis of the capitalist system, signaled by the October 1987 crash of stock markets internationally.

This crisis cannot be resolved without qualitatively driving down the wages, social gains, and democratic rights of all working people. However, the growing resistance of

union fighters, like the Eastern Airlines and Greyhound strikers, and of the oppressed — Québécois, women, Blacks, and others — is an enormous obstacle blocking the rulers' anti-working class offensive.

This is the source of the sharp and increasingly bitter divisions among the ruling rich over Meech Lake. They cannot agree among themselves over how to bring under control the rising resistance of Québécois to their oppression: whether to give them some minor concessions or to step up the attacks on their national rights.

## Right to self-determination

"These divisions are a falling out among thieves," explained Michel Dugré, a steelworker and Communist League candidate for mayor of Montréal.

"Working people have absolutely no interest in supporting either the pro-or-anti-Meech Lake camps among the capitalists. Both oppose the national rights of the Québécois as well as the rights of working people in general."

In an interview here Dugré said that the May convention of the CLC held in Montréal showed how important it is that the labor movement be clear on this.

"Instead of unconditionally supporting the right to self-determination of the Québécois — including the right to form an independent country — the CLC leadership opposed Meech Lake because it supposedly gives greater powers to the provinces and weakens the anti-Quebec Charter of Rights in the 1982 constitution," Dugré explained.

"But this is the key argument of those capitalist politicians, including in the NDP, who oppose Meech Lake both because they claim that it strengthens the Québec government against Ottawa and that the 'distinct society' clause could permit Québec to override the so-called Charter of Rights," by maintaining affirmative action legislation for francophones for example.

In response to the CLC officials' proposal, the Québec delegates threatened to walk out of the convention, and potentially out of the CLC, unless the resolution was withdrawn. It was withdrawn and the walkout averted.

"Nothing was resolved, however," Dugré pointed out. "The maneuvers among both national wings of the CLC leadership blocked any discussion of this vital issue. The cross-country labor movement needs to organize a major discussion in which the important stakes involved in this fight for working people can be grasped."

"The leadership of the labor movement should unconditionally support and help unite working people in a fight for the rights of the Québécois and for francophone minorities across Canada rather than supporting so-called Canadian unity. A majority of workers of all languages and nationalities can be won to this view," Dugré stressed.

"Canada isn't our country; it's theirs. It belongs to the bosses — lock, stock, and barrel."

"Working people's sole interest is in uniting together against the bosses and their governments in both Ottawa and the provinces. That is only possible on the basis of supporting the rights of all the oppressed, including the right of the Québécois to national self-determination. That right is meaningless unless it includes the right to form an independent country, if that is what the Québécois decide."



# Mandela: 'The people of Angola will win'

## In Luanda, ANC leader hails role of Angola and Cuba in fighting S. Africa

The following speech by African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela was given to a mass rally in Luanda, the capital of Angola, May 10, 1990. Also speaking at the rally was Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos.

Since his release from 27½ years in apartheid's prisons February 11, Mandela has traveled extensively throughout Africa, speaking at numerous rallies and meetings.

In this speech Mandela hails the struggle by the Angolan people to free themselves of Portuguese colonial rule that led the country to independence in 1975. Agostinho Neto, whose grave Mandela visited upon arriving in Angola, was the leader of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He served as Angola's president until his death in 1979.

Since 1975 the Angolan people have waged a continuous battle to defend their independence and sovereignty. With the aid of Cuban internationalist troops they defeated a 1975-76 invasion by South African and U.S.-backed Zairean troops, which threatened to topple the newly independent government.

The apartheid regime sent troops into Angola on other occasions over the next decade. The final and most serious invasion was defeated in 1988 when they were dealt a

stinging blow by combined Angolan, Cuban, South West Africa People's Organisation, and African National Congress forces at Cuito Cuanavale.

The South African and United States governments have continued to finance UNITA, a counterrevolutionary mercenary outfit in Angola, which has killed thousands and caused extensive economic damage throughout the country.

On March 22, during the Namibian independence celebrations in Windhoek, Mandela said, "We have benefited tremendously from the lessons of the Cuban people and what Cuba is doing, especially in Africa. We... were tremendously impressed by the role which Cuba played in the liberation of Angola," he said.

"The South African army would still have been in Angola and it would have been difficult to obtain the liberation of Namibia," the ANC leader said, "had Cuba not helped Angola at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale."

The following text of Mandela's speech in Angola has been transcribed from a recording.

Comrade president, chairman of the cabinet, leading members of the MPLA, members of the diplomatic service, and other distin-

guished guests and comrades:

It is an honor and pleasure for me and my delegation to put our feet on the soil of Angola. (Cheers, applause, chants of "Mandela, Mandela") I have never had the honor of meeting Comrade President Agostinho Neto. But as early as 1959 we knew of him. We knew him as the courageous and dedicated freedom fighter and head of MPLA.

When I received the invitation to visit Angola, I made it a point that Comrade President dos Santos should allow me to go and pay my respects to the grave of Comrade President Agostinho Neto. (Applause, slogans)

This morning, on the plane flying from Lusaka to Luanda, I had the opportunity of seeing the program that was prepared for my visit here. And I couldn't believe my eyes when I saw that, as a matter of fact, Comrade President dos Santos had arranged for me to go and pay my respects to the grave of the founder of democratic Angola.

This morning I laid a wreath on his grave. Few moments in my life have touched me so much as when I saw his grave.

I will go back to my country South Africa feeling strong and confident that the day of liberation is not very far off. (Applause and cheers, chants of "Mandela, Mandela")

Throughout the years when I served my life sentence in South Africa, I heard of the name of Comrade dos Santos. (Applause) I met him for the first time in Lusaka in February this year. I have had the honor of meeting him again today. Even more important, I have had the honor and pleasure of addressing you in this stadium today.

### 'People of Angola will win'

From what I've seen today, what I've seen of him, what I've seen of you, I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that the people of Angola will win. (Applause and cheers)

We are disturbed that this great and beautiful country, with so many riches which could be exploited in the interests of the people of Angola, has been split from top to bottom by a civil war which has been engineered by South Africa and other hostile forces. (Applause)

In this conflict, the entire OAU [Organization of African Unity], the Frontline States, the Nonaligned Movement, and the democratic forces of the world fully support the MPLA and FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], the people of Angola in their struggle to free their country from all the forces of reaction and conservatism. (Applause) The African National Congress and the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are among the millions that support your struggle to unite the country. (Applause)

We note the moves that are afoot to bring about peace to the country. (Applause) We support that move, but even more, when democratic changes take place in South Africa — which we hope are not very far off — we will not allow our country to interfere in the affairs of Angola. (Applause)

You all know that there are strong political ties between the MPLA and the ANC, between the people of Angola and the people of South Africa. Those good relations were developed in the course of the bitter struggle which you, the people of Angola, and the people of South Africa, are even at this moment fighting for. These strong and beautiful ties manifest themselves in our working relations on the international level, in the OAU, the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and other international bodies.

Angola, as you know, has also been our main military base, especially from 1976. In 1976 a generation of students and youth poured out of South Africa — in particular out of Soweto — in order to receive military training to free their country by force of arms. (Applause)

### 'Generous support for ANC'

The ANC brought these young people into Angola to receive military training. This was indeed a major turning point in the history of South Africa. Because as a result of the generous support we received from the government and the people of Angola, these young men were able to train and then to intensify the armed struggle in our country.

The progress we have made in our armed struggle is owed largely to Angola. (Ap-

plause) Angola allowed us not only to receive arms from friendly countries abroad, but also allowed us to establish camps and gave us the freedom to train our soldiers and to impress upon them our standards, values, and the necessary discipline. This enabled us to improve the quality of training, which resulted in the rapid development of our struggle.

We hope that one day we will also be free, as you are. (Applause) On that day we hope to invite to our celebration, to our people's celebration, all those heads of state who have assisted us in our moment of need. (Applause) One of those heads of state that will certainly be invited and whose contribution to our struggle will be expressly acknowledged is none other than Comrade President dos Santos. (Applause)

I know of hardly one occasion when a man was killed by those who admire him, because they love him. I must warn Comrade dos Santos that we will have to mobilize a large force to protect him from those people of South Africa who love him. (Applause)

Everybody who is present in those celebrations will want to touch him, to clasp his hand, and to thank him directly for what he has done. (Applause) We therefore pay tribute to him, to the government and people of Angola, for the help they have given. (Applause)

Equally important, we know the crucial role which was played by the government and people of Angola in the course of the Namibian struggle to free that country. (Applause) Through the crucial role which has been played by the government and the people of this country, it was possible for Namibia to be free, to be a free country. (Applause)

### We pay tribute to Cuba

We also pay tribute to the people's republic of Cuba and to Comrade Fidel Castro. (Applause) In size, the people's republic of Cuba is a small country. It is not as wealthy as the old industrial countries of the world. But there is one thing where that country stands head and shoulders above most of the countries of the world: it is its love of human rights and of freedom. (Applause) Inspired by those basic needs, it rallied around Angola when she was attacked by hostile forces from South Africa and from other parts of the world.

But today I am in Angola, and one day I will visit that great country and be able to express my appreciation directly to Comrade Fidel Castro and the people. (Applause)

There is another country that has long given support to Angola, and that is the Soviet Union. (Applause) One day I will be visiting the Soviet Union. (Applause) I will thank Comrade Gorbachev personally for what he has done to ensure the defense of the freedom, the political independence, and the territorial integrity of Angola. (Applause)

There are of course many countries in the world — perhaps too many to certify — who have also given some sort of help to you in the course of your struggle. And we are also indebted to them.

### 'Powerful friends'

My last word to you is that it is so easy to forget when you are facing difficulties that you have many powerful friends. Powerful not in the weapons of destruction they possess. Powerful not because individuals among you, a minority of individuals among you, command vast sums of money and other forms of wealth. Powerful because they love human rights, and they're prepared to give their very lives in order to free human beings throughout the world, to make them happy and secure. You have such powerful friends. (Applause) They all wish you strength, peace, and success in everything that you do.

Above all, we wish Comrade President dos Santos strength and success. He has led you in this country very well. He has made an important contribution in the struggle for freedom in this region. And we wish that he and his government and his party will be given long health and love in everything they do.

Viva MPLA!

Viva the people's army, FAPLA!

A luta (The struggle...)...

[The crowd responds: "...continua!"

(...continues)]

(Ovation)

## Pathfinder Mural poster celebrates freedom struggle



The march towards freedom is irreversible. Our basic principles will propel us to a free nonracial, democratic, united South Africa...

**Nelson Mandela**

Soweto, South Africa  
February 13, 1990

The Pathfinder Mural is painted on a wall of the building that houses Pathfinder Press. It celebrates the writings and lives of the working-class and revolutionary authors whose books are put out by the New York publishing house.

As a salute to the role of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in the world struggle against apartheid the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural have produced a color poster of his portrait on the mural. The image was painted by South African artist Dumile Feni.

The money raised from poster sales and contributions will help the promotion and restoration of the mural, which was damaged by right-wing vandals a month after its dedication last November.

To get your poster, send \$10 to the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. Bulk order prices are \$8 each for 10 posters, \$6 each for 20, \$5 each for 30, or \$4 each for 100 or more. A complimentary poster will be sent to those contributing \$50 or more to the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural.



# Cuba: a new way of organizing labor

## Visit to construction materials plant

BY JON HILLSON

HAVANA, Cuba — Six days a week, before dawn breaks over the working-class neighborhood of San Miguel del Padrón, 180 men and women board buses, free of charge, to go to their jobs at the Juan Roberto Milián construction materials factory.

They produce all the cement blocks, concrete beams, and terrazo tiles used by Havana's minibrigades in housing construction and repair of dilapidated homes. The minibrigades involve thousands of workers and students, some who are released from their regular jobs to join the brigade and others who volunteer their labor without pay after regular work hours.

In addition to housing, minibrigades build child-care centers, polyclinics, and other needed facilities.

The revival of the minibrigade movement grew out of changes approved at the Third Congress of Cuba's Communist Party in 1986, which launched the rectification process. This process is a fundamental political reorientation initiated in response to evidence of increasing bureaucratic mismanagement, indifference, and abuse; declining productivity and work morale; and the growth of corruption and fraud.

### Organizing labor in a new way

The Juan Milián complex is noteworthy not just for the construction materials the workers produce, but for the new way of organizing labor that governs production. It is the first, and currently the only, factory in Cuba run on a contingent basis.

The complex includes six plants, with a seventh under construction. Its facilities —

from a fully staffed clinic with doctor and nurse, an air-conditioned dining room, and snack-bar for breaks — are geared to maintaining a six-day workweek, at 14 hours a day. This schedule applies to all workers, including the administrative, office, and technical staff.

All production workers are paid the same hourly salary at straight-time rates. Individual productivity bonuses, which are the norm in other Cuban plants, have been abolished. There are no custodial jobs in the complex — the workers organize all clean-up themselves.

