

War goals elude Washington; rulers fear Iraq 'quagmire'



Impact Visuals/Willy Legendre

U.S. troops arriving in Iraqi border region. Washington now faces deepening difficulty coping with uncontrolled forces it set in motion through its brutal war.

BY JAMES HARRIS

With many of the broader goals of its war against the Iraqi people eluding it, Washington fears a potential quagmire in northern Iraq.

Having neither replaced Iraqi President Saddam Hussein with a more reliable and subservient regime nor parlayed its military "victory" into a stable alliance of regimes able to defend imperialist interests in the region, Washington is now facing the uncontrolled forces set in motion through its brutal war in the Arab-Persian Gulf. The national struggle of the Kurdish people is prolonging Washington's direct military involvement in Iraq and threatening to bog it down in a continuing conflict.

The most recent setback came May 12, when Kurdish leaders rejected U.S. government demands that they lead refugees back to the Iraqi city of Dohuk. Hundreds of thousands of refugees remain in poorly equipped camps in the mountainous border

region between Iraq and Turkey. More than a million are at the border with Iran.

The U.S. proposal was to ship as many as 200,000 Kurds into Dohuk, now under control of Baghdad's military.

Up to 800,000 Kurds and others fled their homes to escape being massacred by Saddam Hussein's military as it crushed their rebellions in March. It is estimated that as of May 10 only 150,000 had moved into the towns, villages, and tent cities in the U.S. controlled areas.

The Kurds have waged a decades-long struggle for national liberation. They are an oppressed nationality living across an area divided between five countries — Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey, and the Soviet Union.

Washington shares a common interest with each of those regimes in making sure the Kurdish fight for self-determination is checked. Rather than opening its borders to the refugees — both in the north and the south of Iraq — the U.S. government has instead sought to drive the refugees back to their homes. Despite protests from the Iraqi government, Washington has grossly violated that country's sovereignty by the deployment of military forces in the northern enclave.

The U.S. and its allies now control 3,600 square miles of territory in northern Iraq. Dohuk is to the south of this area. The Kurdish people fear returning there without guarantees of safety.

"The people are asking for a political agreement first, and if not, a security area to go back to," Fadhil Merani, a representative of the *pesh merga* guerrillas and secretary general of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, told the *Washington Post*. "The people don't cooperate right now without either a political solution or a security agreement."

The Kurdish groups are also carrying out talks with the Hussein regime. Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani has been in Baghdad since May 7 negotiating with the government for

May 1 march in Cuba: determination to meet challenges before revolution

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

HAVANA — "Everything for our socialism," and "Socialism or death" were among the most popular slogans chanted, worn on shirts and headbands, and carried on signs by an estimated 1 million working people and youth in this capital city on May Day.

The "March of the Fighting People" was an enthusiastic statement of support to and participation in the campaigns now under way to meet the economic and political challenges facing the revolution.

The demonstration was led by Cuban President Fidel Castro; leaders of the Cuban Communist Party; representatives of the government; leaders of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) and of each of the national trade unions; the Union of Young Communists; Federation of Cuban Women; and Committees for the Defense of the Revolution.

Also at the head of the march were the "Heroes of Labor," a small group of workers who were honored in a special ceremony because of their outstanding contributions to production. Mario Aparicio Bolaños, a member of the Chemical, Mining, and Energy Workers Union (STQME), was among them. He has contributed 108 "innovations" — in-

ventions and adaptations created by Cuban workers to get around Washington's embargo on parts and equipment.

Thirty-one contingents of agricultural workers, as well as selected construction industry contingents, were at the front of the march. They were given enthusiastic ovations by the crowd.

The tens of thousands of workers and students in these contingents volunteer for production brigades that are central to the fight for food self-sufficiency and to develop projects aimed at increasing Cuba's foreign currency earnings. Both these tasks have been outlined by the government as the central campaigns of the Cuban people, during what they call "a special period in time of peace."

Since early last year, the people of Cuba have been faced with economic shortages and dislocation. This includes the rationing of an increased number of items to ensure their equal distribution among the general population. These new hardships stem from the sharp reduction in trade with countries in Eastern Europe and the decline in trade with the Soviet Union, along with the worldwide capitalist economic crisis.

There have been deficiencies and delays

in the delivery of oil and other important items from the Soviet Union. At the Soviets' insistence, much of the trade with Cuba is now conducted in hard currency at world market prices. This comes on top of the criminal 30-year economic embargo imposed by the U.S. government, aimed at undermining the revolution.

A lengthy stretch of the street was cleared temporarily to give way to a large contingent of some 15,000 bicyclists organized by the Union of Young Communists (UJC) and the university and high

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'New International' fund drive aids fight against imperialism and war

BY GREG McCARTAN

By the time *Militant* readers receive this issue of the paper, a much-awaited magazine will be off the press: issue no. 7 of *New International*, featuring the article "Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III."

New International no. 7 is appearing just as it is becoming clearer to millions of workers and farmers that Washington and its allies have lied from the start about the goals of their aggression against the Iraqi people, and U.S. imperialism's military "victory" turns into a growing political fiasco.

New International no. 7 is devoted to presenting a Marxist explanation of the political questions working people are discussing today about imperialism and its wars. We

invite all our readers to order copies of this new issue, help circulate it to coworkers and friends, and participate in the upcoming fund rallies celebrating its publication (see page 12).

But that is not all. We urge you to dig deep and send in a generous contribution to the New International Fund, which has financed the publication of issue no. 7 and the recently released issue no. 8, "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism."

The fund has a goal of raising \$75,000 by June 1.

Reaching the goal will make it possible for the inaugural issue of *Nueva Internacional*, the Marxist magazine in Spanish, to come out this June. The entire issue will be

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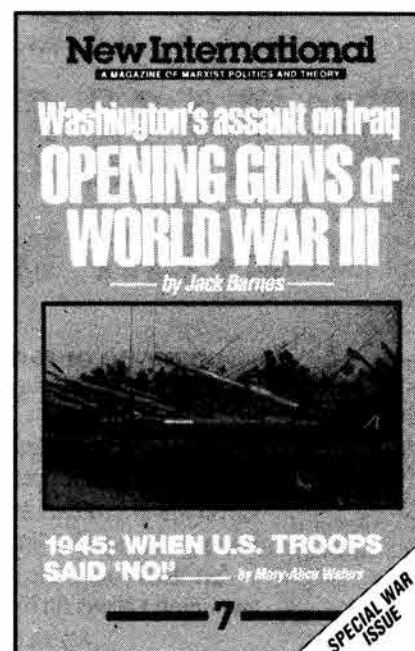
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Despite these results of the U.S. military "victory" in Iraq, an imperialist-imposed Mideast "peace" is further from Washington's grasp than ever.

As the feature article in this special issue explains, the devastation of Iraq did not lead to the dawn of a new world order. The Gulf war held a mirror to the declining capitalist world order and accelerated its contradictions. It sounded the opening guns of sharpening conflicts and class battles that will decide whether the horrors of World War III are inflicted on humanity... or a road is opened by working people to a socialist future of international human solidarity.



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Ontario workers occupy Caterpillar plant

BY MARGARET MANWARING
AND JOHN STEELE

BRAMPTON, Ontario — Two hundred members of Local 252 of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) occupied the Caterpillar of Canada plant here for six days. The action followed the company's decision to close the plant July 12 and move the production lines to its U.S. plant in Raleigh, North Carolina, by the end of the year. The occupation ended April 30 after Caterpillar officials agreed to hold discussions with union representatives.

"Originally 40 of us sat in after working our shift," Ron Ottaway, a stores controller who has worked at Caterpillar for 12 years, said. "The local set up a picket line near the door to ask workers coming if they would support us. . . . We asked everyone to join us and we got a 100 percent response."

Unionists in the 350-member local took the action to force the company to offer more than the minimum severance package required by law. Many of the workers who assemble heavy equipment such as wheel loaders, log skidders, and integrated tool carriers in the modern eight-year-old plant are middle-aged and have more than 15 years seniority with the company.

After they announced the closure on April 12, company officials refused to meet with union officials to discuss the demands of the workers.

As the occupation took hold, 300 workers demonstrated in support of the occupation outside the plant April 27. The action was backed by the Brampton, Mississauga and District Labour Council and the Metropolitan Toronto Labour Council. Speakers included Gordon Wilson, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour; Robert White, national president of the CAW; and Sara Molina, a leader of FENASTRAS, one of several union federations of Salvadoran workers.

The bosses responded to the growing support for the action by threatening the workers with a court injunction as a means to force them out of the plant.

Discussion on ending occupation

During the final minutes of the occupation, about 80 workers held a meeting with the union's plant chairman Joe Albanese in bleachers erected for meetings in one corner of the plant.

Albanese reported that, under pressure of the occupation, the company had agreed to come to the bargaining table the next morning on the condition that the occupation would end and production would start at 7:30 a.m.

Union officials are demanding that the company justify the shutdown to see if it can be avoided and to discuss a decent severance package if the shutdown occurs. The bosses demanded the right to place the question of disciplinary action against some of the workers on the table.

"If we walk out now then we might not have a chance to get back in," said one worker after Albanese finished his report.

"We want something in writing," said another.

If the company shuts its doors after the occupation ends "we can have (a meeting) with the Ministry of Labor in 24 hours," replied Albanese. "That's in black and white. If you can't trust your own Minister of Labor — when he is a socialist on top of that — who the hell are you going to trust," he said.

The first-ever Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP) government was elected seven months ago. The NDP — a social democratic party — is supported by the CAW and most other major unions in Canada.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney "is running the whole country and we can't trust him," another worker said during the meeting.

A CAW staff official stepped and told the workers: "We have won our point. If you are locked out then Brampton will see the largest demonstration in its history. But first give the legal system a chance to operate."

At the end of the meeting, as the workers prepared the plant for the morning shift, Albanese said in an interview that the workers have shown "there is a way to fight. Not necessarily the legal way. What has to be done has to be done. I hope others in the same situation do the same thing."

Albanese and other workers said they be-

lieved the plant closing was a result of the U.S.-Canada trade agreement that has begun to eliminate protectionist measures between the two countries. Union officials opposed the pact, referred to by many as a "free trade" agreement, claiming it would devastate industries in Canada, resulting in the loss of many jobs.

The results of the occupation are "the best we can hope for under the circumstances," said Bob Connor who has worked at Caterpillar for 22 years. "But you can't blame a lot of the guys for not trusting what the company says. That's not to say we won't take some kind of action if the company refuses to come to some satisfactory agreement."

Socialists win hearing in W. Virginia elections

BY ILONA GERSH

CHARLESTON, West Virginia — Socialist Workers Party candidates Linda Joyce and Mark Wyatt spent a busy two weeks prior to the April 15 election here, speaking and campaigning at union meetings, appearing on talk shows and debates, and giving interviews to the media. Joyce ran for mayor of Charleston and Wyatt ran for city council.

Many doors were opened to the candidates once they won ballot status in March. Hardly a day went by without mention of the Socialist Workers candidates on TV or in the daily newspapers. From her frequent media coverage, Joyce is recognized by working people all over the state as the candidate who supports the locked-out Steelworkers at Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation.

Through reaching out to working people — such as the striking Steelworkers and others — Joyce put explaining and building opposition to the U.S. war against the Iraqi people at the center of her election effort. The candidate pointed to the horrible slaughter and devastation rendered during and after the U.S. assault to explain why working people around the world must fight imperialism and its wars.

Several members of the United Mine Workers of America who work at Pittston in southern West Virginia recognized Joyce when she participated in a rally April 28 to show solidarity with the Steelworkers' fight at Ravenswood. She had also been at their mine portal with the *Militant* newspaper several times during the campaign. One miner said he was interested in the idea of a labor party. Referring to the current struggle at Ravenswood, he said, "We all need to get together and shut it down like we did during our strike."

A group of strikers surrounded Joyce at a picnic sponsored by United Steelworkers of America Local 5668 in Ravenswood a few days later. "We're proud of you," one said to Joyce.