Virtually every worker volunteers an eight-hour Sunday shift every other week, providing their labor without pay to meet the rising demand for construction materials.

Sometimes when there's an emergency demand for construction materials the workers decide to go "round the clock," a 24-hour shift, as Evelio Suárez, the production chief explained. He also noted that "each worker is part of quality control," catching mistakes early to insure that as little material as possible is wasted.

Since the workers at Juan Milián — all of them unionists — decided to become a contingent, absenteeism has dropped sharply, production per worker has shot up, quality has improved, and there's a waiting line to get in, according to Suárez, plant director Humberto Rodríguez Torres, and union president Amalia Rodríguez Sánchez.

The complex was officially inaugurated as a contingent on November 7 last year after seven months of trial operation. Cuban President Fidel Castro, presiding over the ceremonies, said, "I'd like to see some capitalist factory do what this collective is doing in this plant. I'd really like to see it."

"I'd like to see it have the productivity, the organization, the discipline, the growing quality of what is turned out," Castro said. "Capitalism can never accomplish this," but here, "you don't work for an exploiter, you work for the people and the people work for themselves."

When Castro asked them what they need, he was astounded to hear "We don't need anything," as one production worker put it.

### Under the old bonus system

This was not always the case at Juan Milián.

Under the old bonus system, Humberto Rodríguez explained, individual workers fought to produce more to get a higher salary. "That was the incentive," he said, "money."

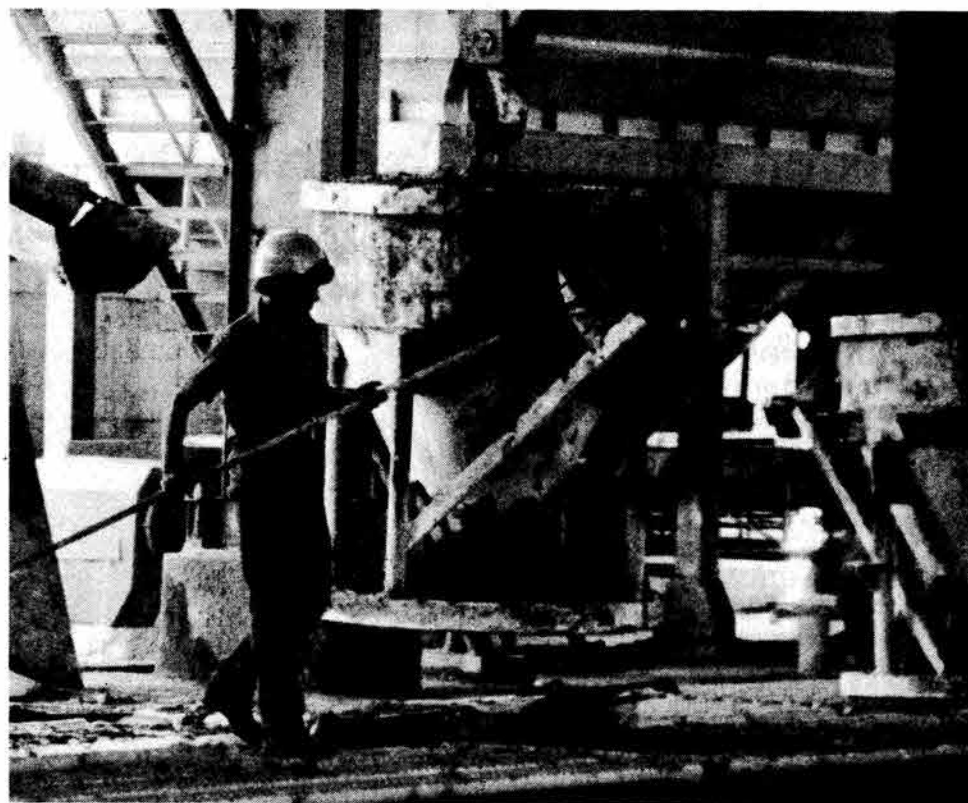
There was little regard for machinery, which often broke and was idle. "The workers didn't pay attention to quality," he said, resulting in unusable material and waste. This led to frictions among workers, collapse of morale, rising absenteeism — particularly among young workers — and high turnover, "sometimes 25 to 30 percent of the work force a month."

By September 1988 these intolerable conditions spurred Humberto Rodríguez, Evelio Suárez, and several other workers to convince the plant management to try different approaches. This included moving towards two shifts, different hours, and other modifications. None of these measures made a dent.

After more debate and discussion, this group of workers decided to see what could be learned from the Blas Roca construction contingent. This appealed especially to Suárez, who was a veteran of the earlier minibrigade movement abandoned in the mid-1970s.

The Blas Roca Contingent grew out of the rebirth of the current minibrigade movement. It was formed in 1987 as a permanent construction contingent. Its example has spurred the creation of some 60 contingents with more than 30,000 members.

The Blas Roca Contingent has 2,600 workers organized in 23 brigades who build bridges, dams, airports, hotels, and highways and



Militant/Jon Hillson

Worker making cement beams at Juan Milián plant in Havana. Individual productivity bonuses, which are the norm in other Cuban plants, have been abolished here.

renovate railroad tracks.

There was much to learn from the experiences of Blas Roca, Humberto Rodríguez explains, even though it "carefully selects on the basis of skill level" the participants in the contingent. This distinguishes it from the construction materials factory.

"There are no supermen at Juan Milián, no supertalented individuals," he says. "Workers come here unskilled and learn. They are the average Cuban worker, and that's very important to understand."

### Initial discussion

The workers listened to the proposal made in early 1989 by Rodríguez, Suárez, and others that a contingent be formed. A debate ensued, Suárez explained, with some workers rejecting the idea.

Finally, agreement was reached to try the contingent approach for a month, and assess it. Then two months, and another assessment.

After initial experiences, the proponents of this effort informed the local and city bodies of the Communist Party. "This initiative came from the workers," Suárez emphasized, it "was not proposed to us by the party."

The workers who didn't like the new setup decided to leave. The government got them new jobs.

In 1988 the complex employed 340 workers and produced 6 million metric tons of cement blocks. In 1989, with a work force of 180, it produced 9 million tons.

In the first four months of this year, more tons of beams were produced than in all of 1989, with 30 percent fewer workers.

Only 20 new workers have been hired since the plant became a contingent, and another 20 will be hired this year, further boosting output. In the same period, the administrative, office, and technical staff was reduced from 28 to 11.

The labor cost per pound of building material has dropped 37 percent since the contingent form of organization was introduced, Humberto Rodríguez noted.

At the same time, the salary of the Juan Milián workers has risen. This is the result of increased work hours and less down time for broken machinery and absenteeism.

"With all the bonuses the workers supposedly used to get, they made less money because when something broke out of neglect or abuse, nobody worked," Humberto Rodríguez said.

This change is rooted in new norms of labor discipline that have been developed, based on "respect for the people," Suárez explained, "and on attention to human values and the worth of the individual in building socialism in Cuba."

"Here we are implementing some of Che's ideas, and a socialist morality," Suárez continued, referring to the late Cuban communist leader Ernesto Che Guevara, who emphasized the necessity of collective, voluntary work for forging communist consciousness and developing socialist administration.

All production workers in the complex, male and female, are trained in every job — from operation of fork lifts and heavy equipment to automated machinery and manual tasks. This increases skills, and if a worker is absent, someone else can pitch in.

"A contingent is just a name," Suárez said,

but the decisive change "in the style of work is what is important. This style of work signifies a new stage in the Cuban revolution."

### Assemblies discuss problems

At Juan Milián this process begins at 5:30 every morning with a workers' assembly where the main outline of the day's tasks are discussed and problems ironed out. This supplements broader discussions on overall plans and how the factory is run.

There are also similar meetings in the six buildings that make up the complex.

Periodic breaks are taken based on the pace of work, decided by the workers, in addition to a regular hour-long lunch break. Inexpensive hot meals are served, and there is a color television in the eating area.

A union-run, government-provisioned store sells discounted goods and appliances when available, and skilled workers at the plant repair broken items brought from home at no cost. The workers also tend an extensive vegetable garden that provides tomatoes, lettuce, radishes, and peppers for the commissary.

The complex hosts social events for workers and their families, and the building of a barbecue area is planned. This, as well as a swimming pool, will be built with voluntary labor. Workers said the biggest pressure they face is the impact of long hours on family and social life.

Discipline is collective, based on the decision of the workers. This pertains to quality, attendance, and functioning on the job. The typical attitude, Suárez said, "is to help. If someone has a serious problem or makes mistakes, that's discussed collectively. There's always a second chance."

But if the worker refuses to respond and the problem continues, the collective says, "no more." "It is a matter of solidarity," Suárez said, "and respect for the collective."

The union intervenes in such cases on the basis of an individual complaint, but these are rare, said union President Amalia Rodríguez.

Humberto Rodríguez said there are now "high standards," especially among the young workers. "Where there is a political appeal to their consciousness, there is a transformation," he said.

Amalia Rodríguez says her friends and neighbors are "proud of what I'm doing." She shares a house with her husband, in-laws, and their children.

They make up for her being away. "They know I am doing what my country needs, building day-care centers, supermarkets, hospitals. They know I'm not working for the money, for a 'salary,' or myself but for my people."

"They tell people I'm on an internationalist mission here. They say if I fail, they fail."

Juan Coneas, a slight, soft-spoken young man of few words, pauses at his buffing machine on which slabs of unfinished cement floor tiles are placed. He is one of 23 veterans of Cuban internationalist missions in Angola, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia working at Juan Milián.

When asked if he likes working in the plant, he answered with a smile, "It's another battle."

## Eastern striker talks with workers at factory complex

BY JON HILLSON

HAVANA, Cuba — Humberto Rodríguez Torres, director of the Juan Roberto Milián construction materials factory, took the floor in the lunchroom of the complex as dozens of workers were eating noontime meals. He was introducing a guest, "one of the delegates here for the May Day celebration who has been on strike in the United States."

The workers stopped eating to listen to Ernie Mailhot, the first U.S. unionist to visit the contingent.

Mailhot, a leader of the Eastern Airlines strike at New York City's La Guardia Airport and a member of Local 1018 of the International Association of Machinists, was one of more than 100 union officials and activists invited to Cuba for May Day celebrations. He had toured part of the six-building complex earlier in the day.

Mailhot explained his union's 14-month battle against Eastern, how the union has had to fight the government, courts, and police to maintain its picket lines, and how the determination of the strikers had cost the bosses \$1.2 billion in losses.

"But here in Cuba I have seen a government that supports working people and that working people defend," Mailhot said.

The spirit, unity, and confidence of the workers in the Juan Milián factory "is an inspiration. It shows what can be done when workers decide to build a new society."

Mailhot pledged to bring to fellow strikers and other unionists the truth of what he had seen in Cuba, in order to "strengthen friendship between the working peoples of our countries." After the applause from the workers, many came over to shake Mailhot's hand.

Later, the strike leader chatted with workers at their work stations, including veterans of combat in Angola, young communists, and local union leaders.



# A new tool for today's union fighters

## Book on unions by Trotsky, Marx has valuable lessons from earlier battles

*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder, New York, 1990. 156 pages. \$13.95.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Union members who have been supporting and participating in the wave of strike struggles and labor resistance that has developed over the past year will especially welcome the latest book from Pathfinder Press, *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky. This slim volume, with a July 1 publication date, is one to buy, read, and reread.

There is a growing layer of union fighters looking for a deeper discussion and longer view of the questions they have begun to confront as they have pushed to make their unions more effective in battles with the employers. Machinists waging the 15-month-long strike at Eastern Airlines, union coal miners who fought and won an 11-month battle at Pittston coal company, Greyhound strikers now on the picket line, telephone workers, and many other union members have found themselves in hard-fought strike struggles since the opening of 1989. As they have gotten to know each other on the picket lines, at rallies, and through common strike support activities, many of these fighters have found they are confronting and thinking through similar questions, no matter what union they're in.

Why are virtually all the unions so weak? Can they be made more effective? How should unions relate to unemployed and un-

## IN REVIEW

organized workers? Do unions share common interests with the employers? How should unions relate to the broader social and political questions facing working people? Do working people need more than unions — even much stronger ones — to fight for a better future?

Today's struggles are already posing these questions in a sharper way. As the world capitalist system heads toward deeper crisis — which is what the 1990s have in store — and struggles and revolts by working people worldwide intensify, these questions will become burning issues for millions of workers, who will be drawn toward the unions in a way that hasn't been seen for decades. As further struggles unfold, the experiences of earlier generations of working-class fighters will become more and more useful — as readers of the new Pathfinder book will find from its opening pages.

### 'Shock of recognition'

*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* is made up of articles written by Leon Trotsky, with a prologue by Karl Marx. While many unionists who study the new book may not have read anything by Marx or Trotsky before, they will feel right at home with these two outstanding, combat-tested leaders of the international workers' movement. As Joel Britton and Margaret Jayko explain in the book's introduction, readers "will repeatedly experience the shock of recognition at the descriptions in these pages of what happens to unions when they are improperly led and how badly they need to be transformed in order to be effective."

The book's prologue is a short — five paragraphs — resolution drafted by Karl Marx, "Trade unions: their past, present, and future." It has been an invaluable guide for union fighters since it appeared in 1866.

The resolution was written for a congress of the International Working Men's Association, which drew together unionists, socialists, and other working-class fighters from Europe and North America in the first mass international workers' organization.

Marx, the central leader of the association, explained that in the past unions arose spontaneously as a way for workers to cut across the competition forced upon them by the employers and to forge a degree of unity. Confronting the power of capital alone, the worker is powerless, Marx said.

As unions grew, they became organizing centers for the working class, Marx explained. Workers found the unions are needed not only for the "guerrilla fights" — sometimes bigger, sometimes smaller — that go



Eastern strikers, union coal miners, other workers are discussing how to strengthen the unions, as resistance to employers' demands deepens. (Above) Farm workers, auto workers, other unionists at solidarity rally for Eastern strikers in Los Angeles last June.

on unceasingly between capital and labor, but for the fight to replace the whole system of wage-labor and capital.

Trade unions in the present — this was in 1866 — stand "too much aloof" from the broader social and political struggles that affect all working people, whether in unions or not, Marx said. This remains just as true in 1990, when the unions are still "too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital."

When Marx was writing, unions were organized along craft lines and only represented a thin layer of the highest-paid workers.

### Rise of industrial unions

In the 1930s — when workers and farmers around the world were ravaged by capitalism's last depression — U.S. workers waged mighty battles to build industrial unions. These unions, which encompassed all workers in a given industry, represented a big advance for the entire working class over the earlier, narrow, craft union set-up.

Today, however, these workers' organizations function less like industrial unions than at any time in their history. Growing acceptance of multitiered wage structures, contract labor with no union protection, and similar schemes have deepened inequalities and divisions among workers and reinforced the aristocratic attitudes among some workers that are characteristic of craft unionism.

Members of the International Association of Machinists are gaining firsthand experience with this problem right now. Recently the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association, a procompany craft outfit, split off mechanics from the IAM at the Trump Shuttle. AMFA is gaining more of a hearing among mechanics at United, Northwest, and other airlines for the idea of setting up their own craft union, separate from "unskilled" ramp workers and cleaners.

Marx urged the unions of his time to head in the opposite direction. The unions, he said, should fight to become "organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political movement heading in that direction."

Marx urged the unions to "enlist the non-society men" — that is, organize the unorganized. Today, when union membership has slipped to 16 percent of those employed and unions routinely lose representation elections, this challenge remains in front of workers looking to strengthen the labor movement.

Unions "must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances," Marx said. Today millions of agricultural workers — many of whom are immigrants — still remain without union protection. It is these workers and others in similar situations — both at home and abroad — that the unions must champion in order to reverse the labor movement's decline.

Most of the book is made up of 13 articles, letters, and other pieces by Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia who was forced into exile by Joseph Stalin in 1929. Until his assassination in 1940

by an agent of Stalin, Trotsky — along with a layer of communists internationally — fought against the degeneration of the Russian revolution and of the Communist International.

### Period of social convulsions

Trotsky wrote these articles in the 1920s and '30s, when workers in their millions were battling the devastation of the last deep-going crisis in the capitalist system. Today we are still living in "the epoch of imperialist decay," as the book's title says — a period marked by economic and social convulsions, wars, national liberation struggles, and intensifying combat by workers and farmers. In the years ahead working people will face conditions that are even more like those described by Trotsky.

The first section of the book is titled "Problems of trade union strategy and tactics."

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world," Trotsky said in the lead article, "Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay," written in 1940. "It is their drawing close to and growing together with the state power" of the ruling capitalist classes.

This "growing together" has caused the unions to become weaker and weaker, as the union officialdom and the better-off layer of workers that supports them — the "labor aristocracy" — promote a policy of collaborating with the employers and their government.

Workers have gotten a fresh dose of where this leads in the 1980s, when the policy of giving concessions in order to save "our" plant, "our" company, or "our" industry was the officialdom's only answer to the employers' offensive. Through bitter experience, workers found out that this course did nothing

to stop further attacks and only left the unions in even worse shape.

Many workers have discovered that the union officialdom is more interested in being a "petty but active stockholder" of the corporations, as Trotsky put it, than in fighting for the interests of union members.

Trying to carve out some turf as the employers' junior partners, the officials sink union pension funds and other resources of the membership into company stocks and bonds. They negotiate employee stock ownership programs, like the one being pushed by the IAM at United Airlines. They seek spots for union officials on boards of directors and creditors' committees and pour millions from union treasuries into the coffers of lawyers, financial "consultants," investment banking counselors, and takeover specialists. The payoff for this course has been the continued erosion of union strength.

The new wave of labor resistance and strikes is opening up the fight to break out of this losing pattern.

### Workers need a communist party

The second section of the book, "Communism and syndicalism," is made up of articles directed toward radicalizing workers who were attracted to a current in the labor movement known as syndicalism during the first decades of this century.

Syndicalists, or anarcho-syndicalists, were first cousins to the anarchists, who sought to overthrow capitalist exploitation through the direct action of unions alone, which would culminate in a revolutionary general strike. The unions, said the syndicalists, should steer clear of "politics" and political parties.

The problem is that without a clear perspective to advance the interests of the working class on all fronts, including in politics, unions get caught in tow of forces who do

Continued on page 16

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### TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY

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# British Coal announces plans to cut thousands of mine jobs

BY RICH PALSER

SHEFFIELD, England — "The only way to defend the jobs and pits we have is by taking industrial action," said Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers. British Coal has announced that one in 10 coal miners' jobs are to go in the next three years. "If you believe for a second that by talking to British Coal management you can get a change of policy, then you are living in cloud cuckoo land," the NUM president said.

British Coal's intention to cut up to 7,500 jobs was formally announced by chairman Sir Robert Haslam on May 22. He said "rationalization" was made necessary by falling demand for British-mined coal from the new power-generating companies set up by the government. These are being readied for the privatization of the electricity generation industry. By 1993, instead of the 70 million tons of coal delivered by British Coal this year, only 65 million tons will be delivered, if a three-year contract with the electric power industry is signed.

Haslam's announcement followed press reports a week earlier that up to 30,000 coal miners' jobs were threatened by a change in government policy over how to cut emissions of sulphur dioxide and nitrous oxide from power stations in Britain. The British government is committed to European Community directives to reduce sulphur emissions from power stations by a fifth in three years in order to combat

acid rain and by 60 percent by the year 2003.

In an internal British Coal document leaked to the British Broadcasting Corporation, it was estimated that annual demand for British-mined coal would fall 10 million to 15 million tons because of the government decision not to proceed with the installation of £2 billion (US\$3.3 billion) worth of chimney "scrubbers" in existing coal-fired power stations.

## Desulphurization equipment

The new power-generating companies — National Power and PowerGen — will install flue gas desulphurization (FGD) equipment only on 8,000 megawatts of power station capacity instead of 12,000 megawatts, as originally projected. The government is now allowing them to increase the use of gas-fired power generation and the import of low sulphur coal. The power-generating companies estimated that these measures would mean cutting coal supplied by British Coal by 30 million tons annually.

Following the leak of the British Coal document, Labour Party energy spokesman Frank Dobson said 49 low sulphur coal-producing pits had already been closed due to the government policy of running down the coal industry. He called for reinstituting plans for installation of FGD equipment at existing power stations.

Roy Lynk, leader of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, complained that the pit

closures would constitute "treachery." Most of the jobs threatened would be in Yorkshire and in the Nottinghamshire coalfield — the base of the UDM. The UDM was formed with government and British Coal support among miners who worked during the 1984-85 strike against pit closures.

But with Haslam's announcement that the estimates of 30,000 job cuts were just speculation, Lynk stated, "We are pleasantly surprised. The damage to the industry is not half as bad as people were predicting." British Coal declined to say where the pit closures would occur.

Haslam, however, did concede that the regulations might force more "adjustments" over and above the 7,500 jobs already being cut in the next three years. "Failure to achieve the productivity growth necessary to reduce unit costs will inevitably result in further contraction," he said.

## Demand for higher productivity

This follows similar threats that pit closures will occur unless miners increase production. At the end of April British Coal in South Yorkshire threatened that 3,000 jobs would be cut at five pits unless production improved. Area Director Ted Horton singled out miners at Hatfield Colliery, who had been given until July to "change attitudes." The Hatfield miners conducted a two-week strike in defense of union control over the job that rapidly spread to other pits.

Horton spoke of a "resurgence of outdated



G.M. Cookson

Only industrial action can save miners' jobs, says National Union of Mineworkers President Arthur Scargill.

militancy" and said, "Some of you seem to think this is more important than the future of Hatfield colliery."

Despite the miners' defeat in the 1984-85 strike, and the reduction of the work force by over half through pit closures since then, the mine workers union has not been broken. British Coal has still not been able to impose compulsory layoffs, and a special severance scheme — under which miners accepting layoff can qualify for lump sum "sweetener" payments — has been extended.

"In 1990 we have more economic power in stopping one pit than we did in 15 pits in 1984 because of the concentration of capital," Arthur Scargill told reporters. "I think it's time for miners to recognize their potential strength." Scargill said that the union had repeatedly pressed British Coal on where the latest job losses would occur. Recalling the period leading up to the 1984 strike, when British Coal repeatedly denied the scale of the closures being planned, Scargill said, "It is almost a rerun of 1983. They know full well where the closures will be."

Calling for a "sensible energy policy based on coal," he rejected the idea that the closures were being carried out to protect the environment. "It seems the economics of the mad house to have closed down 50 pits which produced the lowest sulphur coal in the world, and then to import coal into Britain which has a higher sulphur content."

## Victory won in Detroit 'red squad' suit

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

DETROIT — A victory for democratic rights was scored here recently with the settlement of a 16-year-old lawsuit against the city of Detroit and the Michigan state police.

The suit was against the activities and existence of a police department "red squad" that functioned here in one form or another from the 1930s to 1974. The 550,000 files that were collected, and are now released, subjected 1.5 million people and scores of unions and other organizations to illegal surveillance.

Richard Soble, attorney for the plaintiffs in the suit, which included the United Auto Workers union, said in an interview here, "The red squad gathered information on people and organizations, traced political movements in the city — from labor organizations and civil rights, antiwar, and feminist groups to socialist and communist parties."

The Detroit red squad, which "was not as organized as the national FBI's Cointelpro operation, organized categories of people and groups that were in opposition to the existing

power structure," Soble said. "And over the years the language may have changed from 'Bolshevik' to 'terrorist,' but who they investigated remained the labor and political activists."

The dirty tricks of the red squad were similar to those revealed by other lawsuits like the one the Socialist Workers Party brought against government spying. The SWP suit, launched in 1973, ended in victory with a 1986 ruling. Working with the local FBI, the Detroit red squad used informers and undercover surveillance techniques to spy on, disrupt, and intimidate political and union activists.

Part of the settlement of the lawsuit is that the city of Detroit must finance a public effort to explain what the red squad was and that TV, radio, and newspapers locally and nationally must publicize the fact that the victims can get a free copy of their file.

Soble explained, "The purpose of the suit was to stop political surveillance, distribute the files to individuals and organizations that were spied upon, and to establish guidelines

to prevent this from happening again."

A special order from the Detroit Police Department is attached to the decision. It prohibits surveillance or investigation of individuals or groups because of their ideas.

"The red squad was a secret police, different from undercover anticrime operations," Soble said. "It never sought public support because the public would have never tolerated it. That's why these red squads are outrageous."

Already many individuals and organizations are requesting their files. To request your file if you believe you or your organization might have one, write to Red Squad Files, 800 Palms Building, Detroit, Mich. 48201.

## Arizonans protest toxic landfill

BY MARY NICHOLS

PHOENIX — Five hundred outraged people attended a recent hearing to discuss a hazardous-waste landfill and incinerators now under construction at a site 50 miles from downtown Phoenix.

The May 7 meeting — convened by federal and state environmental officials — was located in rural Mobile, six miles from the dump site but far enough from Phoenix to deter any but the most committed protestors from attending.

The elementary school cafeteria held barely half of the protestors. The rest were obliged to huddle around the PA system outside, which at times was barely audible.

Preparations for the plant have been underway for 10 years and \$30 million spent so far. During this time the plans have mushroomed from a plant to dispose of local waste to one where 70 percent to 98 percent of the waste treated will come from out of state. The plant now under construction has three incinerators and no recycling capacity. The proposal originally approved by the state was for a single incinerator and recycling plant.