"But she lost," commented another.

"She didn't lose," said a third. "What she did was important, standing up for all of us like she did."

Joyce and Wyatt addressed a meeting of the Charleston branch of the NAACP.

A laid-off construction worker, Joyce spoke before her union local, Local Lodge 298 of the International Association of Machinists at Union Carbide Construction. The local voted to allow her to address the membership.

"I'm running for mayor," she said, "because working people need an alternative to the twin parties of the bosses, the Democrats and Republicans. We need a labor party, based on the power of millions in the labor movement, as a political tool to push for demands in our own interests."

One fellow unionist asked if people could cast a vote for Joyce even if they were registered as Democratic or Republican voters. Another questioned the candidate's stand against police brutality and the cops. A third asked why Joyce thought that working people should trust any political party, including a labor party.

"Working people must rely on our own organized strength," Joyce replied. "Like the locked-out Steelworkers in Ravenswood are relying on their own power and the solidarity of others in the fight to defend their union. It's through fights such as this that a labor party will be built that we can count on."

The SWP candidates won an hour of equal time on a local radio station after WCHS excluded Joyce from a debate between the other mayoral candidates. The equal-time victory was the result of an energetic effort to bring the exclusion to the attention of the rest of the media, which had been covering Joyce's campaign.

On election-day morning, Joyce and Wyatt participated in a WCHS call-in show. The candidates invited a member of the Young Socialist Alliance from Louisville, Kentucky, to host the show. Tom McConnell,



Militant/John Charbonnet

Socialist campaign supporters talk to unionists at rally in defense of fight at Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. Campaign focused on opposing U.S. war against Iraqi people.

the guest host, is a professional country disk jockey in Louisville who had been closely following the socialist campaign through the *Militant* newspaper.

A wide variety of topics were covered in the program. People called in with questions about the Soviet Union, the U.S.-led war against Iraq, the cops, the environment, and the *Militant*.

Joyce received 195 votes, 2 percent of the total votes cast for mayor. Socialist city council candidates Mary Nell Bockman and Mark Wyatt received 9 percent and 8 percent of the vote respectively.



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The Militant

Closing news date: May 13, 1991

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Circulation Director: RONI McCANN

Business Manager: DOUG JENNESS

Editorial Staff: Seth Galinsky, James Harris, Cindy Jaquith, Roni McCann, Janet Post, Judy Stranahan, Peter Thierjung.

Published weekly except the last two weeks of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia.

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Tens of thousands in New Zealand protest union-busting bill

BY MIKE BROWN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Thousands of workers responded to the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU) call for a national day of protest April 30. The protest was called against the National Party government's Employment Contract Bill. This bill, scheduled to become law in May, overturns 50 years of legal protections for unions.

In the past, unions had the right to represent all workers in given industries or occupations and negotiate contracts (called awards) on behalf of those workers. Under the new law, union membership is "voluntary," and any attempts to enforce a closed shop will be illegal. Nationwide awards are to be replaced by agreements covering specific plants or companies. Long-standing legal restrictions on the right to strike are incorporated into the new law and in some cases are made more severe.

Legal protection for some working conditions—such as the 40-hour, five-day week, after which overtime rates must be paid—is also abolished, subject only to negotiations between workers and bosses.

The April 30 day of protest was called after a CTU conference rejected a proposal for a 24-hour protest strike by a 250,000-190,000 vote.

Many unions, however, did organize strikes for all or part of the day. Freezing works (meat-packing plants), building construction sites, and pulp and paper mills were closed for the day. Two-thirds of high school teachers also voted to strike.

A planned 24-hour strike by health workers was declared illegal in the Labour Court. Workers held three-hour stop-work meetings instead so they could join the protests.

20,000 march in Auckland

Some 20,000 workers, participating in a five-hour stoppage, held a lunchtime march and rally in the center of Auckland. Slogans such as "Defend our unions" and "Proud to be union" were prominent on placards. Other placards read: "National rapes the poor," "Scud the bill," and "People before profits." A popular chant was, "Give us a U-N-I-O-N. What are we? UNION!"

Industrial workers made up a big percentage of the demonstration. Most, like those from the Fisher and Paykel engineering plant, had stopped work for three to four hours.

Among the unions carrying their own banners were carpenters, engineers, laborers, bakers, university teachers, nurses, postal workers, hotel and hospital workers, meat workers, bus drivers, railway workers, food and textile workers, primary and secondary teachers, timber and paper workers, and public service workers.

Angela Foulkes, vice president of the CTU, addressed the marchers. She explained that the Employment Contracts Bill was simply "the answer by the government to the desires of the employers," and said protests would continue "until the bill is no longer on the statutes."

Jim Knox, the past president of the Federation of Labour (the predecessor to the CTU) also spoke. The 72-year-old told the marchers he was "happy and proud to speak to such a massive crowd who are prepared to struggle, fight back." He said that the National government's actions only "make you poorer and poorer as the rich get richer and richer."

'You are the trade union movement'

Knox alluded to the debate at the CTU conference over whether to call a 24-hour national protest strike. "If there had been a national stoppage called there would have been three or four times the people who are here today. 'You are the trade union movement. The leaders are those people paid to do a job on your behalf. Make sure they do it.'"

Referring to the war against Iraq, Knox said this was a "war about who's going to control the oil. That's what the war was all about. And that will continue—that struggle will continue—make no mistake of that."

Marches or rallies also took place in other

key cities on the same day.

In the largest protest action seen for some 10 years in the capital, Wellington, 12,000 workers marched through the city's streets chanting, "Kill the bill!" Factory workers, bus drivers, members of the Public Service Association, nurses, laborers, teachers, unemployed, printers, and railway workers marched side by side.

A uniformed bus driver carried a sign reading, "Unity not poverty." Other placards expressed opposition to cuts in government-paid welfare and health benefits. "Overworked and underpaid" was carried by one group of workers, while many had signs saying, "Yes to unions" or simply, "Oppose the bill." One laborer dressed in his work overalls carried, instead of a placard, a long-handled shovel with "Stop the bill" painted in orange on it.

Many of the workers present were on strike for the day, including members of the United Food and Chemical Workers Union, who arrived in union-organized buses. Nurses and city council bus drivers stopped work for three hours to attend the march.

Ending at the Parliament grounds, the march was addressed by Ken Douglas, president of the CTU; Shona Hearn of the Post Primary Teachers Association; Pat Kelly, president of the Labour Party Union Affiliates Council; and Shona Solomon from Poverty Action, a group organized to oppose benefit cuts.

Deep cuts in welfare payments

The protests against the Employment Contracts Bill have been combined with opposition to a series of deep cuts in welfare payments, which were made by the government on April 1. These measures froze old-age pensions and cut government-paid unemployment, sickness, and solo-parent payments by up to 25 percent.

All these measures have been loudly supported by key sections of the employers, with the argument that lower real wages and slashed government spending are necessary to deal with the deep-going crisis in the New Zealand capitalist economy. Unemployment, for example, has doubled in the last three years to 250,000, or 14 percent of the workforce.

The bosses have been using the rising level



Teachers' day of protest in Auckland was one of several actions leading up to nationwide demonstrations April 30 against government antiunion bill and welfare cuts.

of unemployment, and the threat to union rights posed by the Employment Contracts Bill, to win further concessions from workers.

In the week leading up to the April 30 protests, management and union officials signed agreements involving zero wage increases for over 100,000 health and education workers. Several awards involving shop and hotel workers have been renewed in

recent months, with the elimination of overtime rates for weekend work and new people hired.

Employers' representatives and leaders of the National government have hailed these agreements as "historic."

Christine Sullivan from Wellington contributed to this article.

Auto giants hint at reopening union contracts

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — Speculation is growing among auto workers that the "Big Three" auto makers — General Motors (GM), Ford, and Chrysler — will demand that contracts negotiated with the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the fall of 1990 be reopened. The recent contracts, covering more than 500,000 auto workers in the United States, were trumpeted by the leadership of the UAW as providing "income security" for auto workers over the three-year life of the agreements.

Under these contracts no worker with more than two years seniority would be laid off for more than 36 weeks. Workers laid off would draw up to 95 percent of their base wages. If layoffs extended beyond 36 weeks the workers would then go into a "job bank" or "GEN pool" with full pay and benefits.

The "Big Three" set limits on the amount of money earmarked for these income security plans. GM set aside \$4.3 billion, but has already told the union that it expects the funds to dry up by the summer of 1991, a full year before the contract expires.

First quarter earnings reports of the auto giants reflect the crisis they're facing. Combined losses for the three exceeded \$2.4 billion, the largest loss ever recorded in one quarter. It surpassed the previous record set in the fourth quarter of 1990 by \$300 million. Losses in the North American auto operation were higher, but were offset by earnings by GM's and Ford's nonautomotive divisions.

These reports come as auto sales and production in North America continue to stag-

nate. During the first three months of the year auto workers faced 246 shift weeks of temporary plant shutdowns. Some auto workers saw only one or two weeks of down time while others saw eight or more weeks. This reporter worked only 18 days between January 1 and March 31.

Cuts in production

With no sign of rapid improvement in auto sales, Chrysler has already announced plans to build only 122,000 cars between April and June, about 58 percent of its car production level in the same three months of 1990. With projected GM and Ford production cutbacks, the auto makers are planning the lowest second quarter car output since 1958.

These cuts in production highlight the key problem facing the owners of the auto industry: overcapacity. The "Big Three" and the Japanese plants in the United States have a combined capacity of 5.4 million cars and light trucks more a year than can be sold profitably even in a healthy economy.

The Detroit-based auto makers have also been losing the market to their international competitors. Japanese companies now control about 30 percent of the car and light truck market in North America. This is driving the U.S. employers to cut capacity.

Recent rumors slate the GM Lake Orion plant as the next to be closed. It has been announced that some car lines are being taken out of this plant, opened less than 10 years ago. The companies use rumors like this to try to wring productivity concessions out of workers in given plants. They then turn around and use those concessions against

workers in other plants, referred to as "whipsawing" here.

More concessions

As the production cuts accelerate, the spending of the so-called job security funds and talk about reopening the contract spreads. But the employers have other reasons for reopening the contract as well. Using the recent losses as cover, the auto giants may demand more concessions in wages, cost-of-living adjustments, and job conditions.

The Detroit Free Press reported that if workers would give up five cents each quarter from the cost-of-living allowances between June 1991 and Sept. 1993, the companies would save \$644.9 million. The employers want to drive down wages and conditions toward the levels at nonunion Japanese-owned auto plants. Estimated labour costs run between \$8 and \$13 an hour lower in Japan.

The UAW has not released a statement on recent comments by GM management that they were eyeing reopening the labor agreement. Some UAW leaders have said privately that they were not willing to reopen the contracts now, but would reconsider it if the income security funds were seriously threatened. UAW Vice President Stan Marshall, director of the union's Chrysler Department, was quoted in the *Detroit Free Press* as saying, "They sure as hell can't sell something like that to our members when they're paying their executives like they do. They haven't approached us, and as far as I'm concerned, we've got a three-year contract."

John Sarge works at Ford Motor Co. and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900.

War's goals elude Washington; rulers fear Iraq quagmire

Continued from front page

a form of autonomy for the Kurdish people.

Enhancing the refugees' fears of returning to Dohuk, the Iraqi regime has deployed 2,000 members of the 66th Special Forces Brigade in and around the city. This move is a direct challenge to any plans to expand the allied controlled zone over that area and insures that many Kurds will not return.

On May 8 two Iraqi anti-aircraft batteries fired on an American A-6 reconnaissance jet that had been flying over Dohuk. The plane was not hit.

There are now 10,300 U.S. troops and close to 8,000 soldiers from eight other countries involved in the U.S.-led effort; about 8,100 are in northern Iraq. The goal of the U.S. government is to dump the problem on the United Nations and wash its hands of the whole affair.