The facility is being built by Environmental Services Co. Inc. (Enesco) of Little Rock, Arkansas. Enesco has a record of pollution in

Alabama, Arkansas, Minnesota, and Tennessee, according to a leaflet distributed by a Stop Incinerators Now activist.

The state of Arizona bought the land for the project and will receive \$150,000 a year from the facility as well as two percent of the profits.

Henry Olea, a representative of the Phoenix Building Trades Council, testified at the hearing that workers at another Enesco plant have been contaminated with PCBs. He asserted that the estimated 200 jobs created by the project do not justify the hazards it presents to its employees and the surrounding communities.

The hearing had been projected by public officials to collect public comments on final permits to operate the facility, which is nearing completion. It's "a done deal," Bradley Angel, a spokesperson for Greenpeace International, told the *Arizona Republic*.

Feelings at the meeting ran high. People were crying and screaming with rage. In response 18 were arrested by deputies of the Maricopa County Sheriff's Department. The 24 deputies used electronic stun guns on half a dozen of the protestors, handcuffed them, and manhandled them along the 20 or 30 yards to the waiting vehicles.

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# Socialists fight disclosure of contributions

Continued from front page

tributors, and recipients of expenditures will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties." The socialists had not turned over any names during the 1971-79 period.

The FEC signed a consent decree that required the Socialist Workers campaign committees to keep records of contributors and file reports with the elections commis-

sion, but without identifying contributors.

The decision paved the way for winning parallel exemptions from state disclosure laws and made it possible for other socialist and working-class parties to win similar exemptions. The U.S. Supreme Court, for example, ruled in 1982 that the Communist Party neither had to disclose names or keep lists of the names of their contributors.

When the FEC exemption was renewed in

1985 for a four-year period, the extension also allowed the socialists to withhold names of those who are recipients of payments from the campaign committee.

Seeking an advisory opinion from the FEC, an administrative procedure requiring a majority vote by commission members, is the first step in attempting to regain the exemption. The SWP will submit documentation of harassment of SWP members and supporters

by governmental and nongovernmental agencies and organizations. This includes the operations of detective agencies hired by employers, violent attacks on SWP campaign headquarters, and many other incidents.

## Victory against government spying

A historic victory scored in 1986 by the socialists against government spying will be a centerpiece of this documentation. In that year U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ruled in favor of the SWP in a lawsuit, finding the Federal Bureau of Investigation guilty of violations of the constitutional rights of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, their members, and supporters. Findings in the suit documented a 40-year record of FBI spying, harassment, and disruption operation against the socialist groups.

Following the ruling 10 government agencies continued to insist that they needed the massive files accumulated by the FBI through its surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and other illegal acts. The judge issued an injunction a year later barring any further governmental use of the files.

A 1989 court decision, declaring unconstitutional the application of Florida's campaign disclosure law to the SWP, will also strengthen the case with the FEC. Ruling in favor of a suit filed by Florida SWP candidates, U.S. District Court Judge James King held that the U.S. Supreme Court had "clearly stated that the First Amendment prohibits compelled disclosure of contributors' or recipients' names if the revelation would subject them to harassment from either government or private parties."

## North Korea returns U.S. GI remains

Continued from front page

ery (D-Miss.) announced that agreement had been reached. "Our side made it public that very same day in Pyongyang," the DPRK's capital, Ho said.

"I hope such a humanitarian effort and position of my government will not be misinterpreted by some other people," the ambassador said. Articles in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* speculated that the transfer of the remains was a sudden diplomatic maneuver to attempt to improve ties with Washington.

### U.S. preconditions for normal ties

The U.S. State Department expressed "appreciation for the return of the war remains" and said it was a step in the direction of a "steady reciprocal process" between the two governments in Korea and between the U.S. government and the DPRK, a spokesperson said in a telephone interview. The U.S. government position, however, remains that normalization of relations between Washington and Pyongyang depends on "constructive talks" aimed at resolving "terrorist issues" and the signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by the DPRK, she said.

"We don't think it is acceptable for them to put preconditions" on normalizing relations, Ho said. The DPRK's agreement to any treaty is a matter that "entirely belongs to the sovereignty of my country. We have already clarified our position to the U.S. government" and have asked for "firm guarantees" in regard to the more than 1,000 U.S. nuclear weapons stationed in South Korea.

"The U.S. government should take away the nuclear weapons," the ambassador said. And secondly, Washington "should guarantee the safety of the entire Korean peninsula." Earlier this year Team Spirit '90 military exercises by some 180,000 U.S., UN, and South Korean troops were held around North Korea. Some 44,000 U.S. troops are now regularly stationed in South Korea.

Ho outlined the proposals made by President Kim Il Sung on May 24. Steps in the direction of these measures would "ease the tension" in the region and help bring about Korean reunification, he said.

### Reduction of U.S. forces

It is necessary "to replace the armistice with a peace treaty with the United States

### 'Unacceptable for U.S. gov't to set preconditions on normalizing relations.'

and to conclude a nonaggression treaty between North and South, as well as reducing armed forces," Ho explained. The DPRK is willing to accept a gradual reduction of U.S. forces leading to a total withdrawal from Korea by the United States, he said.

"To ensure free travel between North and South" all barriers and divisions, "including the concrete wall" built by the South Korean government along the 38th parallel and South Korean laws prohibiting travel to the North, must be removed, Ho said.

North and South Korea "jointly entering the United Nations with one seat" is the third proposal put forward by Kim, the ambassador said. The DPRK opposed recent efforts to grant separate membership in the UN to

North and South Korea on the grounds that such a move would lend legality to the division of Korea. The proposal for a single membership conforms to UN principles of self-determination, Ho explained.

Kim announced the willingness of the DPRK government to resume "the inter-Korean dialogue that was suspended because of the Team Spirit '90 exercises," the ambassador said. Talks between the North and South had occurred prior to the military exercises and were set up to discuss a variety of issues.

Finally, Ho said, his government appeals for a "united front for reunification." All Koreans should set aside special interests and make common cause for the Korean nation.

The UN ambassador concluded the interview by expressing "appreciation for the solidarity activities" by workers, students, and political activists in the United States on behalf of Korean reunification. "Such activities are extremely encouraging to our people," he said.

## Britain rail union fights victimization

BY ROB HIGLEY

LONDON — The National Union of Railwaymen, the largest rail union in Britain, has decided to take up the case of Joyce Fairchild, a signals engineer with British Rail. Fairchild had been working on a rail extension to Stansted airport when she was removed from her work gang. British Rail claimed the reason was that airport authorities denied her a security pass. The pass is required to work in the airport area. No reason was given for the denial.

Fairchild is a known union and political activist and a member of the Communist League. The union is demanding that British Rail provide a reason for the pass refusal and transfer Fairchild back to working on the rail line extension.

This incident is the latest in a series of victimizations and discriminatory actions by British Rail. Last year Denny Fitzpatrick, another signals engineer and union activist, was dismissed by the railroad on the grounds that she failed to mention her previous job with Ford Motor Co. on her application. Fitzpatrick was fired by Ford after the company surreptitiously acquired information on her previous trade union and political activism.

The NUR took Fitzpatrick's case to the Industrial Tribunal, a government body that rules on cases of unfair dismissal. There it became increasingly clear that collusion existed between Ford and British Rail in gaining background information on Fitzpatrick. Ford has publicly admitted its use of private investigative agencies, such as the Economic League, to spy on its employees.

Concern among members of the NUR about British Rail's role in spying recently forced the company to publicly say that it does not spy on its employees or use investigation agencies.

Exposing some of the bosses spy practices has given workers more confidence to fight against other kinds of discrimination. Recently, guards (brakemen) who are Black have protested racial bias in hiring and promotion. Evidence came to light that at a major London rail terminal all successful applicants for train driver positions were white. Yet, two-thirds of the applicants were Black. British Rail has now hired an "independent, external company" to investigate the selection methods.

The local government workers' union is also taking up a case of political victimization in Hackney, East London. The finance officer for the Hackney Council, Andy Murphy, faces disciplinary proceedings because of

interviews he gave to the media in the wake of the recent anti-poll tax demonstration in London. Murphy spoke representing the group Class War, which promoted and defended the actions taken by anti-poll tax protesters.

The publicity spokesperson of Murphy's branch of the National and Local Government Officers Association explained that the union viewed the actions taken as a blatant case of political victimization and recommended strike action be taken.

## 'Granma' wins new readers

BY JON HILLSON

As of May 30, Pathfinder Press' effort to increase the U.S. circulation of *Granma Weekly Review*, an international newspaper published in Cuba, had won 520 new subscribers.

While short of the June 1 goal of 600 set earlier this year, the figure indicates interest among working people, students, and others in getting an accurate picture of developments in Cuba, while learning more about the revolutionary course of the Cuban leadership.

Expansion of the circulation is continuing at the rate of 50 new subscriptions a month, Pathfinder business and promotions director Norton Sandler said.

While the overwhelming majority of new readers reside in the United States, in the last two weeks requests for subscriptions have come in from Turkey, France, Canada, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

In a seven-day period, inmates at prisons

in Stillwater, Minnesota; Stormville, New York; and Gatesville, Texas, sent in money for the year-long subscription, two in Spanish and one in English. A recently announced \$12 discounted yearly subscription offer is available to prisoners.

*Granma Weekly Review* contains original articles and reprints from the Cuban press, covering a wide array of topics, including the speeches and activities of Cuban President Fidel Castro, the emergence of Cuban young people in political life, and issues on Cuban economic planning, culture, the arts, science, and sports.

Pathfinder's promotion of *Granma Weekly Review* began last November. Packets of new subscriptions are sent to Cuba where they are processed and mailed.

To subscribe to *Granma Weekly Review* send \$16 to Pathfinder (specify English, Spanish, or French) 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Ho Jong, ambassador of Democratic People's Republic of Korea to United Nations. DPRK worked with U.S. veterans groups on project to return GI remains.



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Czechoslovak workers' militia marching through the streets of Prague in 1948. Mobilizations of the working class were decisive to the overturn of capitalism.

## How workers in Eastern Europe overturned capitalist property relations

BY PETER THIERJUNG

(Seventh in a series)

The victory of the Soviet Union in World War II and the Soviet army's pursuit of the German imperialist armies across Eastern Europe helped spark a revolutionary upsurge in the region. Worker and peasant uprisings dealt crippling blows to the capitalist ruling classes and nearly toppled the capitalist system in 1945-46.

In our last article we reviewed how these events led to the breakup of the capitalist armies and police forces, the routing out of fascist elements from positions of power, and the nationalization of many factories and enterprises. Communist Parties loyal to Moscow, which had often led the resistance against German occupation, became the dominant political force throughout the region.

Toward the end of the war, Washington and London recognized the countries of Eastern Europe as part of Moscow's "sphere of influence" in exchange for Joseph Stalin's guarantee that Communist Parties would not attempt to overturn capitalism in France, Italy, Greece, and other European countries, where they had a mass following. Moscow wanted Eastern Europe to serve as a buffer zone to block future attempts to invade the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the Kremlin wanted to try to retain the wartime détente with its imperialist allies in the postwar period. So popular-front coalition governments that included capitalist political forces were patched

together by Eastern European CPs on Moscow's orders. Capitalism was not immediately overturned, and nationalized industries were run within the framework of capitalist economies.

The remaining capitalist forces retained a measure of power through their continued ownership of important sectors of the economy, their political organizations and parties, their press, and through their hold on parts of the governmental apparatus.

### Growth of the Communist Parties

These forces confronted rapidly growing Communist Parties. The Polish CP grew from 30,000 members to 300,000 between January and April 1945; the Czechoslovak party, from 27,000 to more than a million between May 1945 and the beginning of 1946; the Romanian party, from about 1,000 members to 800,000 between mid-1944 and October 1945. Workers and peasants rallied around the Stalinist parties hoping that they would provide genuine leadership for their struggles.

Opportunists looking for personal gain were also attracted to the CPs and were encouraged to join. Peasants needing tools or fertilizer found that they could get them more easily by joining the party. Those who wanted land found party membership made it easier to get around red tape. Employees of ministries and offices headed by CP representatives found they could get promotions and perks by belonging to the CP. In Romania, former members of the fascist Iron Guard were even taken in.

In this way Stalinists set out to build up mass parties, which they bureaucratically controlled and later used to impose their domination.

In the popular-front governments CP representatives initially held a minority of posts. But this masked their command of key sections of the state apparatus. They also dominated organized trade unions and workers' factory committees and received backing from Soviet occupation troops.

### Control of the repressive apparatus

In every Eastern European country Stalinists demanded and won control of the interior and defense ministries. This guaranteed the Stalinists decisive influence in the reconstruction of the armies and police forces, including the secret police.

In Czechoslovakia, and throughout the region, the police force was reorganized under the Ministry of the Interior held by the CP. Four of the five chief officers of the Prague headquarters of the security police were CP members, along with 12 of 17 regional directors of the police. Nine of the 13 officers of the Security Police Corps central office were CP members.