President George Bush explained U.S. policy at a May 8 press conference when responding to a question on the deepening involvement in Iraq.

"Well, as you know, I expressed my concern early on that I did not want to get bogged down," said Bush. "And so you raise a very good question, because I don't want to see us get into a quagmire, get further militarily involved with some permanent presence required. I will be talking to the secretary general of the UN — I would hope the UN could do in the north that which they are doing in the south."

UN forces deployed in the south along the border of Iraq and Kuwait are acting as a

surrogate for U.S. imperialism. Baghdad agreed to onerous terms — terms that include UN control over a strip of Iraqi territory bordering Kuwait — to secure a formal cease-fire. But it is resisting open acceptance of U.S. or UN military forces permanently stationed in the north.

Washington worries over 'quagmire'

Washington's worries over a "quagmire" harks back to the perception that developed during its war in Vietnam that the U.S. military was bogged down in a continually widening conflict, with no clear goals and no possibility of victory.

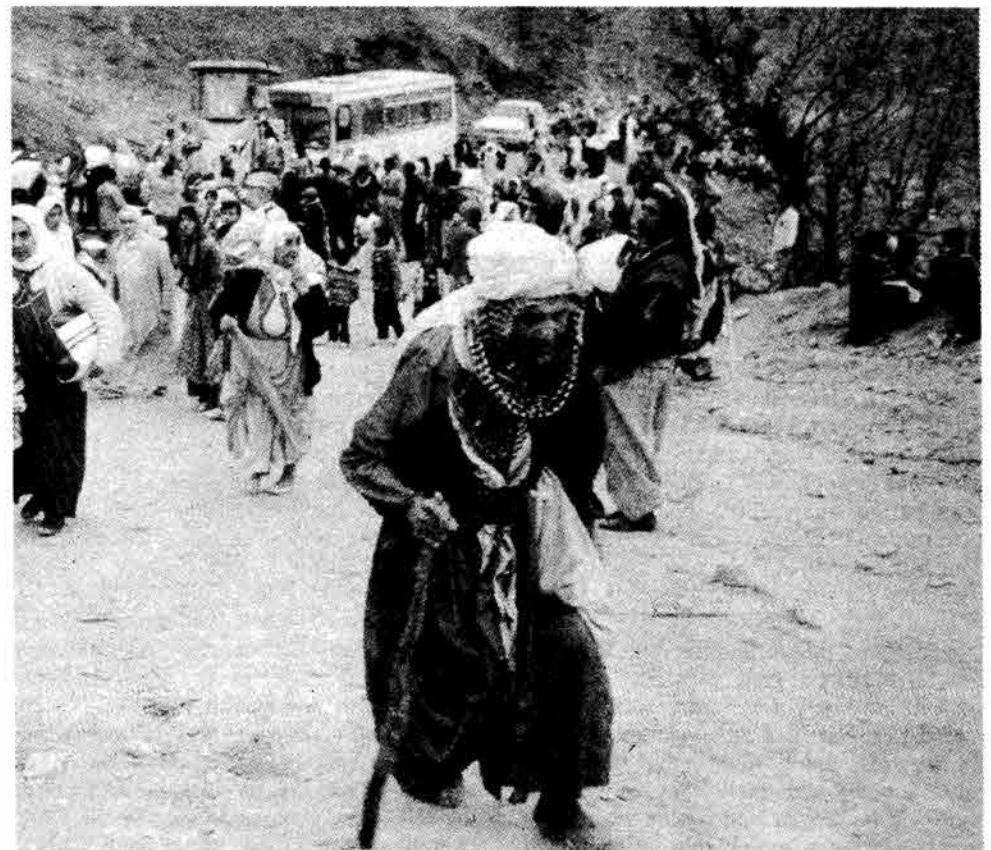
Washington's hope to hand over the operation to the UN, however, is running into snags. Iraq rejected a plan for UN police to be permanently stationed in northern Iraq to provide security for the refugee camps.

"I have received a very clear rejection from the Iraqi government," UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said. "They do not want a United Nations police presence in the area."

U.S. officials are discussing their response to the Iraqi rejection. The next step could be to get the UN Security Council to authorize the utilization of UN troops in a security zone and simply ignore Iraq's objections.

But U.S. officials would need the agreement of the Chinese and Soviet governments, neither of which have indicated their support for this move. Both are permanent members of the Security Council, holding veto power over its decisions.

Army Gen. John T. Galvin, chief of the U.S. European Command and senior commander of the troops in Iraq, explained Washington's



Refugees fleeing to the mountains from Saddam Hussein's troops

desire to quickly withdraw and collaborate with the Iraqi regime in re-establishing stability in the northern area. "I don't know, nor does anybody else seem to know," how long the allied forces will remain, said Galvin.

Galvin said that he wanted to see U.S. forces replaced in the region by the UN as rapidly as possible. He also made clear that he was not in favor of expanding the U.S. controlled zone and seizing Dohuk. "I don't want to get involved in a big city where we have to do things besides take care of Kurds," he said. "One thing leads to another and it can become a tar baby" — the general's racist term for a quagmire.

Iraq has "proposed a couple of ideas that we're kind of attracted to," U.S. Col. Richard Naab, who is negotiating with the Iraqi regime over Dohuk, told reporters. "There are a lot of ways we can provide security without going into the city."

According to Naab, Washington envisions a demilitarized zone in Dohuk with the Iraqi regime maintaining a police force in the city, "maybe with some international body, perhaps a military coordination center."

Ranking officials in the U.S. National Security Council have said that they would prefer to use the embargo against Iraq to get Hussein out of power, rather than using them as a negotiating tool to get Hussein to agree to admit the UN forces.

Britain speaks against easing sanctions

"Britain will veto any UN resolution designed to weaken the sanctions regime we have set in place, for so long as Saddam Hussein remains in power," said British Prime Minister John Major, echoing this approach.

Some UN officials have begun to object to the U.S. plan for placing the UN in charge of the camps that are now in U.S. occupied territory.

"The U.S. government basically wants us to go into northern Iraq as part of a military intervention force, and then it leaves and we run the camps. But the Iraqis will see us as part of an alien force. It's a formula for disaster," a UN official told the *Post*.

The Turkish government has also expressed concern about the large number of Kurds and other Iraqis in camps that remain near its border in the allied controlled zones. They fear that Kurdish independence fighters could use these areas as bases for raids across the border.

As these events unfold, writers and spokespeople in U.S. ruling-class circles are discussing the tactical course the Bush Administration should have used and their concerns of a developing "quagmire."

An article in the May 5 *New York Times* states that "Nearly three weeks after the President announced his plan, neither the Administration nor the United Nations will assume full responsibility for the camps. . . . Instead, the allied military forces last week dramatically expanded their role in Iraq, nearly doubling the size of the protected zone. Administration officials are now so worried that American troops may get bogged down in Iraq that they refer to the problem as 'the Q word.' The Q stands for quagmire."

A *Times* editorial May 1 states, "Not until April 7 did it [the U.S. government] start to send help, in the form of airdrops of food. But since American and allied forces started this

new gulf war, they have given it all the vigor and valor evident in the first one. They have not won it and perhaps never can. America's ultimate mission is to avoid entanglement in a distant and bottomless quagmire."

Times columnist A. M. Rosenthal writes: "For the U.S., Mr. Bush has achieved the herder's role. American troops are going back to Iraq, as Mr. Bush swore they would not. They are back for no gain to the rebels but some food and shelter."

"But what to do now? Exactly what the U.S. could have done before: recognize the cease-fire as a false peace, present the Iraqi army with an ultimatum — to get rid of Saddam Hussein or the U.S. will resume the air attack on military targets and every high officer will be tried for war crimes."

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wrote in a syndicated column that the "refugees must not be settled in permanent camps. We must not spawn in the remote mountains of northern Iraq the kind of refugee camps that have blighted the lives of a generation of Palestinians; the purpose of the allied military deployment in northern Iraq should be to enable the refugees to return to their homes."

"This is why the only honorable way out of northern Iraq is internationally guaranteed autonomy for the Kurds under the supervision of an adequate security force."

In his column in the *New York Times* William Safire made an assessment of the "blunders" that Washington made in the war.

"We foolishly allowed ourselves to become prisoners of our stated policy (to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait) and thereby became powerless to pursue our real policy (to rid the world of Saddam Hussein's regime)."

Arguing for rapid removal of U.S. forces from the region a *New York Times* editorial May 7 states, "Understandably, Iraqi Kurds are trying to turn the world's sympathy to their advantage."

"But accepting a special responsibility for the suffering of Iraqi Kurds is not the same as favoring statehood for a people scattered through Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Union."

The *Times* adds that "Since the sanctions pertain to Kuwait, their use in behalf of the Kurds would require a new Council resolution. It should not be beyond diplomatic wit to find language that would help the Kurds and remove the need for Western forces in northern Iraq. And it should be America's purpose to remain in Iraq only pending creation of convincing security guarantees for an ill-used people."

Liberal columnist Anthony Lewis invokes Gen. Colin Powell's supposed opposition to the invasion of Iraq, described in Robert Woodward's book *The Commanders*, to criticize the results of the war. According to the book, Powell had argued for a containment strategy against Iraq — continuing the use of the savage embargo and sanctions against the Iraqi people.

"The alternative strategy looks better all the time now. The war took a dreadful human toll. It did long-lasting damage to the environment of the gulf. It has not produced new stability or security in the region. And it did not result in Saddam Hussein's fall."

Scoreboard

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
Houston	1,500	1,771	118%
San Francisco	3,500	3,673	105%
Atlanta	2,300	2,044	89%
Cleveland	1,600	1,301	81%
Miami	1,200	921	77%
San Diego	1,000	720	72%
Pittsburgh	1,900	1,335	70%
Los Angeles	6,000	3,925	65%
Albany, N.Y.	350	220	63%
Salt Lake City	1,700	1,065	63%
Charleston, W. Va.	1,900	1,170	62%
Austin, Minn.	750	440	59%
St. Louis	2,000	1,160	58%
Omaha, Neb.	750	435	58%
Chicago	2,600	1,495	58%
Boston	1,500	811	54%
Des Moines	1,000	504	50%
Detroit	2,100	1,035	49%
Newark	3,800	1,664	44%
Phoenix	750	315	42%
Birmingham, Ala.	1,750	690	39%
New York	7,000	2,591	37%
Greensboro, N.C.	750	265	35%
Seattle	2,250	645	29%
Philadelphia	2,000	520	26%
Price, Utah	600	150	25%
Baltimore	900	135	15%
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,750	125	7%
Washington, D.C.	1,250	15	1%
Morgantown	1,250	10	1%
TOTAL U.S.	57,700	31,150	54%
New Zealand Total	3,011	2,249	75%
Auckland	770	524	68%
Christchurch	1,286	1,003	78%
Wellington	955	722	77%
Canada Total	4,250	2,886	68%
Montréal	1,529	937	61%
Toronto	1,370	813	59%
Vancouver	791	596	75%
Other	560	520	93%
Iceland	300	100	33%
Britain Total	6,500	1,310	21%
London	1,850	460	25%
Manchester	1,600	170	11%
Sheffield	1,600	170	11%
Other	1,450	510	35%
France	1,000	200	20%
Australia	500	86	17%
Sweden	1,000		0%
Other		195	
TOTAL OVERALL	74,261	38,381	52%
SHOULD BE	75,000	52,500	70%

New International Fund aids fight against imperialism and war

Continued from front page

devoted to publishing in Spanish all the articles that appear in *New International* no. 7, thus making available the "Opening Guns of World War III" and related articles available to Spanish-speaking workers from Washington, D.C., to Toronto, Stockholm, and Latin America.

Shortly thereafter, the major articles from issue no. 7 will appear in French in *Nouvelle Internationale*, reaching French-speaking working people from Québec, to Paris, Miami, the Caribbean, and Africa.

We can think of no better investment toward advancing a working-class perspective on the fight against the employers' wars at home and abroad than making a contribution now to the New International Fund.

While the *Militant* staff does our best to bring you news and analysis of the big political developments in the world class struggle — from the Mideast to coverage of the

NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND

Collected: \$38,381 Goal: \$75,000



resistance to the bosses' offensive at home, we do not substitute for the kind of articles that *New International* contains: in-depth articles of Marxist theory and politics that address the pressing political questions facing working-class fighters today.

Readers have gotten a glimpse of what *New International* offers in some of the excerpts we have featured in the *Militant* in recent weeks.

Thus far, \$38,381 has been collected for the fund, a little over half the amount needed. *Militant* readers can make a difference by giving the fund the push it needs right now. Join in the celebration of *New International* no. 7 by sending in a donation today.

Contributions may be sent to New International Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Cheney's Mideast trip yields few results

BY SETH GALINSKY

For Washington, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney's recent trip to the Mideast brought results far less than those hoped for immediately following its devastating war against the Iraqi people.

Referring to disputes between the governments of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, the May 11 *New York Times* pessimistically assessed U.S. government efforts to "build a stable post-war alliance in the Persian Gulf." If the disagreements are "not resolved in coming months," the *Times* said, "the security of the oil-rich region is likely to revert to the same loose arrangements that existed last August 2, when Iraq's army overran Kuwait and threatened Saudi Arabia's oil fields virtually unopposed by the Gulf Arab states."

Soon after halting its massive bombing of soldiers and civilians fleeing Kuwait, Washington announced that it was going to maintain a larger military presence in the Arab-Persian Gulf than prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, on a trip to the Mideast in early March, raised the idea of stationing thousands of U.S. troops on a rotating basis in Saudi Arabia. Squadrons of combat aircraft would be positioned at Gulf bases and the U.S. naval presence would be expanded under the initial plan. Military equipment for an entire U.S. armored division would be left in Saudi Arabia for later use.

The Pentagon also proposed that a headquarters for the U.S. Central Command, presently based in Tampa, Florida, would be set up in the Gulf island-state of Bahrain. And Washington wanted Egyptian and Syrian troops to remain indefinitely at the Iraq-Kuwait border.

The U.S. government's plans to forge an alliance of governments capable of defending imperialist interests in the Gulf region was built around toppling Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. They sought to replace his regime with a militarily strong government, subservient to U.S. imperialism, that could serve as the linchpin for a new regional security arrangement. This, they hoped, would further U.S. control of Middle East oil reserves.

But Washington's plans face growing obstacles.

In an April 28 interview with the *New York Times*, Saudi Prince Khaled ibn Sultan, commander of Arab troops during the war

France assesses war performance, moves to beef up military

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

The French government is taking steps to strengthen its military forces, having considered that their performance during the U.S.-led war against Iraq revealed major weaknesses in its ability to effectively deploy strategic force abroad.

French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe complained about the lack of their own adequate military intelligence, noting that "without allied military intelligence in the war, we would have been almost blind." He noted that "today, paradoxically, we have better information for conducting a battle than for a theater-level maneuver, and our intelligence is better for carrying out a theater maneuver than for forming policies."

Joxe announced that French military intelligence would be reorganized into a single branch of the armed forces, in place of five separate and often competing agencies.

Paris also plans to accelerate a program that was already under way for placement of its own spy satellites. Its dependence on Washington's intelligence was underlined when, as the Paris newspaper *Liberation* reported, President François Mitterrand was shown high-definition satellite photographs of the war theater by a U.S. intelligence officer. The officer demonstrated what Washington thought of Paris' role in the war by refusing to leave copies with Mitterrand.

Eleven thousand French troops were deployed during the war, supported by 350 tanks, 12 ships, and 40 Jaguar fighters.

Following the war, the French Senate drew up a report advocating "radical reorganizations" of the armed forces, while opposing any military spending cuts. For his part, Mitterrand said that he would neither abolish the military draft nor weaken Paris's nuclear force.



U.S. forces in Persian Gulf during war against Iraq. Washington's plans to forge an alliance of governments capable of defending imperialist interests in the region, built around toppling Saddam Hussein, face growing obstacles.

against Iraq and a high-ranking member of the Saudi government, questioned the need for an increased U.S. military presence in his country, including the storage of arms and equipment.

"I can't see that much of a threat now," Prince Khaled noted, given the defeat of the Iraqi army.

"I have many questions that need to be answered," he said. "What is your threat? What is your future threat?"

When asked about the U.S. plan to stockpile equipment and guard it with U.S. soldiers, Prince Khaled said, "There has been no discussion about it. And I don't think it will be discussed."

Instead, the prince said, the Saudi government plans to triple the size of its armed forces and hoped that the U.S. government would sell them advanced weapons.

In the 1950s, a U.S. Air Force base operated in Dharan, Saudi Arabia. But after protests against the U.S. presence, the base was closed in the early 1960s.

The Iraqi invasion and rapid occupation of Kuwait showed that the oil-rich Gulf sheikdoms could no longer simply buy the protection of stronger neighbors. The rapid collapse of the Kuwaiti government underscored the weakness and narrow social base of the Gulf-state regimes. A majority of workers in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and the other Gulf states are considered foreigners by these regimes. Many are recent immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Egypt, the Philippines, India, and other poorer nations. Some have been there for generations, but are still denied citizenship rights.

'Need to hurry back for future crisis'

Four days after the *Times* interview with Prince Khaled, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney rushed off for a four-day trip to the region. He delivered a letter signed by President George Bush to Saudi King Fahd. He also visited Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain.

Noting White House concern over stability in the region and Washington's need to be able to act against workers and farmers struggles there, Cheney stressed the importance of storing equipment that "would allow us to get back in a hurry in the event of a future crisis."

Cheney did not propose that U.S. combat troops be permanently stationed in the region because this would be "politically delicate," the *Times* said.

After meeting with King Fahd, Cheney said, "We made progress in terms of getting agreement that those kinds of activities will be a part of our joint endeavors in the region and that we will work together on joint training, joint exercises, pre-positioning of equipment."

Backing down from the Washington's earlier open proclamations on the need to massively increase its presence in the region, Cheney refused to give any details. Some of the agreements would be classified secrets, he stated, and would be shown to the U.S. Congress with the stipulation that they not be disclosed publicly.

A need for 'discretion'

"It's still the Middle East, and therefore a certain amount of discretion is required in terms of what you say publicly," Cheney claimed.

When Cheney and other U.S. officials talk about sensitivity and the need for "discretion," they are referring to the anti-imperialist sentiment of the region's workers and peasants and their opposition to U.S. domination

of the region. The Saudi government and other pro-imperialist regimes, while in favor of closer ties with Washington, fear the reaction of peoples in their countries.

In the middle of Cheney's visit, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak dealt a blow to U.S. plans for a new regional military alliance. He said he was withdrawing the nearly 40,000

Egyptian troops that had been stationed in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Syrian troops stationed in the region are also being pulled out.

Meanwhile, tensions between the government of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have been increasing. Kuwaiti officials have accused the 40,000 Saudi troops still stationed in Kuwait of harassing Kuwaiti citizens.

Bonn dispatches soldiers to Iran, cites need to help Kurds

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Under the cover of providing aid to Kurdish refugees more than 200 German soldiers with helicopters and equipment have been dispatched by the Bonn government to Iran. The troops are deployed near the border with Iraq, where more than 1.5 million Kurds have sought refuge. A German military airlift of supplies is also underway.

Defense ministry officials in Bonn originally projected sending 2,000 troops, but objections by the Iranian government limited the scope of the deployment.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl asserted that Germany hopes to do "something similar" in Iran to what Washington has done on the Turkish-Iraqi border. U.S. troops are forcing Kurds seeking refuge into special enclaves with the aim of driving them back into Iraq.

According to the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher quickly "understood that the pictures out of Iraq of fleeing Kurds, of hungry, freezing, and dying children would stir the public in Germany." Genscher called the Kurdish exodus the "greatest tragedy of this century" and seized on the issue to win support for the troop deployment.

The U.S.-led war against Iraq provoked divisions in Germany's ruling circles over when and how to deploy their armed forces abroad. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other officials in Bonn claimed during the war that they were prevented from deploying troops as part of the allied coalition against Iraq because of provisions in the German constitution.

Germany, defeated in World War II, was first allowed, by the U.S. and allied powers, to rearm in 1954. It now has a modern and substantial army equipped with high-technology weapons. This is the first time since World War II that German forces have been deployed outside Europe or countries allied with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

During the U.S.-led war against Iraq, Germany's rulers were politically unable to send military units to the Gulf. They had to stand by and watch Washington, their major rival, increase its leverage in a region on whose oil resources they heavily depend. They were also pressured to contribute \$6.6 billion to Washington for the war.

Kohl, determined to begin to be able to use its military abroad to protect the interests of German imperialism, recently submitted a constitutional amendment to parliament specifically allowing Germany to join international coalitions such as the one that Washington led against Iraq. The chancellor, however, faced opposition from Social Democrats who favor limiting German troop deployment abroad to participation in United Nations "peace-keeping" missions.

While the amendment failed to gather the two-thirds support required for passage, Social Democrats quickly called on the government to step up its aid to the Kurds. The April 24 *Washington Post* reported that Social

Democrats were not expected to object to the use of the military for "purely humanitarian purposes."

"The debate, if, whether, and under which command the German army would be deployed outside NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) territory, seems to have been bypassed, before it was engaged," *Der Spiegel* said.

Germany's troop deployment is the first time an imperialist country has deployed troops in Iran since the 1979 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

Iran's rulers are attempting to manipulate the increasing rivalry between the world's imperialist powers, particularly between Washington and Bonn, to break down the economic and diplomatic isolation imposed on the country after the 1979 revolution.

The Iranian government recently launched

Continued on Page 6

A book with facts on Washington's Mideast war

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations is an irreplaceable tool in learning and getting out the truth about the brutal U.S. aggression against the Iraqi people. An introduction by Mary-Alice Waters reviews the systematic military buildup that preceded the war and the role played by Cuba at the United Nations.

Featured in the book are statements by Cuban Ambassador to the UN Ricardo Alarcón and President Fidel Castro that rebut the pretexts and arguments used by Washington to justify its aggression. Unionists, GIs, veterans, students, and workers involved in struggles against the employers' offensive at home can use this book to educate about imperialism and war.

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Palestinian unionists detail intensified Israeli repression

BY DEREK BRACEY
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

EAST JERUSALEM — "The Israeli authorities accuse us of terrorism. They raid our union offices and arrest trade unionists. Since the beginning of the *intifada* [in 1987] they have shut down 21 out of the 49 local affiliates of the federation in the West Bank," said Sami Saman, a leader of the General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU).

Saman, who spent eight years in Israeli jails for union activities, said that attacks on Palestinian unionists intensified during the U.S.-led war against Iraq. "They have deported seven of our colleagues and shot to death a member of our executive board here in Ramallah," Saman said.

According to Shah'er Saed, general secretary of GFTU based in Nablus, acute unemployment is one of the biggest problems facing Palestinian workers in the occupied territories. "Unemployment, already at 45 percent before the war [against Iraq], has now skyrocketed" to over 70 percent in some areas, Saed said.

About 120,000 Palestinian workers, mostly in the West Bank, belong to GFTU. There are about 300,000 wage workers in the West Bank and Gaza among a population of approximately 1.5 million.

The federation has its origins in unions organized by Palestinian workers in Amman, Jordan, in 1954. The Federation was established in 1965, with two branches opening up in Nablus and Jerusalem, said Mohammed Barakat, general secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in East Jerusalem.

After the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent occupation of the West Bank and Gaza by the Israeli army, "no new permits to any unions were given by the occupying forces," said Barakat. The Israeli occupation severely disrupted the unionists' functioning. Just three months after being elected the first general secretary of GFTU, Zakariya Hamdan was expelled from the West Bank by the Israeli army in 1969.

Since 1967 the focus of the federation has

been defending Palestinian workers from the laws, social impact, and repression resulting from the Israeli occupation.