"There was one position, control of which was claimed by our Party from the first minute," said Mátyás Rákosi, the Communist Party chief in Hungary, in a 1952 speech, "one position where the Party was not inclined to consider any distribution of the posts according to the strengths of the parties in the coalition. This was the State Security Authority. . . . We kept this organization in

our hands from the first day of its establishment."

In Hungary layoffs of government employees became political purges through which the CPs eliminated opponents and developed a patronage system to reward supporters.

The trade union officialdom rapidly became a base of CP power. Through this lever they appropriated privileges, corrupted a layer of workers, and bureaucratized the workers' factory committees. Leaders of factory committees were exempted from manual labor, received higher wages, and were given special access to other forms of income.

In some countries in Eastern Europe, Bolshevik-Leninists had survived Stalin's international murder machine as well as assassination by fascist invaders. They participated in the 1944-45 uprisings and began to organize political activity. The Stalinists, however, quickly clamped down and eliminated this communist opposition.

In Bulgaria Bolshevik-Leninists published pamphlets and a newspaper called *Communist Appeal*, which campaigned for a "workers' and peasants' government" and called on the Workers Party (the Stalinized Communist Party) to form a united front to defend the revolution. They were charged with being "provocateurs" and "traitors." In June 1946 they were arrested by Stalinist thugs and disappeared.

### Growing conflict with imperialism

The imperialist governments in Washington and London did not continue the wartime alliance with Moscow, but instead launched the "cold war." This was the strategic course Washington and its allies were forced to accept in the face of limitations on the use of military force to restore capitalist rule in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

U.S. imperialism used its military might, economic policies, and political power to isolate and pressure the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and to contain any extension of the revolutionary overturn of imperialist domination and capitalist property relations.

Winston Churchill, the British wartime prime minister, announced in a speech in March 1946 that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." Containment was also the essence of what became known as the Truman Doctrine, announced by then U.S. President Harry Truman on March 12, 1947.

### Sharpening class conflict

The U.S. government began to "get tough" with the Soviet Union even before Truman's announcement, and the growing clash led to sharpening class conflict in Eastern Europe.

Famine, galloping inflation, and the lack of resources required for postwar reconstruction had created enormous difficulties for the regimes in Eastern Europe. Washington's demands for political and economic concessions in return for aid, trade, and loans were aimed at exploiting these difficulties. Millions of dollars in foreign assets and gold reserves belonging to these countries and

kept in imperialist banks were held back by the U.S. government.

Capitalist politicians in Eastern Europe were emboldened by the imperialist's actions and began to openly balk at the Kremlin's policies. They plotted against Stalinist control of governmental machinery as well as social measures that were being carried out. The U.S. government embarked on an energetic policy of building up points of political support among these elements.

Moscow was unwilling to tolerate the possibility of hostile regimes on its borders and tightened its stranglehold on the region. Using administrative maneuvers and police tactics, Stalinists forced recalcitrant capitalist politicians out of government.

These measures were not limited to capitalist opponents. Stalinists also harassed "uncooperative" working-class and peasant organizations, used thugs to carry out physical attacks, and arrested others. Opponent newspapers were shut down and democratic rights were curtailed. Other rivals were bribed and bought off. Social democratic parties that had allied themselves with the CPs in forming the popular-front governments were forced to fuse with the CPs.

### Overturn of capitalism

This growing civil conflict began to shatter the popular-front regimes in 1947-49, forcing the Stalinists to lead popular mobilizations to break the power of the capitalist class and overturn capitalist property relations. Dormant workers' factory committees and militias were temporarily revived. Mass rallies and demonstrations were held.

In Czechoslovakia the confrontation between class forces was sharpest. "Action committees" of workers were formed by the CP to lead the assault against the remaining vestiges of capitalist power. A Feb. 22, 1948, congress of workers' councils, which were based in the factories, mills, and mines, was convened to support the CP's seizure of power and the expropriation of the capitalist class. Two days later the trade unions conducted a one-hour protest strike.

"The Communists accomplished the revolution by their own strength, supported by the great majority of workers; they had only to parade their armed militias in the streets to block any counteraction," wrote historian Isaac Deutscher in his book *Stalin*. The capitalists, he wrote, "overwhelmed and depressed by the evidence of popular support for the revolution — the streets of Prague were full of armed workers marching towards the seats of government — bowed to the victors."

By the end of 1949 capitalist property relations had been destroyed throughout Eastern Europe. Nationalized economies, with a state monopoly on foreign trade and nationalized basic industry and banking systems had been established.

At the same time the bureaucracy set up by the Stalinists entrenched its power. The CPs became the instruments of the new bureaucratic castes' political domination, and police-state terror became the mechanism of their rule.

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**Report from South Africa.** Talk and slideshow by Greg McCartan, *Militant* correspondent who recently reported on the upheaval in South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

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**Africa Called, Cuba Answered!** A response to Carlos Moore, author of *Castro, the Blacks, and Africa*. Speaker: Tony Thomas. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

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**AIDS: Myths, Facts, and a Fighting Perspective.** Speakers: Bill Medlock, Act-up Atlanta; Virginia O'Riley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**Stop Union-Busting! Support Eastern and Greyhound Strikers.** Speakers: Larry Roundtree, member International Association of Machinists Local 1690 on strike at Eastern; others. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**Report from South Africa.** Presentation and slideshow by Margrethe Siem, *Militant* photographer and correspondent who recently reported on the upheaval in South Africa. Sat., June 23, Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donations: dinner \$2.50, forum \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**The United Airlines Buyout: No Solution for Airline Workers.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1781. Sat., June 16, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

**Inside Cuba Today: Deepening the Struggle for Socialism.** Speaker: Estelle DeBates, member National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 23, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

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**Report Back from 1990 Venceremos Brigade to Cuba.** Speakers: Nancy Brown, Socialist Workers Party, Eastern striker and member International Association of Machinists at Washington National Airport; Dick Ochs, coordinator Baltimore Emergency Response Network. Sat., June 16, Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donations: dinner \$3, forum \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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**Stop Poisoning the Environment!** Activists discuss the fight against corporate and government polluters. Speakers: Sue Weaver, Riga Citizens Action Commission; Kim Maxwell, Freelander; representatives from Evergreen Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

## MINNESOTA

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**Defend Translation Rights for Workers Who Don't Speak English.** Speakers: Alfredo Lares, co-coordinator Community Equality Action Committee of Albert Lea; Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9; Henry Zamarron, member United Auto Workers Local 2125 and Citizens Alliance for Racial Equality in Rochester; Dale Chidester, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 9. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 3, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

## NEBRASKA

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**Speak Out Against Police Brutality.** Panel with Rev. Helen Saunders, Christlove Community Church; Carolyn Booker, mother of victim of police brutality; Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Nebraska governor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 2, Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation requested. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Cuba Mobilizes to Defend Its Revolution.** Speakers: Jon Hillson, *Militant* correspondent at May Day events in Cuba; Ernie Mailhot, member of international unionists' delegation to May Day events, staff coordinator International Association of Machinists Local 1018 on strike against Eastern. Translation to Spanish and French. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Protest U.S. Funding of Israeli Occupation of West Bank and Gaza.** Sat., June 2, Assemble 11 a.m. Union Sq.; noon march through Village; 2 p.m. rally and cultural festival at Union Sq. Sponsor: Palestine Solidarity Committee. Tel: (212) 964-7299.

**The Intifada, U.S. Aid and the Soviet Jewish**

**Situation.** Speakers: Nael Saad, Committee for a Democratic Palestine; Hilda Silverman, Act on Conscience for Israel/Palestine; Stephen Shenfield, Center for Foreign Policy Studies, Brown University. Mon., June 4, 7 p.m. The Village Gate, Bleecker and Thompson streets. Donation: \$5. Sponsors: International Jewish Peace Union, Palestine Solidarity Committee. Tel: LPU (212) 533-1429; PSC (212) 964-7299.

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**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.

## OHIO

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**Defend Mark Curtis! Framed-Up Unionist from Des Moines.** Speakers: Tom Buckley, professor, Cleveland Marshall College of Law, CSU; Marty Pettit, union garment worker; Selo Thole, South African student. Video showing of *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* directed by Nick Castle. Sat., June 2, 7:39 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

## TEXAS

### Austin

**Support Sanctions Against South Africa.** In honor of Soweto Day and South African Youth Day, protest use of apartheid steel in the Ship Channel Bridge. Sat., June 16, 11 a.m. For location and other information call (713) 981-8984.

### Houston

**The Independence Movement in the Baltic States.** Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**Response to the South African Escalation.** Video showing of Part III of Cuban documentary on the defeat of the apartheid army at battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Angola. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**The World Economic Crisis: The Battles Ahead for Working People.** Speaker: Al Budka, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 30, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Protest the Aryan Nation's Terrorism.** Speakers: George Bakan, editor *Seattle Gay News*;

Eric Simpson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 2, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

## BRITAIN

### London

**Video on Thomas Sankara.** Celebrate publication of new Pathfinder pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by the late West African revolutionary leader. Fri., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

### Sheffield

**Palestine: the Intifada Continues.** Fri., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

**Miners' Fights Around the World.** Open house and reception near venue of miners' gala. Speakers: Rich Palser, *Militant* correspondent recently returned from South Africa; NUM miner and U.S. woman miner. Sat., June 16, 4 p.m. For more information call 0742-729469.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**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

**Defend Framed-Up Unionist Mark Curtis.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, leader of Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis' wife; Clair Culhane, Prisoners' Rights Group; Pam Frache, former British Columbia chairperson Canadian Federation of Students; George Lai, African National Congress; Frances McQueen, member Amnesty International; Mike Barber, 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, 100 W 49th Ave. (southwest corner of campus, access through west doors). Donation: \$5. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**The American Civil Rights Movement.** Video showing of Part I of *Eyes on the Prize*. Sat., June 9, 7 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

# New tool for today's fighters

Continued from Page 12

have a political perspective — usually the employers, Trotsky explained. In the United States, for example, the unions are entirely politically subordinate to the big-business parties, mainly the Democrats.

Many workers influenced by syndicalism were dedicated fighters who were attracted to the example of the successful Russian revolution. Trotsky also sought to convince them of one of the lessons of the revolution: that unions alone — no matter how revolutionary — were not enough to lead working people in the overthrow of capitalist exploitation and to begin the construction of a new society.

For that task a communist party is needed, one made up of tested fighters who can lead the working class as a whole, not just those in unions.

Names and terms that may not be familiar to readers are explained in the book's footnotes and glossary. In addition, readers will find helpful the brief introductions to Trotsky's articles, written by Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs was the central leader of the great battles that built the Teamsters union in Minnesota and the Midwest during the 1930s. He resigned from the union staff to become labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in 1940 and was the SWP national secretary from 1953 to 1972.

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**He can say that again —** "There is no doubt that we have a grave problem here with the growing number of people who have a personal account to settle with us."



**Harry Ring**

— Maj. Gen. Natan Vilnai, Israeli military commander in the Gaza Strip.

**The general and the private** — Concerned that a spreading brain disease among cattle could

be passed onto humans, more than 1,000 British schools have banned beef from their menus. In response, Agriculture Minister John Gummer demonstrated his lack of fear of such contagion by having his daughter, four, eat a beefburger on television.

**Can't trust those damn comies** — A spokesperson for UNITA, the Angolan contras, explained to the *New York Times* that they attack Cuban forces in Angola in violation of a cease-fire accord because "When we blow up bridges and war supplies, the Cubans come back, rebuild them, and protect them."

**Who says U.S. doesn't provide jobs?** — The U.S. Army recruit-

ment battalion that operates in Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, and St. Croix leads the field in enlistment figures. A sergeant says that in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo, he was recruiting from his car.

**Justice: blind, but not color-blind** — "We get arrested for DWB. You know, driving while Black." — A youth in Teaneck, New Jersey, where the killing of Phillip Pannell put the spotlight on racist cops.

**Silver lining** — A study in *Nature* magazine on the impact of global warming on U.S. agriculture finds that while some farm production will actually increase, total production will drop, resulting in higher prices. Touted as "the most elaborate

ever made," the study calculates this will net growers an extra \$3.5 billion a year.

**Don't get carried away** — "I always regard myself as a passionate smoker and will stand up for this right until my dying breath." — Caroline Chambers, campaign manager for British FOREST (Freedom Organisation for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco).

**Vital statistics** — Richard Balducci, Speaker of the House in the Connecticut legislature, broke four times as many gavels in this year's legislative session than in last year's longer one. That's according to the policy director for House Democrats.

**New Soviet reform** — As Communist Party chief, Mikhail Gorbachev was paid 1,500 rubles a month. By vote of the Soviet legislature, his monthly salary as president will be 4,000 rubles. That's \$6,400 — modest by U.S. standards, but not bad in the USSR. It's 32 times the \$200 a month reportedly received by most Soviet workers.

**Thought for the week** — "All officials, without exception, elected and subject to recall at any time, their salaries reduced to the level of ordinary 'workmen's wages' — these simple and 'self-evident' democratic measures . . . serve as a bridge leading from capitalism to socialism." — V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

## Students in New York area protest tuition hikes

BY JIM HALLER

NEW YORK — In a recent nationwide upsurge of protests, students have been rallying against rising tuition costs, racism on campus, restrictions on women's rights, and cuts in funding for AIDS patient care and research.

Since early this spring, when college presidents and deans throughout the country announced tuition hikes, students have been striking and taking other actions. In recent weeks the protests have stepped up. At the University of California Berkeley, for example, striking students have demanded diversity of ethnic background in the faculty and an end to discrimination against university employees. Students at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, have rallied against racist epithets written on the walls at Malcolm X House, where the school's Center for Afro-American Studies is located.

This upsurge of student resistance has also touched many colleges in the New York area.

Campus actions here began when students condemned state-wide proposed budget cuts in social services, which are also being made in many other states. The students have denounced Gov. Mario Cuomo, the state legislature, and Mayor David Dinkins for proposed budget cuts of \$43.2 million, more than half of which will be cuts from funding for state and city education.

A press release by the City University of New York (CUNY) Student Senate acknowledged, "The severity of the budget cuts will have a crippling effect on the quality of education at the City University." The senate is an elected student body representing the citywide system.

The student senate also demanded:

- no tuition increases and no cuts in services;
- the resignation of John Jay College of Criminal Justice President Gerald Lynch;
- citywide college plan for protection of students from police brutality;
- that tuition for foreign students be rolled back immediately to pre-1988 levels;
- and that college administrators be chosen from among people of color and diverse ethnic backgrounds.

In 1989 CUNY students waged a successful fight against proposed hikes in tuition. Some 180,000 students are enrolled in the CUNY system.

### Police attack rally

On May 1 some 800 students from Lehman, Baruch, Hunter, John Jay, and Borough of Manhattan colleges gathered at the World Trade Center in the Wall Street financial district for a rally. Students and onlookers chanted, "One, two, three, four. Kick Cuomo out the door!" and, "Fight, fight, fight, fight! Education is a right!" Speakers denounced the shortage of minority programs and faculty, which does not reflect the student populations at the colleges. After protesters marched through the financial district, two dozen students staged a sit down.

Police at the rally were in riot gear. Many were on motorcycles or horse-back or in squad cars. Some were stationed in police patrol wagons. When the students sat down, police made immediate arrests. The *CUNY Voice* and other college newspapers reported that some students were injured by arresting officers.

On May 9 students attempted a take-over of the administration building at John Jay



Sign on student-occupied building at the City University of New York Office of Higher Education, May 22.

College. John Jay is largely made up of youth who are Black and Latino. Students confronted college President Lynch who ordered them out of the building. As students left, they were attacked by police wielding clubs.

Student government President Carol Bullard said, "Students were peacefully leaving the building when police moved into the crowd and began hitting people. Over 50 students were injured and 10 were arrested."

In the midst of continuing student strikes and building takeovers at colleges throughout the city, some 500 students gathered again at the World Trade Center on May 16. There, several participants described their struggle.

Albert, a student at City College of New York said, "Students are opposed to any budget cuts and demand free tuition." He also explained that Gen. Colin Powell, the highest-ranking U.S. military official who is Black and a key figure in the U.S. invasion of Panama last December, had been invited to the college's graduation ceremonies. "He's not welcome to speak at the college," said Albert.

The protesters also demanded that City College Prof. Michael Levin, an avowed white supremacist, be fired. Mark, a student and part-time faculty member at the school said, "I'm for massive disturbance of Professor Levin's classes. I despise him and his ideas of Nazism."

Karin, a protest leader from Hunter College, said she had been organizing students and missed her exams. "This is more important," she explained. "Students want to be able to go to college for free like Cuomo and Dinkins all did." Up until 1976 tuition for fully matriculated students in New York City was free.

Karin said the "283,000 students from 19 schools along with faculty, staff, and workers should unite against the outrageous state budget cuts."

Jarrod, a CUNY graduate student, noted the brutal role of the police who are backed by the government. Another protest leader from Hunter, Howie, an Asian-American student, emphasized the importance of the right to education.

Kerry from LaGuardia Community College said, "Budget cuts and tuition increases will mean unaffordable education. It is already out of reach for many in this city, especially for poor and minorities."

Sixty-six classes have already been canceled at LaGuardia," Kerry said. "The speech center has been closed; half of the reading

center is gone; the library has shortened its hours."

High school students are getting involved in protests too. Student activists explained they have been harmed by poor educational

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

June 6, 1980

Heavily armed South Korean troops, spearheaded by helicopters and tanks, reoccupied the center of the southern city of Kwangju on May 27 to put down a popular uprising against military rule.

The fierce three-hour gun battle left at least 19 dead and scores wounded. The unofficial death count in Kwangju since the mass demonstrations began on May 18 reached 280, with at least 2,000 injured. [Estimates now, in 1990, by opponents of the South Korean regime put the number killed at more than 2,000.]

The insurrection in Kwangju — South Korea's fourth largest city — was sparked by the military regime's actions. After weeks of mounting student protests and labor strikes in Seoul, Taegu, and Sabuk, where coal miners took over the city, the military authorities announced on the morning of May 18 that they were closing all universities, banning all political gatherings and labor strikes, imposing press censorship, and extending martial law to the entire country.

On May 18 some 5,000 students took to the streets of Kwangju to protest the repression. The following day the students were joined by tens of thousands of other residents. Armed paratroopers and riot police attacked the demonstrations, killing several protesters and wounding dozens of others. Soldiers arrested all students on sight, forcing many to strip and lie face down on the street.

The mass protests continued on May 20. The authorities inflicted heavy casualties that night. At 11:00 p.m. troops began firing at random into crowds near Chonnam University.

Unable to demonstrate peacefully for their democratic rights, the citizens of Kwangju were forced to defend themselves. On May 21 they took up arms.

Gen. John Wickham, Jr., head of the joint

planning and funding.

The United Students Organization (USO) of Newark, New Jersey, has issued a public statement demanding a "multicultural curriculum, one that encompasses the truth about history." This is in reference to outdated "Eurocentric" textbooks and teaching methods. The USO also demands better school conditions through better funding for the Newark public school system, which — according to USO activist Kia — is in "terrible shape with corruption running wild."

USO activists traveled to Trenton, the New Jersey state capital, to bring their demands to Gov. James Florio. Kia reported that on the morning when they were scheduled to see Florio, he was in Newark, meeting with university administrators about state budget cuts.

USO members have also marched in downtown Newark to the City Council and demanded Mayor Sharpe James hear them out. James, a former school teacher, told the students to "wait" for their demands to be met.

Jim Haller graduated from Rutgers University in Newark in January 1990 and was active in the first round of tuition-hike protests at his school last year.

U.S.-South Korean military command, released South Korean combat troops from their regular duties to help put down the unrest.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People  
June 7, 1965 Price 10c

The following is an excerpt from an article by Farrell Dobbs, then national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Truth was struck a foul blow the other day at Waco, Texas. Cant and hypocrisy were paid homage in a grotesque spectacle that President Lyndon Johnson slyly interpreted as a tribute to "selfless service" for the "betterment of the condition of man to the ends of this earth."

The occasion was the May 28 ceremony at Baylor University to confer an honorary degree upon the president. Unlike Caesar, who at least had the grace to pretend lack of merit before accepting public honor, the international outlaw Johnson brazenly took as his due the accolade "Doctor of Laws." Cynically enough, the good "doctor" chose as the theme for his acceptance speech — the Dominican situation!

"We do not seek to impose our will on anyone," he piously asserted. People are expected to believe that he rushed thousands of U.S. troops into Santo Domingo simply to "help the Dominican people find a Dominican solution to their problems." We are told he merely wanted to prevent "Communists" from "destroying the hopes of Dominican democracy."

Toward that end his first act was to use U.S. military power to save the military heirs of Trujillo from defeat by the constitutionally elected Caamaño government supported by the armed people.



## At Eastern: No contract, no peace

When Frank Lorenzo walked out of federal bankruptcy court in New York April 18, having been removed from the management of Eastern Airlines, the men and women who have been on strike at the airline for more than a year, along with tens of thousands of their supporters throughout the labor movement, cheered. The man who had built his reputation as a union-buster, who had crowed that the striking Machinists could never win, was shoved aside. The strike proved stronger than Lorenzo.

It has now been six weeks since airline executive Martin Shugrue was put in as trustee to run the airline. Whatever initial hopes may have existed that Shugrue would quickly come to terms with the striking Machinists, it is becoming clear to many strikers that little of substance has changed.

The main thing Shugrue has done since taking over is reassure the scabs hired over the past 15 months that they are a permanent part of the Eastern "family," while mounting a public relations campaign aimed at cleaning up the airline's image. At the same time, Shugrue is trying to get the strikers to "turn down the noise" to make his job easier. This the strikers have not done.

Shugrue, although in a weaker position than Lorenzo, faces the same basic problem: how to guard the interests of the airline's creditors and shareholders by trying to get Eastern to make a profit.

For the strikers, who have fought long and hard against Eastern's drive to crush them and their union, a settlement of the walkout means, more than anything, a return to work. "An acceptable contract needs to put everyone back to work and get the scabs out," said one Miami striker.

But for Shugrue to agree to a settlement that would get

rid of the scabs and return the strikers to work would mark a break in more than a decade of union-bashing by the employers, in which scabs hired to replace strikers become the permanent work force — even when a strike ends. If they're "lucky," strikers get put on a recall list and may return to work, sometimes years later.

In addition, for Shugrue to tell the scabs now that they will be out and strikers in, would immediately put the airline in even more of a shambles than it is already.

This means that the stakes in the fight to force a settlement on Shugrue remain enormous. And that's why, despite reports of talks with the Machinists, there has been no change to date in the policy of Eastern management toward the strike.

In response to this situation, the Eastern strikers have gotten right to the heart of the matter by affirming that Eastern will never be able to "recover" without a just settlement to the walkout.

That's why the striking ramp workers, cleaners, stock clerks, and mechanics continue to push ahead, staffing airport picket lines, organizing rallies, speaking to union meetings, getting out their message at political events. They continue to widen support for their fight, including internationally. They continue to extend their solidarity and experience to aid other fighters, from Greyhound strikers to garment workers to coal miners, who deeply appreciate the example set by the Eastern Machinists.

That's why now is the time for union activists throughout the labor movement to join the strikers in demanding, "No contract, no peace."

## Protest campaign disclosure

A blow against democratic rights has been dealt by the Federal Election Commission.

For nearly 20 years the Socialist Workers Party has withheld the identity of financial contributors to its election campaigns. Until last year, the FEC had granted the party an exemption from the 1971 law that made disclosure of these names mandatory. The commission has now taken away this exemption.

Campaign committee reports are public record. As such, they are an easy source of hit lists for the government, private spy agencies, and other antilabor outfits.

The loss of the FEC exemption further erodes the constitutional right to privacy, already under attack by the employers and their government. Without this right, unions and other working-class organizations cannot freely discuss and decide policy.

The 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act was ostensibly created to fight the corruption and fraud that is rampant in capitalist politics. It was claimed to be a weapon aimed at under-the-table deals between public officials and individual capitalists, designed to eliminate "conflicts of interest" in government.

In the 50 years that the SWP has fielded candidates for public office, however, there has never been even a hint of fraud or corruption. No one has ever charged that campaign

funds were misused. And there has never been the slightest notion of "conflict of interest."

What the campaign disclosure law does is give the government and antilabor forces a handle to intervene in the affairs of the SWP and other labor organizations.

This is not a hypothetical possibility, but a fact based in the real life experience of union fighters, political activists, and socialists over the years. Members and supporters of the SWP, and even some who have simply expressed an interest in the party's ideas, have been visited by investigators, had their homes broken into, or been fired from their jobs. Socialist campaign headquarters have been burglarized and fire-bombed.

Unionists in strike battles have firsthand experience with the tactics of the bosses' spy agencies, which use every bit of information they can garner to concoct frame-ups and disrupt the activities of working-class fighters.

The SWP is launching a fight to regain its exemption from disclosure of its lists of campaign contributors. You can be part of this fight.

Protest messages should be sent to the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C., 20463, demanding that the exemption be reinstated. Contributions earmarked for this fight can be sent to the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Food is a right, not a privilege

Every 24 hours, 105 newborn children will die in the United States. Nearly half a million children suffer from malnutrition. Forty-five percent of all Black children and 39 percent of all Latino children live below the poverty level. One out of every four rural children is poor.

According to a report from the National Commission on Children, 100,000 children in the United States are homeless.

You would think that faced with these facts, the U.S. government would make every possible resource available to help solve this devastating situation. Think again.