The Israeli government confiscated many Palestinian farmers' land, began flooding the West Bank and Gaza with cheaper Israeli products, and closed off the Israeli market to Palestinian produce, Saman said.

Assaults on Palestinian unions

Israeli authorities had banned the GFTU and its affiliated unions in the Gaza Strip in June 1967. Following pressure by international unions and the intervention of the International Labour Organization, the Israeli authorities approved the reopening of GFTU-affiliated unions in 1979, but with extremely restrictive conditions. Those conditions included keeping former elected union bodies frozen and not allowing new elections, even though several former members had died, left their jobs, or migrated abroad; not admitting new members; and not attempting to organize workers who worked in Israeli projects. These conditions have kept unions in Gaza with a small membership.

"Palestinian-owned businesses also closed because of import-export restrictions and increased taxation," Saman added. Driven off the land or out of business, thousands of Palestinians were forced to seek work in Israel. The number of Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza with jobs in Israel grew from about 5,000 in 1968 to over 180,000 in 1990.

"Israeli employers found a cheap source of labor in the West Bank and Gaza," Barakat said. "Palestinians work the hardest jobs in construction, agriculture, and the service industries and get paid about half of what Israeli workers get for the same job," he added.

Most Israeli citizens pay from 30 to 40 percent of their income for health insurance and taxation. But Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza, who also pay these taxes, are not entitled to unemployment insurance, vacation pay, or retirement benefits.

"Palestinian workers in Israel are also ob-



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Sami Saman, a leader of the General Federation of Trade Unions. Since 1967, the GFTU has focused on defending Palestinian workers victimized under Israeli occupation.

ligated to join and pay dues to Histadrut [the Israeli trade union federation]," Barakat said. GFTU unions are not allowed to organize workers in Israel.

Histadrut, known until 1966 as the General Federation of Hebrew Workers in the Land of Israel, was founded in 1920 during a general congress of Jewish workers. An exclusively Jewish organization, it associated with the Zionist movement from its inception.

With over 1 million members today, Histadrut, the only union federation in Israel, is also one of the country's largest employers. About a quarter of Israeli wage earners work in companies owned by Histadrut. One, for example, is the well known Solel Boneh company, involved in a range of construction projects — from luxury hotels in Africa to U.S. air bases in Turkey. The trade unions are just one department of Histadrut, since most of its national staff is involved with other business concerns.

In 1967 Histadrut changed its name to the Workers Federation in the Land of Israel and began admitting Arab workers.

Barakat and Saman said that since the GFTU is not allowed to organize unions in Israel they try to recruit individual workers. "We are not recognized by Israeli employers," Saman said. "When a member reports a problem in Israel we try to provide legal help."

Impact of intifada

Barakat said that "since the intifada began the Palestinian labor movement has entered a new stage. Palestinian workers in the occupied territories began honoring the calls [by GFTU and the Unified National Leadership of the intifada] for one-day or longer strikes, including those who worked in Israel. That put pressure on Israeli employers." Many in the Israeli ruling class began arguing for replacing Palestinians with immigrant workers.

In May 1989, the Israeli government announced measures aimed at "reducing the number of Palestinian workers and adopting new economic procedures against them," according to Yitzhak Rabin, who was defense minister then.

All workers from Gaza were ordered out of Israel. They were then forced to obtain

special identification cards, called magnetic cards, from the authorities to re-enter Israel. Saman explained that the cards are denied to "anyone who is active, has been active, or lives with somebody who has been active in the fight against the occupation."

The recent influx of Soviet Jews to Israel has eased the pressure on some of the employers, Barakat said.

In the last year alone 270,000 Jews from the Soviet Union have immigrated to Israel. Many are without jobs and homeless. The April 4 *Jerusalem Post Magazine* reported a protest by Soviet immigrants demanding food and work in Beersheba, Israel. Several dozen Soviet Jews have set up tents in front of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, demanding jobs and housing. Many have been hired in the service industries and agriculture, as well as some in construction.

"It's harder, though, to replace construction workers doing hard jobs for less," Barakat said.

Resisting new attacks

As soon as the U.S.-led bombing of Iraq began the Israeli government prohibited the overwhelming majority of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza from going to their jobs in Israel. Since the cease-fire in Iraq about 50,000 Palestinians have been given work permits, most of them in construction jobs.

Barakat said his union faces enormous big challenges because many hotel and restaurant workers are laid off. "But we are determined to continue with the fight against the occupation," he said.

Saman expressed a similar determination. He explained that when Israeli authorities ordered Palestinian unions to submit lists of candidates for election to union office for approval, they defied the order and went ahead with the union elections.

"Despite all the recent blows against Palestinian workers the intifada will continue," Saman said. "We need the solidarity of the working class. As workers we have the same interests the world over. As it was shown during the Gulf war, the capitalists get together to fight other capitalists and we get slaughtered. We need to stand together to defend our social and political rights."

Koreans in New York protest S. Korean regime's killing



Militant/Susan Apstein

Several actions protesting the South Korean government's repression and Washington's backing for the regime have been organized at the South Korean consulate in New York. Koreans and supporters in a May 4 protest in Queens (above) demanded, "Down with U.S. puppet Roh Tae-woo!" and "U.S. troops out of Korea!" The Queens action also protested recent U.S. press reports accusing North Korea of becoming a nuclear menace.

Reuters reports that 250,000 to 400,000 antigovernment protesters marched in cities across South Korea May 9, demanding the downfall of President Roh Tae-woo's government.

In Seoul, the South's capital, students

and workers, numbering more than 120,000, repulsed riot police and for a time took control of major streets. State television said 50,000 people demonstrated in Pusan and 30,000 marchers were attacked by police in Kwangju. Protests also took place in Taegu, Masan, Taejeon, Incheon, Chongju, Chuncheon, and Suncheon.

Tens of thousands of students and growing numbers of workers have joined almost daily protests in South Korea since April 26, when police beat a student protester to death. The death of a union activist while in police detention has also spurred the protests. Fellow union members accuse the police of killing their colleague.

German troops sent to Iran

Continued from Page 5

a major diplomatic campaign to reestablish relations with countries in the Gulf and to create an opening with the European Community, the organization that incorporates eleven imperialist countries in Europe, and Ireland, in a trade bloc.

Diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, and Tunisia have been restored by the Tehran government. Existing relations with all the emirates on the southern shore of the Arab-Persian Gulf have been strengthened.

Britain and the Netherlands have reopened their embassies in Tehran. Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani is expected to visit France soon.

Roland Dumas, the French minister of foreign affairs, was recently welcomed in Iran with billboards saying, "Down with the U.S. Cheers for France and Europe."

While some Iranian officials object to any opening toward the United States, Rafsanjani and most of the ministers in his government have refused to rule out resumption of diplomatic ties with the United States, although they have criticized Washington for "its hostile attitude toward the Islamic republic and its imperialistic policy in the region."

Washington continues to maintain sanctions against Iran, including holding Iranian assets in the United States and refusing to deliver goods and military hardware paid for under the Shah's regime.

Union tops' stand on Mexico trade pact is blow to labor

Socialist candidate offers working-class view

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO — Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari toured Canada April 7-9 to drum up support for the proposed trade pact between Mexico, the United States, and Canada. From Canada he held talks in Chicago, Boston, and several cities in Texas.

The package of proposals, often referred to as the "free trade" pact, "is an opportunity for our three nations to create a major economic zone that... will have the vitality to compete successfully with the European market and the Asian Pacific Rim," said Salinas at an Ottawa press conference.

If enacted the trade agreement would eliminate most tariffs, import quotas, and other protectionist barriers to trade in goods and services as well as end most restrictions on capital investment.

U.S. President George Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney are pushing the deal as a way to strengthen the competitive position of U.S. and Canadian capitalists against their imperialist trading rivals in Europe and Japan. They see wider access to the Mexican market for U.S. and Canadian capital and commodities, and more domination over Mexican labor and natural resources as a first step in making similar moves throughout Latin America.

Reactionary move by labor officialdom

Labor officials in the United States and Canada, including those in the AFL-CIO and their counterparts in Canada and Québec are making opposition to the pact one of their central priorities. A new-found "concern" among these officials for the democratic rights and living standards of Mexican workers is simply a thin veneer on a reactionary and chauvinist campaign aimed at protecting their dues base in the unions by demanding the maintenance of protectionist measures.

Salinas met with officials from the trade unions of the New Democratic Party (NDP) while in Ottawa, who condemned the Mexican government's record on human rights, the environment, and working conditions for labor. Claiming that large numbers of jobs in Canadian manufacturing would be threatened by the trade pact, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin said, "We will not be able to compete with the low wages" of Mexican workers. Eliminating some protectionist measures would "mean another vacuum cleaner taking jobs from Canada," Canadian Auto Workers President Robert White had said earlier.

In an interview, Nancy Walker, a member of the International Association of Machinists and a candidate for the Communist League in upcoming elections in British Columbia, offered a working-class perspective on the proposed trade pact and on discussion that has begun on this question in the labor movement.

"Mexico is a semicolonial country whose economy and development are dominated by imperialist countries like the United States and Canada," Walker said. "The clearest expression of Mexico's dependence on and oppression by imperialist banks, corporations, and governments is its staggering foreign debt of nearly \$90 billion, of which several billion are owed to Canadian banks.

Mexico's capitalists have been forced by the International Monetary Fund, acting for the banks, to impose harsh austerity policies. The chief victims of this belt-tightening drive are Mexico's workers and peasants. In the past decade, real wages have fallen by more than 50 percent and unemployment has quadrupled to an official level of 17.6 percent in 1987.

"The labor movement in North America could be strengthened the most by joining with workers in Mexico in a campaign to expose and oppose the growing economic and social catastrophe in Mexico resulting from the capitalist economic crisis and the foreign debt," Walker said. "Only by starting with the common interests of working people — in Canada, Mexico, the United States, and elsewhere — can an effective struggle be launched to combat the offensive by the

employers and their governments.

"That kind of action in solidarity with Mexican workers and peasants is the exact opposite of the 'no-free-trade-with-Mexico' campaign being whipped up by trade union officials in the United States and Canada. This particular campaign is a dead-end for labor and thoroughly reactionary. It leads to deeper national divisions among workers rather than lessening them through solidarity."

No common interest

"Instead of waging a fight against the real antilabor attacks by Canadian capitalists and the government or pointing to the crisis of capitalism as the root of the problem," Walker continued, "labor officials say the enemy is U.S. competition and domination of the 'Canadian economy.'"

"In fact," Walker said, "there is no such thing as a Canadian economy which workers and bosses have a common interest in defending. There is a Canadian capitalist economy which exploits working people here and around the world."

Several labor officials in both countries, said Walker, say they would support a "fair trade" treaty with Mexico that includes a social and labor charter guaranteeing higher wages and better working conditions for Mexican workers, and stiffer environmental regulation on the corporations — thereby cutting down on the competitive pressures on U.S. and Canadian labor.

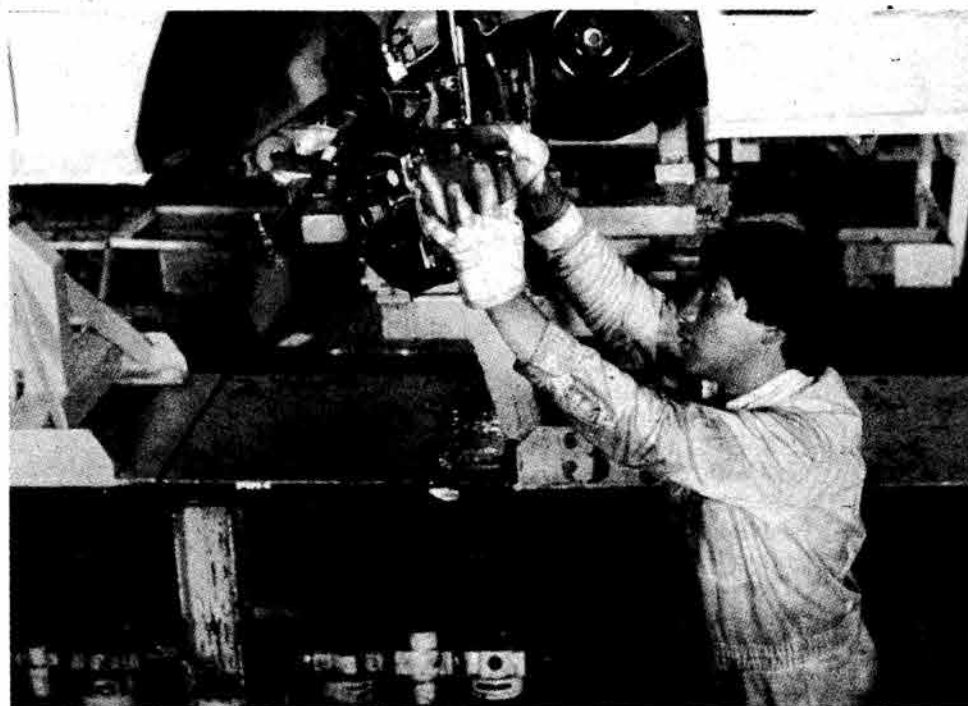
"This is pure hypocrisy," the candidate said. "These same officials have never lifted a finger to build international solidarity and support for workers' struggles in Mexico, especially not those directed against imperialist corporations and banks in the U.S. and Canada."

One of the most important acts of solidarity that labor in North America could undertake, she stressed, is to mobilize and campaign for cancellation of Mexico's huge debt to the banks in Canada and the United States.

"The rhetoric of the labor officialdom for a social charter and 'fair trade' is simply a cover for their real aim — to maintain existing protectionist barriers that limit Mexican imports to the United States and Canada," Walker stated.

Fighting same companies

Mexican working people do need substantive and active solidarity, Walker added, in their efforts to build fighting unions, organize the unorganized, and fight the struggles necessary to win higher wages and improved



Auto worker in Mexico. U.S., Canadian union tops new-found "concern" for Mexican workers is thin veneer on reactionary campaign against trade pact.

working conditions. In many cases, they are fighting the same companies as unionists elsewhere. Mobilizing union power in a common struggle is the only way forward. But that is not what is projected or is being done now.

"Competition between workers for jobs or wages is a fact of life under capitalism," said Walker. "The labor officialdom talks about the need to save 'Canadian jobs' or 'American jobs,' to help 'our company' or 'our industry' compete, to stand by 'our country' and defend its sovereignty. But these are not our companies or our countries. They belong to a tiny handful of billionaire capitalist families. On the other hand there is an international working class which suffers common exploitation, faces the same enemies, and shares common interests."

To fight competition between workers, including those in other countries, labor should build an international campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to unite the jobless with those who have jobs in the face of the deepening world capitalist economic crisis, she said. "That's the way to fight the problems generated by capitalists and their divide-and-rule tactics. We should be fighting for jobs at the expense of the capitalist class and their huge profits, rather than at the expense of other workers in other countries."

For an end to tariffs

Walker added that the labor movement should be demanding an end to tariffs and other protectionist barriers.

"Protectionist measures amount to a defense of national capitalism and when labor unions support them, it's one of the most dead-end forms of class collaboration," she said.

"For example, Dominion Textile, with help from its union, got Canadian government protection from imports from Asian countries in the early 1980s to help it restruc-

ture to meet competition. To accomplish this, it closed eight of its some 20 factories and laid off thousands of workers. The shareholders' capital was protected, but only high seniority workers kept their jobs," she said. "The same thing happened in the U.S. auto industry. But it meant that unions were led into more concern for the prospects of the companies than concern for prospects for the working class, including its need to forge deeper international solidarity."

In the same way, Walker said, we should fight racist and restrictive immigration laws that exclude workers from Third World countries. Along with protectionist measures come restrictions on the freedom of movement across borders for workers. This blocks our ability to seek work, to meet, discuss, and organize internationally. It is the only road to unify workers around the world.

Workers are told that fighting the trade pact is the way to fight attacks on social programs and the bosses' efforts to lower our wages, said Walker. But that's just a mask for the fact that when cuts in social programs do come, or when workers go on strike to fight concessions and union-busting, the way Eastern Airlines workers did for nearly two years, the labor officialdom does little to mobilize working people in solidarity with these concrete struggles.

"Right now," Walker explained, "both federal and many provincial public sector workers in Canada are facing recently enacted wage freezes and wage controls. Yet the trade union officials put more energy into fighting the trade agreements with Mexico than into fighting this concrete attack. Our unions are being further weakened by this approach. What we need instead is united action by unions in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and around the world for jobs, for union rights, for cancellation of the Third World debt, and in defense of our wages and working conditions."

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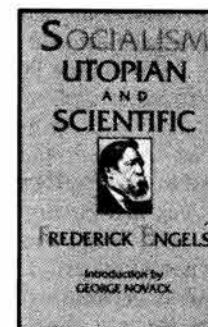


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'Cuba is facing a special situation'

Trade union leader talks with U.S. unionists about building socialism

The following is an interview with Pedro Ross Leal, secretary general of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), by a delegation of six trade union members visiting Cuba on a tour organized by the Minnesota U.S.-Cuba Friendship Committee. The CTC-hosted tour included discussions with union leaders, participation in the May 1 celebrations and march of 1 million Cuban workers, and visits to agricultural brigades, schools, medical facilities, and construction sites. Based on a wide-ranging discussion with Ross, the interview was conducted through Cuban translator Herberto Fleitas. Delegation member Wendy Lyons, a packing-house worker and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union from St. Paul, Minnesota, compiled the interview.

Question: How do you size up the situation facing Cuba today?

Answer: Our country is facing a special situation. The disintegration of the socialist countries has had a deep impact on our economy. Eighty-five percent of our trade was with the socialist countries. The new governments in Eastern Europe have cut off relations with us, resulting in a big shortage of machinery and spare parts here. In the Soviet Union the economy is in shock. So, in spite of people in the government wanting to fulfill their contracts with us, it is not possible.

For example, we used to use 13 million tons of fuel oil a year, all supplied by the Soviet Union. In the last agreement signed between our two countries, the Soviet Union said it could only supply 10 million tons this year, but we have not been receiving the monthly shares of the 10 million. So we have had to take exceptional measures to maintain basic services. This includes reducing the use of electricity for lighting and air conditioning, curtailing transportation, and closing some factories and reducing hours in others. Our supplies of food, steel, and spare parts from outside the country have also been greatly reduced.

We have had to adapt our economic plans. We call it a "special period in the time of peace." We had drawn up a plan to run the economy in case we were attacked militarily — what we called a "special period in the time of war." We call this a "special period in the time of peace" because we are having to put into effect some of the things we discussed doing in the case of war.

It is possible the situation will get worse for us. The U.S. government, knowing the difficulties we face, has put pressure on different governments around the world to not establish economic relations with us. The U.S. blockade is stronger than before. They are putting pressure on companies around the world where U.S. capital is present not to export to us. They want to strangle the Cuban revolution.

But they won't succeed. As you will see at our May Day demonstration, the Cuban people have decided to defend the gains we have made during 30 years of building the Cuban project of socialism. I say "Cuban socialism" because there are differences with Cuban socialism and the other project that failed in Eastern Europe.

I was just talking to an Italian comrade who said, "What you had in Eastern Europe was not socialism." I agreed that this is quite possible, because socialism can't be made if there are not close relations between the leaders of the government and the people. The people are the ones who have to make the project of socialism.

'Dogmas antithesis of the system'

If the leaders have one way of life and the masses another, if you don't constantly touch the feelings of the people and keep them informed about successes, mistakes, dangers, and those things we have to correct, then you can't build socialism. The socialist project has to be made with the will of everyone, not by force or with authoritarian ways. Imposing a will has no results. Dogmas are the antithesis of the system.

The fact that we are using Marxist principles doesn't mean that we haven't made the kind of mistakes made in Eastern Europe.



Militant/Maceo Dixon
Pedro Ross Leal, secretary general of Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, addressing May Day rally in Havana.

We have. But we are facing this and correcting it. This is the main difference in the application of our project of building socialism and what happened in Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union. We can't take responsibility for other people's mistakes, only our own.

We're conducting an experiment in building this project of socialism. With an experiment you don't always go forward. Sometimes you go backward and have to figure out a way to go forward again. In doing this you can't deny the main principles you started out with. We believe you can't correct problems of socialism by using capitalist methods, like the market economy.

'Capitalism means more misery'

Why do we say you can't use capitalist methods? Because we have had capitalism for over 200 years. What is the situation for the majority of humanity that has lived under it for all those years? Here in Latin America capitalism has meant more and more misery. I won't even talk of poorer countries like Haiti, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Take Brazil, with its huge economic resources. Four

and a half million children live in the streets! That's a crime against human rights.

If capitalism were the solution, the Mexicans, Haitians, Puerto Ricans — to take a few examples — wouldn't be in such a critical situation. These countries are poor because of capitalist exploitation.

There has to be another economic order — new economic relations. In fact, only socialism is able to create such relations. Because of this we in Cuba are ready to face the present difficulties and continue our project of building socialism. Our people have stable jobs, free education for every child, free health care, and social security for the old and handicapped.

Q: Does Cuba feel alone now?

A: No. Cuba feels solidarity. We are somewhat alone in holding the flag of socialism, but honest thinking people all over the world — not just those who agree with our ideology — feel solidarity with us when they find out the truth about our reality.

We count on the fact that the Cuban people are united in this struggle.

The United States may look like it has lots of support because it can get resolutions passed in the United Nations. But without the support of the people, it's isolated. Many governments support U.S. resolutions in the UN because they fear problems with the U.S. government if they don't. But do the American people or people in the world support the U.S.? How many people even voted for Bush or Reagan before him? [One unionist answers: Twenty-five to 30 percent of the qualified voters. Many don't vote now.]

Why? Because there is never any choice. You are never able to vote for a president of working people.

Q: Recently, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland set up a Labor Committee for a Free Cuba. The committee has campaigned for the release of what it says are two political prisoners in Cuba who are trade unionists, Mario Chanes de Armas and Ernesto Díaz. The committee says it will present a report on worker rights abuses in Cuba that will be presented to the International Labor Organization in Geneva. What do you have to say to these charges?

A: We are aware of this campaign. The two "political prisoners" were jailed because they made attempts on the life of [Cuban president] Fidel Castro, not for their political ideas. They were not political prisoners. They were never even union leaders, as is claimed. Chanes de Armas was a brewery worker.

Ernesto Díaz is out of jail now. Chanes de Armas received weapons from the CIA to make an attempt on Fidel's life. They were convicted of other terrorist acts too. They had their own lawyers and the trials of the two were public and well known in Cuba.

I see that Ricardo Bofill is also mentioned in the AFL-CIO literature [put out by the American Institute for Free Labor Development.] He is part of this campaign against Cuba in the United States. Bofill was a cop under the Batista dictatorship before the revolution.

They accuse us of violating human rights in Cuba. How? By giving workers the right to a job, building schools for children, a free health-care system for all workers, eliminating racial discrimination? If Mr. Kirkland is so concerned about human rights for workers why isn't he campaigning about what just happened to the railroad workers in the United States? In that case the government suspended the strike with a signature!

Here in Cuba strikes are not prohibited. We don't encourage them because we don't really need to organize strikes against our own economy. But, whenever the rights of our workers are violated we have the strength to find a solution to the problem. We go to a ministry, to the government, and we always find that we can talk these things out and find solutions. Someone gets our message. We have succeeded in having heavy penalties laid on managers who cut across workers' rights. We don't live in a paradise but we have the strength to solve our problems.

Q: This same campaign of the Labor Committee for a Free Cuba charges that there is forced labor in Cuba and the government keeps records of workers' job performance. How do you answer this?