Citing "unexpected" increases in food prices over the last eight months, at least half the states have moved to cut government food allotments or to stop aid altogether for thousands of poor women and children.

This includes some 4.5 million expectant and new mothers and young children who are at high risk of malnutrition and depend on the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). This federally funded program serves almost one-third of all babies born in the United States.

The federal government this year has allocated \$2.1 billion to WIC. But the states receiving these monies complain that the cost of the basic food package has increased by 8 percent since October 1, the beginning of the fiscal year. The WIC food package includes milk, orange juice, cereal, and infant formula.

So what do the state governments propose to do? They plan to cut the food package or reduce the number of participants or both. Either way, the effect will be devasta-

ting for thousands of families who depend on these programs. In Texas, for example, the cereal allowance for one- and two-year-olds was cut from 36 ounces a month to 24 ounces. This year the state will also exclude 27,000 of the 357,200 women and children it was serving. California expects to save \$1.2 million by cutting in half the monthly juice allowance for three- to five-year-olds — now 288 ounces.

Many states are trimming their rolls by cutting the "lower-risk cases," or children with no clinical signs of malnutrition despite inadequate diets. But, some of those children might qualify for benefits again after a few months when they have symptoms of anemia and malnutrition.

All this occurs at a time when there are high levels of unemployment and deteriorating conditions faced by the worst-off sections of the working class. Cuts in programs that offer some relief should be vigorously protested. Working people should demand that these programs be expanded to meet the real needs of those who depend on them and to include the millions that today are not covered by them.

Working mothers, many of whom depend on WIC as they strive to raise a family on their own, should be paid a wage that allows them to adequately feed, clothe, and house their family. Those who are unemployed should receive unemployment benefits for as long as they are out of work. These benefits should be set at the level of the average union wage in manufacturing, not a pittance insufficient to get by on.

Food should not be a privilege of a few but a right for all!

## Mapplethorpe, Rushdie, and the Pathfinder Mural

BY DOUG JENNESS

Salman Rushdie is still in hiding and has no prospect of ever escaping his banishment from normal life. It's been nearly 16 months since the author of *The Satanic Verses*, a novel published in London in September 1988, was condemned to death for blasphemy by Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Iranian religious and political leader died a year ago, but top Iranian officials have reaffirmed the death sentence against Rushdie. Moreover, the Muslim Action Front in Britain is still pressing the government to prosecute Rushdie and his publisher, Viking Penguin, under Britain's blasphemy laws.

Rushdie lives in Britain in fear for his life and is continually moved from one location to another. He refuses to be silenced, however, and has given press interviews and published a pamphlet, *Is Nothing Sacred?*, defending his

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controversial novel. He has been waging a fight to get *The Satanic Verses* published in paperback.

The attack on Rushdie has had a chilling effect on many publishers and bookstore dealers, thus succeeding in imposing a form of censorship. Books have been banned and television programs gutted in Pakistan, and a prominent Egyptian novelist has abandoned a novel-in-progress that deals with the Bible and the Koran. Some bookstores in Europe and the United States have refused to stock the book and publishers have backed out on deals to put out books about the Rushdie affair.

It has also emboldened censors in other cases. In December, for example, the Video Appeals Committee of the British Board of Film Classification upheld a ban on *Visions of Ecstasy*. It was the first time a film had been banned for blasphemy in Britain.

The debate on Rushdie and blasphemy intersects with the deepening polarization around artistic freedom and freedom of expression in the United States.

The form this has taken is a war against obscenity and pornography. In 1986 following the final report by then Attorney General Edwin Meese's Commission on Pornography, the Justice Department set up the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit with substantial funding.

In the past four years, this "morals" squad has drafted federal and state antiobscenity legislation and lobbied government agencies to enforce obscenity laws. It has initiated prosecutions and has lent assistance to the prosecutors in Cincinnati who have indicted Contemporary Arts Center Director Dennis Barrie. On April 7, the opening day of an exhibit of photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe, Barrie and the art center were charged by a grand jury with "pandering obscenity" and showing a child "in the state of nudity."

Barrie faces a \$2,000 fine and up to a year in jail. The art center could be fined as much as \$10,000.

One of the main targets of the Justice Department and nongovernmental right-wing organizations has been government funding for the arts. Particularly insidious is a new federal requirement that recipients of grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, which disperses some \$170 million in federal funds every year, must promise that their work is not obscene.

Recipients must sign a pledge that the monies will not be used to produce works that contain "depictions of sado-masochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific merit."

This restriction was imposed last October after some members of Congress, led by Jesse Helms of North Carolina, objected to endowment support of exhibitions with works by the photographers Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano.

The reactionary probes to limit freedom of expression have not gone unanswered and are generating considerable protest. Joseph Papp, director of the New York Shakespeare Festival, turned down a \$50,000 grant from the NEA in April rather than sign the censorship pledge.

The New School for Social Research in New York filed a suit in federal court on May 23 challenging the constitutionality of the restriction.

It is within this context that the Pathfinder Mural in New York has both come under attack and secured broad support. The mural is a six-story work of art painted by dozens of artists on the side of the Pathfinder Building. It depicts revolutionary leaders and prominent figures of the working class.

Among the attacks on the mural were editorials in two New York dailies that made thinly veiled calls for vigilante action and denounced the modest public funds the mural received. Vigilantes vandalized the mural at the end of December.

The stakes in defending the mural are linked to beating back the attack on Barrie and the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, protesting the NEA's censorship pledge, and defending Rushdie.



# Unionists stand up to UNOCAL's spy operation

BY TOM MORIARTY

RODEO, Calif. — Police agents and paid spies have a long and dirty history in the labor movement. Today, the employers have a new excuse for using them: the so-called war on drugs.

The real aim of this war hit Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-326 on March 24, when four union members coming to work on the midnight shift were prevented from entering the Union Oil Co. (UNOCAL) Rodeo refinery. Stopped by a group of foremen, the workers were led to an office, searched, and a urine sample demanded from each. When they asked the reason for the action, the workers were told, "Based upon credible information, we have rea-

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sonable cause to be concerned about your fitness for duty."

The "credible information" turned out to be the "notes" of an undercover agent, who had been posing as a union member at the refinery for the preceding eight months.

The union responded quickly. By morning, two special union meetings had been called for Monday, March 26, and a leaflet announcing them printed up. The facts of what had happened were pulled together so union members could discuss and decide what to do.

Company representatives held meetings with each of the accused workers, also on March 26. At the meetings, it was revealed that UNOCAL had contracted with the Krout and Schneider detective agency to spy on the work force and to come up with evidence of drug and/or alcohol abuse.

UNOCAL hired a Krout and Schneider agent to go undercover as a union member at the refinery. During the eight months he was there, he came up with nothing. No photos. No drug paraphernalia. No substances. No physical evidence, whatsoever. So he produced some: his "notes." Although these amount to nothing more than uncorroborated accusations, UNOCAL claims they are sufficient "evidence" to fire union members.

Since March 24, every escalation of the company's assault has been met by a response from the union. UNOCAL asked the union to keep quiet about the spy operation — so the union called the media. A picket line that was held March 28 at the UNOCAL administration building — which drew more than 70 union members — made the *Oakland Tribune's* front page and the evening TV news.

UNOCAL responded by sending a letter to the 350 local members attempting to justify their spy operation on the basis of safety. And they quickly hired some public relations

people to deal with the media.

The following week, two more union members were confronted with the same charges and sent home — based solely on "credible information" provided to the company by the agent.

Another picket was called for April 4. This time, it was held on the main road leading to the operations and maintenance gates.

During the week before the picket, several things became clear. The company had no concrete evidence against the fired workers. Before UNOCAL's operation was fully understood by union members, the company tried to lure the six accused workers into one-on-one "interviews" with professional interrogators from Krout and Schneider. The union publicly exposed this in a detailed hand-out that was distributed to every union member at the refinery gates.

"The pattern of Krout and Schneider's operation is unmistakable," the flier said.

"(1) Claim to have a big elaborate, sophisticated surveillance operation.

"(2) Claim that they have gathered rock-solid proof of guilt.

"(3) Claim that a paid snitch has gathered evidence on numerous people.

"(4) Confront each victim individually. Attempt to frighten them with the claim of physical evidence of their own guilt. But don't show them anything. (Maybe because there is nothing to show.)

"(5) Then, you claim to be trying to help them save their own job. For instance, 'We've got the goods on you. Your honesty in this investigation will be taken into account by your company. You do want to cooperate, don't you?'

"(6) Interrogate the individual, under this kind of pressure, seeking other names and/or 'evidence' against others.

"(7) Attempt to use the scraps gathered in this way to convince others that they have been implicated. Then, invite them to save themselves by implicating others.

"It is an old method of building a case when no real evidence exists."

Through union meetings, pickets, and regular informational bulletins, workers at the refinery began to discount company-inspired rumors and look to the union for the facts.

The company lost ground as it became clear that drugs were not the issue. UNOCAL wanted a climate of "guilty until proven innocent," and union members didn't like it.

The April 4 picket line was even larger than the first one, as maintenance workers joined operators to swell the line to more than 100. Above the cheers and honking horns, workers chanted "Union! Union! Union!"

The company threatened to fire all six union members on April 11 at 3:30 p.m. — unless, of course, any of the accused could provide the company with "any additional facts and/or extenuating circumstances." The company was begging for a confession, some names, anything to give their lone paid fink a shred of credibility.

They got nothing: 3:30 p.m. came and went — with the six accused union members out on a loud picket line, defending their rights.

The six filed a single collective grievance against their firing. The company quickly set up a labor-management meeting for April 19. Instead of the usual atmosphere of quiet isolation at such meetings, this one was held before a standing-room-only crowd of union members. A picket line was set up outside the building by the overflow of supporters unable to fit into the room.

The fired workers' grievance is now heading toward arbitration.

UNOCAL has failed to convince the work force at the refinery that their spy operation was conducted for reasons of safety. It was recalled by many that UNOCAL's "Drug Control Policy" was announced just as the Rodeo refinery approached 6 million work hours without a lost-time injury.

Instead, the union has gained authority. It is the union that exposed the company assault for what it was, defended the victimized members, and stood up for democratic rights. This fight, which is not yet over, has driven us together, helped heal some old divisions, and made us more of a union.

No one wants to work alongside someone who is high on drugs — certainly not in an oil refinery. But we learned that the company's "Drug Control Policy" has nothing to do with drugs and a lot to do with control.

The company wants us to believe that the Bill of Rights stops at the gates. But our democratic rights — like presumption of innocence, protection from illegal search and seizure, and the right to face your accuser — are fundamental defensive weapons that union members, and all working people, need.

As one union bulletin explained, "The company wants a 'license to fire.' In order to achieve that 'license,' they must destroy your most basic democratic rights.

"If this frame-up is not stopped here and now, when will it end?

"If there are no rules and no rights, how will you defend yourself?

"There is no defense except a union defense."

Tom Moriarty is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326 and works at the UNOCAL refinery in Rodeo.

## LETTERS

### Teach-in on Cuba

Along with 30 others, I was able to attend a May 5 teach-in on Cuba in St. Louis. The event was sponsored by a number of groups — the Pledge of Resistance, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Socialist Workers Party, Latin American Solidarity Committee, Missouri Communist Party, and the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression.

"More groups are putting Cuba on the agenda," explained Peggy Moore. "Cuba will be more in the

spotlight, and we need to address the lies about Cuba more clearly than we have in the past."

Moore was a member of a recent delegation to Cuba made up of leaders of groups opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America. Although she began the trip with a certain amount of skepticism, she said, the experience "made her truly believe that human beings can live and work together."

David Rosenfeld  
St. Louis, Missouri

### Malcolm X birthday

On May 18 and 19, Malcolm X's birthday was celebrated in Omaha, Nebraska, where he was born in 1925. Members of his family, including brothers, sisters, and his widow Betty Shabazz, participated in the weekend programs. A Friday evening forum and Saturday morning prayer service at Malcolm's homesite were held.

Participants in the homesite event arrived to discover a large swastika painted in red on the sign marking the lot. As a result, the prayer service took the character of a protest against racist attacks.

Hundreds of people took part in the celebrations, which also included a parade and the proclamation of the First National Malcolm X Commemoration. A fund-raising dance was held for an international center to be built on the site of Malcolm's home.

George Chalmers  
Omaha, Nebraska

### U.S. aid to Peru

The U.S. State Department announced April 20 that an agreement had been signed with Peru's defense minister to disburse \$35 million for fighting Shining Path guerrillas in Peru's coca-growing area, ostensi-

bly with the aim of fighting drugs.

If Mr. Bush can get away with this one, we might as well crown him king. (That way we can celebrate not only the demise of "totalitarian communism" but of "capitalist democracy") as well.

It wasn't until 1985 that Shining Path guerrillas moved into the Alto Huallaga Valley, the largest coca-growing area in the world. They have had more success than anyone else in enforcing crop substitution. In fact, their policy everywhere in Peru is to encourage production for local consumption, not for export.