“There have to be new economic relations. Only socialism is able to create such relations...”

A: Well, let's ask these two hotel workers here instead.

[First worker: Cuban workers voluntarily go to do agricultural work in the countryside to help develop our country. Records are not kept by the government. The workers keep records because we are proud to go. We have no force here. We are not even forced to stay in Cuba.]

[Second worker: There is no forced work, no penalty if you don't do voluntary labor. I've done voluntary work in the countryside many times. I have participated in 10 people's harvests of sugarcane and no one ever forced me to.]

[Ross continues] I have also volunteered, together with my wife and children, to do construction. You can ask the same question of any worker while you're here. Through the unions we have also made sure there is useful work to do when people volunteer. We had a problem with this in the past.

People not only volunteer in the countryside, but in their own workplaces or neighborhoods.

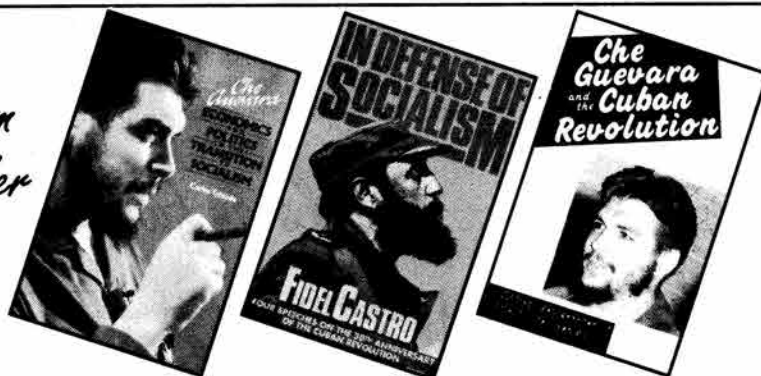
When a worker goes to the hospital in Cuba no one asks, "Are you a party member, do you support the revolution?" You are only asked about your medical problem. In school, the children aren't asked if their parents participate in voluntary work. They are just educated.

In prison, a part of the rehabilitation is to receive a job and the prisoners get paid for the work they do. Mario Chanes de Armas — who Kirkland calls a "political prisoner" — refused to work while in prison, and no one forced him to do so. He's getting out in June, healthy and strong. He refused to work or even to wear the prison uniform.

The campaign against Cuba is lies. Mr. Kirkland should be more concerned about American workers: women who receive less money just because they are women, Blacks and Chicanos who face racial discrimination, old people whose pensions are reduced, handicapped workers, and laid off General Motors workers whose benefits run out.

This campaign against Cuba is part of the whole campaign of the U.S. government and the CIA to discredit the Cuban revolution, to

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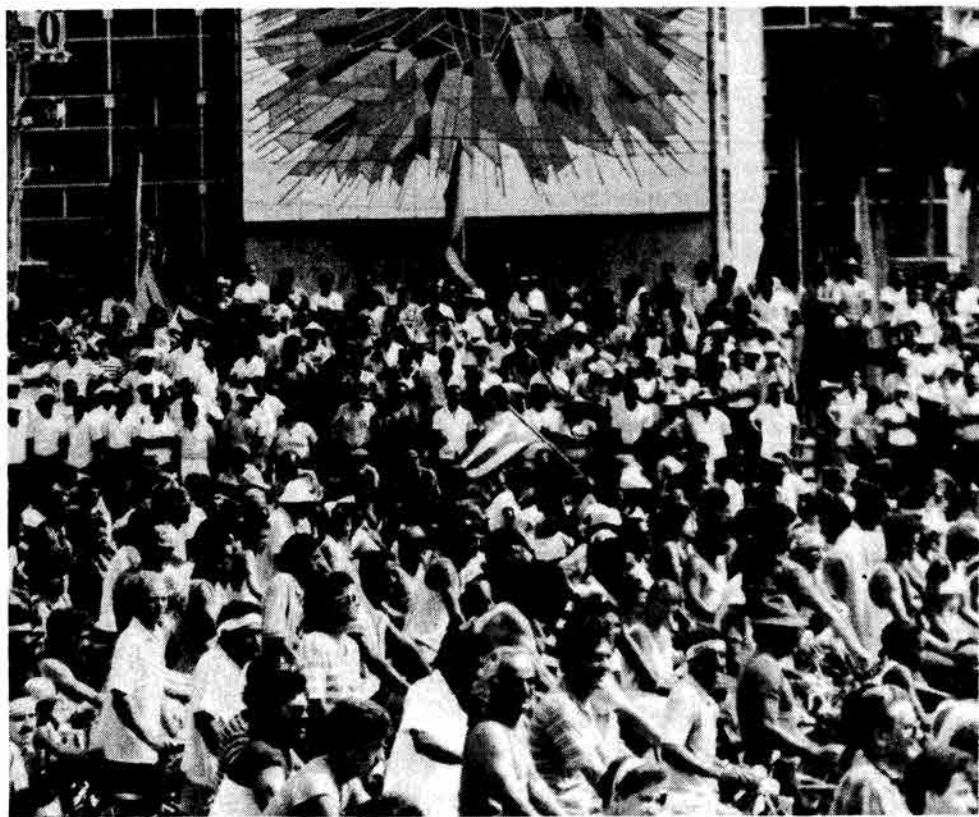
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Militant/Maceo Dixon

Contingent of bicyclists during May Day rally. Cuba has taken measures to conserve energy.

weaken our example in the world. They have such a powerful media that sometimes people believe in these lies. You, U.S. trade unionists, are in a position here to witness how the Cuban people think and feel. Convince yourselves, not just by my words but by talking to Cuban workers. You can help destroy these lies.

We even urged the U.S. government to sign an agreement with us to take into the U.S. any of the people in jail here who worked with the U.S. government. The U.S. refused.

Q: In Miami, the leader of the Labor Committee for a Free Cuba was the former president of my union local. My local in Miami was part of the strike against Eastern Airlines, where I worked. He left the local, which was in the center of one of the most important strikes in the last decade. He left the fight to take a bureaucratic position. He left a fight in the United States for workers rights to look into workers rights in a country that is one of the most advanced in the world.

A: It would be good if honest union people

in the U.S. could create a commission to look into the charges against Cuba.

Q: A lot of hotels are being built here in Cuba that capitalists from other countries are investing in. How does this fit in with not using capitalist methods?

A: A good question. But I think there is no problem. Their investments are aiding the Cuban state. The capitalists make money but on the other hand there is a new workplace that benefits the construction workers and hotel and food service workers. And the money, the hard currency Cuba gets from these ventures, goes to help support more schools and workplaces in Cuba. No capitalist can own these ventures and no new owner will be created who will exploit workers. No individual here will get rich on it. We are doing this because we need hard currency to get around the effects of the blockade.

Q: In the U.S., workers and management and the government don't have the same interests. But there is no workers party. Here in Cuba there is a party, the unions, and a government that is supposed to represent the

interests of the workers. How does it all work?

A: The labor movement changes as society moves from capitalism and heads toward socialism. Under capitalism, workers fight for things like stable work. In Cuba over 70 percent of the working class had no jobs before the revolution. The other demands made under capitalism were for decent wages, health care and medical assistance, education for the children of workers, and a chance to participate in government and the management of industry.

We called for the elimination of racial discrimination — which was a big problem here in Cuba, an end to sex discrimination, the right to pensions and social security, the right to housing, electricity in the countryside, and the right to own land for those who work it. Jobs for women was an important demand. Women had no jobs, nor could they participate in the social, economic, and political life of the country. These were some of the demands of the union movement before the revolution.

'Union demands answered by revolution'

Now we are able to say that the union movement's demands were answered by the revolution. Some, like housing for instance, are not solved yet but we are working on it. We have no race and sex discrimination. We have the right to a job, education, retirement, health care, the possibility to take any post in management or government on the basis of our skills, not individual wealth.

The union movement now organizes to defend these gains. The revolution has solved the main problems of workers so our union movement needs to defend the revolution. This is a new role of the unions. The management is no longer a capitalist who will own the results of my work, but rather the state. If the state defends the workers, the unions should cooperate with it and defend it.

It doesn't function like this all the time. We don't live in a paradise. We are humans, we have problems. We live in a world full of contradictions. When they affect the lives of workers the union fights management to defend their interests.

Under socialism the unions fight for the interests of the workers as a whole, which is the same as the interests of the revolution.

Many union leaders are elected to government bodies here. They fight for the working class through these bodies too.

Some union leaders are members of the party. Fifty-three percent are not. I am a member of the leadership of the party. Union leaders are elected freely without taking into account if they are members of the party. Candidates are nominated by their fellow workers. There must be a least two nominations for each post according to the rules. The vote is done by secret, direct ballot.

Q: What is the role of the union in eliminating racism and sexism?

A: This is exactly what the union is for — to see that things like this don't happen. The macho idea is still strong in our society so we still fight this through the union and the party. Sometimes in a workplace a woman is not promoted even when she has shown more capacity than a man. Sometimes management thinks that she will get pregnant and leave, or have too many responsibilities with her children that would conflict with the job. This is one of the fights the union is taking on now. We don't allow this. It's like a weed. You cut it and it grows up again. We have to fight this through education.

The younger generation is better. They don't think like we did. They show more respect for women. Women used to be looked at like a thing, an object, a decoration or sex object, or only allowed to work as a housemaid before the revolution. Not any more. Today, 52 percent of the union leaders are women — 39 percent at the municipal level, and 24 percent at the national level. It's increasing. Women from the grassroots are stepping forward. Of the total labor force 39 percent are women. In some technical and professional jobs it is 51 percent. Health care, education, and scientific research are majority women.

In the United States there is a big difference in the rate of infant mortality between Blacks and whites. There is no difference between the races in infant mortality in Cuba, which has an overall infant mortality rate lower than in many major cities in the U.S.

Q: What are the prospects for socialism in Cuba and the world today?

A: In Cuba we'll keep fighting for it. In the United States it depends on you. In each country it depends on the will of the people. It can't be imposed from the outside.

No one imposed socialism on us. It was a decision made by us. We recently celebrated the 30th anniversary of this decision. After the victory over the invasion of Cuba launched by the United States at the Bay of Pigs we decided our revolution was to be a socialist revolution.

Determination at May 1 march in Cuba

Continued from front page
school student federations.

"Pa'lo que sea, Fidel" (Whatever it takes, Fidel) stated the banner of the UJC, as well as the headbands of thousands of spirited teenagers. Headbands reading "100% Cuban" and "I'm revolution" were also worn.

Students and young workers from Havana are leading both the agricultural brigades and the assembly of bicycles. More than 120,000 bicycles have been built. The youth are assembling 1,300 a day and aim to reach 3,000 a day. The government has embarked on a program of building hundreds of thousands of bicycles as a means to save imported fuel.

A few days before May Day, the UJC announced that the student federations have signed up more than 250,000 students to join the agricultural brigades and donate 15 days of volunteer labor during their school break in the months of July and August.

The cyclists were followed by a gymnastic presentation by 5,000 children to the beat of a popular merengue band. The march ended with the disciplined contingents of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Territorial Troop Militias.

The day's main speaker was Pedro Ross Leal, general secretary of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) and an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party.

"We are celebrating our May Day," Ross said, "on the 102nd anniversary of that epic event in Chicago that gave birth to these worldwide events of admiration and respect for the martyrs. There, in the belly of the then nascent U.S. empire, they were offered in sacrifice as a symbol of all of the subsequent struggles in defense of the legitimate rights and hopes of the workers."

The march, Ross stated, "is only a portion,

a representative sample, of what is really a plebiscite demonstrating the reaffirmation of support for the revolution by millions of Cubans today.

"This massive demonstration of vitality, enthusiasm, and revolutionary conviction should shut up the spokespeople and lackeys of the enemy. It is an example for the friends who in good faith insist on giving us bad advice. It is also a lesson for those who want to give up, for the fainthearts who are biting their fingernails over the collapse of the socialist governments in Europe and who see no other road except for us to surrender."