While the U.S. and Peruvian press constantly vilify the guerrillas for being bent only on destruction, for not having a publicized program, this same media does everything possible to suppress information distributed by Shining Path calling for a self-sustaining economy and disengagement from the global economic system.

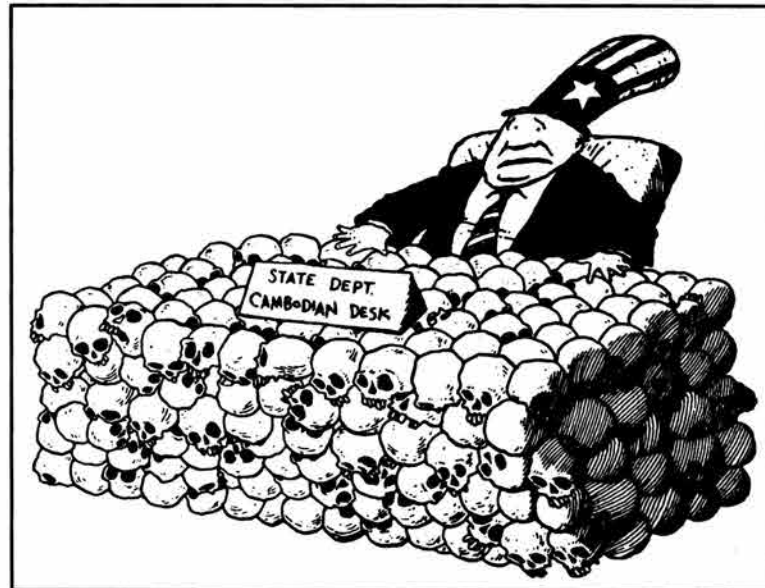
Introduction of more U.S. equipment and personnel to fight guerrillas under the guise of an "antidrug" crusade will escalate the civil war in Peru and keep the U.S. defense industry happy. In the long run, it will not benefit the Peruvian or United States people in any way.

Carol Andreas  
Greeley, Colorado

### South Africa

A hundred students attended a lunchtime meeting at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, in April to hear African National Congress representative Sikose Mji.

Mji explained the so-called Black-on-Black violence in South Africa's Natal Province is not based on differences arising along old ethnic lines, but is politically motivated. Continuing the violence ultimately only serves the interests



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of the apartheid regime, she said.

Mji also spoke about the campaign the ANC is waging for the release of all political prisoners from apartheid's jails. There are some 3,000 such prisoners in South Africa, a number of whom are facing the death sentence. The campaign is also demanding an end to capital punishment.

A lively discussion followed and some students expressed interest in forming an ANC support group on campus. Several declared it the most successful meeting held at the university in some time.

Dean Baxter  
Wellington, New Zealand

### Student strike

University of California at Berkeley students picketed all entrances to the campus April 18 and 19, demanding a faculty composition that reflects the diversity of the population it teaches. Hundreds of classes were canceled or held off campus as an estimated 80 percent of the 30,000 UCB students supported the

strike. A meeting to hear Cuban economist Carlos Tablada was moved to an off-campus site.

The effort to force an end to discrimination in faculty hiring and tenure was led by the United Front, a broad, multiracial coalition of students and student groups. Ten years ago the UCB faculty was 93 percent white and 89 percent male; today it is 91 percent white and 89 percent male. This is an insignificant increase in a state where minorities are becoming the majority.

The students approached the unions representing university employees for support and raised the demand for an end to discrimination against all UC employees.

Mary Lou Montauk  
Oakland, California

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.

### Corrections

In the editorial "Jail all Bensonhurst attackers!" (*Militant*, June 1) it is stated, "Miami cop William Lozano was convicted of two counts of manslaughter in the January 1989 killing of two young Black men and is now serving a seven-year sentence."

Lozano, who was sentenced to seven years in the killings, has yet to spend one day in jail, pending the appeal of his conviction. He was recently hired as a radio sports commentator on a Miami station.

In the "Calendar" section of the May 25 *Militant*, Geoff Revell was listed as a speaker at a London forum on Grenada. He was incorrectly identified as an executive member of the National Union of Railwaymen of Britain.

Revell is the chair of the London Transport District Council of the NUR. He was on the National Executive but the union has a rule that an individual must stand down after three years.



## Thousands protest in E. Germany as unification plan is negotiated

BY GREG MCCARTAN

Tens of thousands of workers and farmers in East Germany staged a massive strike May 10 demanding protection for wages and pensions and from rising unemployment.

The strikes came as top economic officials of the German Democratic Republic (GDR — East Germany) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG — West Germany) negotiated a treaty on monetary, and aspects of political, unification. Their proposals will now go to both the GDR and FRG parliaments for ratification.

A main feature of the treaty is establishing the FRG currency, the deutsche mark, as the single currency in both Germanys. The GDR's currency will be traded for deutsche marks at a rate of one-to-one for wages, pensions, and savings of up to 4,000 marks (US\$2,400). A two-to-one rate is set for any additional savings. The plan is scheduled to take effect July 2.

Several main issues were set aside to speed the negotiation process on monetary union. These included eliminating restrictions on private ownership of enterprises, how to pay for the restructuring and upgrading of industry and agriculture in the GDR, compensation for low-income students and retirees in the GDR, and how to treat the higher-than-average wealth accumulated by former Communist Party officials.

In ratifying the treaty, the East German parliament would agree to adopt the FRG's economic and tax policies and open up its economy to the capitalist market.

Such moves, many workers in the GDR fear, will result in a drastic lowering of their standard of living. Wages and pensions of workers in the GDR are about one-third of those in the FRG. Prices of food, housing, electricity, and other basic items could rise with devastating effects. Rents, for example, currently subsidized by the state, could double.

### Bonn retreats on earlier proposal

Mass marches in early April forced the West German government in Bonn to retreat on a less favorable exchange rate. When Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic-controlled government said it was considering a proposal for an across-the-board exchange of two-for-one, hundreds of thousands marched in the GDR to protest the plan. A rally of 10,000 was held in East Berlin outside the building where the newly elected parliament was holding its inaugural meeting. Some 50,000 protested in Leipzig.

"Without one-to-one we won't become one!" read one sign. The head of the Free German Trade Union Association in the GDR, Helga Maus, told a rally, "Bare fear is going through the land; the people are struggling for their naked existence."

During the May 10 strikes Sigrid Jauernig, head of the textile workers' union, said, "We want to prevent the initiation of the monetary union from causing the social deterioration of our work force."

In addition to industrial workers, teachers and farmers also joined the protests. The farmers blockaded major highways, demanding guarantees for a living income from sales of their produce. They fear that their products will not be able to compete with less expensive farm products from the FRG.

Many women are also concerned about losing state-provided free daycare and the right to abortion. Abortion is illegal and child care available only to those who can afford it in the FRG.

East German parliamentary leaders estimate the country faces a year-end deficit of \$36.6 billion. Only 32 percent of its state-owned enterprises are "profitable" by capitalist standards. If they compete openly on the market with enterprises in capitalist Germany, 14 percent could immediately go bankrupt.



Sign in East Berlin shoe factory: "What will happen to us after July 2?"

The shutting down or scaling back of these enterprises would result in the loss of between 500,000 and 2 million jobs in the GDR. Already the number of workers registered for unemployment has risen, from 38,313 in March to 64,948 in April. The head of the Association for the Unemployed in the GDR said the "real amount" of unemployment is "significantly higher."

Unions are demanding a 50 percent wage increase and a reduction in the workweek to 38 hours from 40 prior to monetary union.

Following the protests a leading member of the East German delegation negotiating the treaty announced discussions would begin with the 600,000-member farm workers' union and other trade unions.

The moves toward monetary union come on the heels of rapid changes in the GDR. Last October the governing Communist Party began to shatter under the growing economic crisis and rising protests against its bureaucratic rule. By December the party had collapsed, and elections were held in March. Leaders of a coalition promising rapid unification with the FRG won the largest number of votes. Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties have been set up in the GDR, modeled after parties in West Germany.

Officials from both governments have been holding meetings, negotiating the terms of monetary and political union for several months. Government officials from the four

countries that occupied Germany at the conclusion of World War II — Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union — are also involved in joint talks with the two German governments.

These "two plus four" talks, as they are called, are aimed at negotiating the terms of German unification. Bonn is seeking to bring its political and military strength more in line with its industrial and trading power and is pressing for an end to post-World War II rights and prerogatives established by the conquering powers.

### Immigration wave

As German monetary union draws near, the GDR is experiencing a wave of immigration by workers and others from Romania seeking jobs and a better standard of living. Nearly 2,000 immigrants are housed in army and secret police barracks around East Berlin. The city's train station has become a home for hundreds.

In response East German officials have toughened immigration policies for those arriving from Eastern European countries, requiring them to prove they have a personal invitation to visit the country prior to entry. On the other hand, the government also announced it was lifting visa requirements for citizens of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

"Guest" workers from Vietnam are also under pressure to return home. Up to 60,000 Vietnamese live in the GDR on five-year work contracts. Living in barrack-like accommodations, they are paid far less than native workers and are allowed only one trip home a year. Some 4,000 have applied to remain once their contracts expire.

Kohl is also pressing for a Germany-wide election in December as the next step in the unification effort.

## Gorbachev announces price increases

BY SELVA NEBBIA

The government of the Soviet Union announced May 23 that it plans to hold a referendum on new economic measures being proposed by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

No date has been set for the countrywide plebiscite and its wording has not yet been decided, but the first proposed measure — increasing the price of bread — will go into effect on July 1.

Price increases on other foods and goods are to be imposed on Jan. 1, 1991, said First Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov, director of the state planning agency, but only after the national referendum. To help cushion the impact of the economic measures the plan includes a package of salary increases, a cost-of-living index, and other social security measures, including job provisions for people laid off because of the plan's implementation.

Soon after the price raise was announced, working people throughout the Soviet Union flocked to the stores to stock up on goods before the prices go up. In Leningrad, spaghetti, flour, and cereals were swept off the shelves.

Miners in the Ukrainian city of Donetsk said they would stage demonstrations to protest the price hikes and might organize a nationwide miners' strike in early June.

"I ask you, dear comrades, don't succumb to panic," during "a tense and difficult and frankly speaking, dangerous" period, Gorbachev urged Soviet citizens in a television appeal on May 27.

The price increases will mean the tripling of the price of bread. Bread, which is now 25 kopeks (.25 ruble) a loaf, is a key ingredient in the national diet. A pound of beef

that now costs about a ruble would go up to 2.75 rubles. Both products are subsidized.

Wholesale prices will rise by an average of 46 percent, with the largest increase, 82 percent, pegged for fuel and energy supplies.

Gorbachev's proposal has nine bills to be presented to the Supreme Soviet legislature in September. They include measures to undermine monopoly domination of production and distribution by state-owned agencies, the relaxation of controls on foreign investment, and a banking reform. The central bank will be made independent and it will be possible to sell up to 60 percent of shares in state enterprises to individuals and to joint-stock companies.

The growing discontent among Soviet working people over increased food shortages and the deteriorating economic situation in general led Gorbachev to back off implementing previous projections for economic restructuring. The current proposals are part of a plan approved last December by the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies to increasingly introduce more capitalist market mechanisms.

The price increases, designed to cut government deficits, are based on relying more on decentralized planning, capitalist market forces, and profitability to overcome stagnation in labor productivity and economic growth.

The Soviet economy is in a deepening crisis. In the first three months of 1990 industrial production dropped at least 5 to 6 percent. And while income rose by 15 percent in the first two months of 1990, production of consumer goods fell 5 percent.

In 1980, 68.7 million people lived below the official poverty line, about 26 percent of

the population. In 1988, when the poverty line is adjusted for inflation, the number of poor was 80 million, according to a report in the Soviet magazine *Young Communist*.

The new economic measures are expected to make this situation worse. On April 22 Gavril Popov, the mayor of Moscow, said the city would need to immediately establish several dozen free food canteens and dozens of shops with free clothing in order to "make it possible to compensate people with low salaries for the expected drop in living standards."

The referendum being proposed by the Soviet government on the economic measures is similar to the referendum held in November 1987 by the Polish government. That referendum failed to win approval of measures calling for workers to tighten their belts. In the wake of the Polish vote, officials there insisted that price increases and other austerity measures would proceed. That led to the crisis that ended the domination of the Communist Party and ushered in a Solidarity-run government.

Two days before the announcement of the new economic measures, the Soviet parliament enacted a law banning insults to the Soviet president. The crime is punishable by a prison term. The proposal was introduced in the Supreme Soviet shortly after Gorbachev was jeered by thousands of people at the annual May Day parade and forced to leave the platform. According to the law, newspapers and other press outlets that repeatedly use slanderous or insulting material against the president can be shut down.

The parliament also adopted a package of significant salary and benefit increases for the Soviet president.