Those who consider Cubans worn out can't explain the continued support for the revolution, Ross said. "But the explanation is clear. The people themselves are the protagonists and architects of the revolution."

"For Cuban workers, socialism is and will continue to be the only road for national independence. This is only possible with social justice, with an educated and armed people who are capable of defending themselves. A people who know that they are the masters of their own destiny."

"The imperialists who hypocritically claim to give us lessons on human rights, according to bourgeois standards and guidelines," he said, "are capable of criminally massacring entire peoples."

The union leader pointed out that Washington and other imperialist governments have not given the most minimal amount of aid for "the millions of children who never learned to read, who have no home, who die from malnutrition and curable diseases, who are terribly defenseless in the face of such distressing epidemics as cholera."

In Cuba, Ross said, "the more difficult the situation and problems that we face, the more level-headed, firm, calm, determined, and

courageous we will be, just like our mambises, our Rebel Army, and the men of Cuito Cuanavale." He was referring to the 19th century Cuban independence fighters, those who fought the U.S.-backed Batista regime, and the hundreds of thousands of soldiers who volunteered to defend Angolan independence from South African aggression.

Cubans will demonstrate at work, at school, "and in combat if necessary," Ross concluded, that "I am the revolution. I am independence. I am honor and dignity. I am the strength and the triumph of the revolution."

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'Militant' supporters set target week

BY RONI McCANN

For supporters of the *Militant* the April 27-June 15 international circulation drive is becoming the best way to reach out to unionists, farmers, and youth with the facts and explanation of the world that working people face in the wake of Washington's brutal war and bloody slaughter of the Iraqi people.

Last week the paper featured the "In This Issue" excerpt from special issue no. 7 of the *New International Marxist* magazine. The new issue of the magazine describes how imperialism is marching toward more wars and stumbling toward a world economic depression. Workers and farmers worldwide will more and more be drawn into battle to defend themselves in the face of these twin scourges and fight to take the power to make war out of the hands of the imperialist ruling class.

Militant supporters have set a May 25-June 1 target week in order to step up their efforts to reach out to workers on strike, protests against police brutality, students on college campuses, and demonstrations against city cutbacks with the political perspectives presented every week in the *Militant*. A stepped-up effort is needed to put the drive on schedule. The goal is to sign up 6,100 new subscribers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *L'Internationaliste* and readers of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale* by June 15.

The reports we received this week help highlight the kind of effective outreach that every area can organize for the remainder of the drive.

From Our Mail Bag

Mary Nell Bockman from Charleston, West Virginia, reports that participants in the April 28 rally backing striking Ravenswood Steelworkers wanted to get a copy of a paper that tells the truth about the struggles of working people. Workers bought 10 subscriptions and 80 single copies of the *Militant* along with seven copies of the Pathfinder book *The Eastern Airlines Strike: Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists*.

Just Off the Fax

"*Militant* supporters started the drive here with an intense week of activity," writes James Pearson from Auckland, New Zealand. "April 30 was a national day of action with thousands of workers protesting the Employment Contracts Bill, a proposed antiunion law. *Militant* supporters began the day selling the paper at three plant gates. Another team went to Auckland University

where students were organizing to join the actions." Later in the week supporters traveled south to a dairy and lumber region.

At Waikato University seven students subscribed to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. One student decided to buy the latest issue of *New International* entitled "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism" after subscribing to the *Militant* on a previous visit.

In all, ten subscriptions and 74 copies of the *Militant* were sold along with two issues of *New International* no.8.

Union Members Report

Detroit supporters active in the International Association of Machinists sold seven subscriptions to the paper, including three renewals, along with 12 copies of *The Eastern Airlines Strike* book to coworkers at Northwest Airlines involved in a battle with the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA).

IAM member Mark Friedman reports: "The *Militant* is a central part of our discussions with coworkers about the procompany AMFA raid on the IAM at Northwest, the lessons of the Eastern Airlines strike and continued employer attacks, and Washington's assault on Iraq."



Militant/Marina Strin

Sales at university in Long Beach, California. *Militant* supporters are reaching out in sales drive to discuss with working people and youth a working-class road forward in face of imperialist war and capitalist economic crisis.

Selling the socialist press to unionists

Union	% Sold (Goal)	Sold	Goal	New Int'l	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES							
ACTWU	6%	33	2	30	0		
IAM	17%	65	11	87	2		
ILGWU	1%	90	1	10	0		
IUE	4%	93	4	25	0		
OCAW	7%	42	3	55	0		
UAW	9%	87	8	32	0		
UFCW	7%	143	10	35	0		
UMWA	22%	50	11	19	0		
USWA	37%	46	17	50	1		
UTU	70%	30	21	50	0		
TOTAL	13%	679	88	393	3		
SHOULD BE	29%		194		112		
BRITAIN							
AEU	0%	15	0	11	0		
NUM	13%	8	1	5	0		
RMT	18%	22	4	10	0		
TGWU	13%	8	1	3	0		
TOTAL	11%	53	6	29	0		
SHOULD BE	29%		16		8		
CANADA							
ACTWU	0%	7	0	3	0		
CAW	33%	9	3	10	0		
IAM	0%	14	0	8	0		
USWA	0%	16	0	11	0		
TOTAL	7%	46	3	32	0		
SHOULD BE	29%		14		9		
NEW ZEALAND							
NZEU	0%	4	0	3	0		
NZMWU	4%	10	4	5	0		
FTWU	1%	10	1	3	0		
UFCW	4%	7	3	3	0		
TOTAL	26%	31	8	14	0		
SHOULD BE	29%		9		4		
SWEDEN							
FOOD WORKERS	0%	6	0	0	0		
METAL	0%	5	0	3	0		
TRANSPORT	0%	1	0	1	0		
TOTAL	0%	12	0	4	0		
SHOULD BE	29%		4		1		

Unions listed are: **United States:** ACTWU, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; IAM, International Association of Machinists; ILGWU, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; IUE, International Union of Electronic Workers; OCAW, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; UAW, United Auto Workers; UFCW, United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA, United Mine Workers of America; USWA, United Steelworkers of America; and UTU, United Transportation Union. **Britain:** AEU, Amalgamated Engineering Union; NUM, National Union of Mineworkers; RMT, Rail, Maritime & Transport Workers' Union; and TGWU, Transport and General Workers' Union. **Canada:** ACTWU, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; CAW, Canadian Auto Workers; IAM, International Association of Machinists; and USWA, United Steelworkers of America. **New Zealand:** NZEU, New Zealand Engineers Union; NZMWU, New Zealand Meat Workers Union; FTWU, Food and Textile Workers Union; and UFCW, United Food and Chemical Workers Union. **Sweden:** Food Workers, Svenska Lirsmidsarbetareförbundet; Metal, Svenska Metallarbetareförbundet; and Transport, Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet.

* Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'Internationaliste*.

Washington D.C. protests hit cop shooting

Continued from Page 16

victims into criminals and undermine the solidarity demonstrated between the Latino, Black, and white youth who battled the cops and have spoken out against the abuse and miserable conditions they face. This unity has unsettled the local ruling class and their politicians — Black, white, and Latino. Nicole Pearson, a student at Howard University, said in an interview that, "The media is trying to divide the African American and Hispanic youth. They don't talk about the unity that was on the street. The Black and Hispanic youth are together and we are really mad."

The Mt. Pleasant youth rebellion, sparked by the police shooting, was rooted in and dramatically exposed the constant harassment, victimization, and racist discrimination meted out to the Central American refugees for the past decade.

Moses Ortiz, a Mexican immigrant who has lived in Mt. Pleasant for nine years told the *Post*, "We are oppressed by the police. If you look Spanish or speak Spanish, they're suspicious of you." Fernando, a trade union activist who fled El Salvador in 1984 following death threats, explained in an interview that "[The police] always hassle us. They say, 'Are you legal?' 'Where are your papers?' 'Why don't you speak English?' They think they can always discriminate against us and that we will never do anything about it. We showed them that we can fight."

A 35-year-old Salvadoran refugee said he "fought in the Salvadoran army, for

the U.S. government, for eight years. Then I come here and I have to face racism. Now they're tear-gassing me in my own neighborhood."

Daniel Enrique Gomez is hospitalized in critical condition. He is under police guard. Police did not allow any family member to visit him for three days after the shooting.



Washington, D.C., police arrest youth during curfew imposed by mayor. Protests exposed racist treatment of immigrant workers.

Sales Drive Scoreboard

Areas	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New Int'l*		L'inter*		Total	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Austin, Minn.	50	17	34%	10	3	20	0	2	1	82	21
Phoenix	30	8	27%	10	4	20	7	1	0	61	19
Seattle	89	23	26%	33	4	45	30	3	0	170	57
Price, Utah	50	9	18%	9	1	14	0	2	0	75	10
Pittsburgh	75	12	16%	3	0	40	14	2	1	120	27
Birmingham, Ala.	85	13	15%	8	0	43	11	2	0	138	24
Baltimore	66	10	15%	10	1	31	0	3	0	110	11
Philadelphia	60	9	15%	21	0	56	0	2	0	139	9
San Francisco	135	19	14%	70	9	110	51	5	0	320	79
Morgantown, WV	65	9	14%	5	0	40	0	2	0	112	9
Charleston, WV	60	8	13%	5	0	30	9	2	0	97	17
Detroit	80	10	13%	8	1	40	0	2	0	130	11
Omaha, Neb.	65	8	12%	10	0	18	0	2	0	95	8
Los Angeles	150	18	12%	80	8	124	0	3	1	357	27
New York	200	24	12%	75	15	150	21	15	0	440	60
St. Louis	100	12	12%	5	0	48	0	2	0	155	12
Des Moines, Iowa	98	11	11%	15	3	35	12	2	0	150	26
Houston	65	7	11%	20	3	35	11	2	0	122	21
Cleveland	85	9	11%	10	2	33	0	2	0	130	11
Salt Lake City	105	11	10%	18	4	50	0	2	0	175	15
Chicago	130	12	9%	30	1	70	0	5	0	235	13
Atlanta	70	6	9%	10	0	55	0	2	0	137	6
Twin Cities, Minn.	115	9	8%	15	2	53	13	2	0	185	24
Boston	100	6	6%	25	2	50	0	10	1	185	9
Miami	67	4	6%	25	0	45	0	15	0	152	4
Washington, DC	80	4	5%	13	1	50	22	2	0	145	27
Newark, NJ	110	5	5%	40	6	140	27	10	3	300	41
Greensboro, NC	50	1	2%	10	3	34	7	2	0	96	11
Albany, N.Y.	15	0	0%	2	0	10	0	0	0	27	0
Ft. Madison, Iowa	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
U.S. TOTAL	2,455	294	12%	595	73	1,489	235	106	7	4,645	609
AUSTRALIA	20	0	0%	4	0	25	0	1	0	50	0
BRITAIN											
London	100	9	9%	15	1	90	15	5	0	210	25
Manchester	50	3	6%	5	0	45	8	2	0	102	11
Sheffield	50	2	4%	3	0	75	12	2	0	130	14
Other Britain	0	2	0%	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
BRITAIN TOTAL	200	16	8%	23	2	210	35	9	0	442	53
CANADA											
Vancouver	65	6	9%	15	2	40	12	5	0	125	20
Montréal *	70	5	7%	15	5	75	23	35	3	195	36
Toronto	80	3	4%	30	2	50	16	5	0	165	21
CANADA TOTAL	215	14	7%	60	9	165	51	45	3	485	77
FRANCE	5	0	0%	5	0	5	0	15	0	30	0
ICELAND	30	9	30%	1	0	12	3	1	0	44	12
NEW ZEALAND											
Auckland	40	14	35%	3	1	40	14	1	0	84	29
Christchurch	38	11	29%	1	1	30	4	1	0	70	16
Wellington	38	0	0%	1	0	30	0	1	0	70	0
Other NZ	6	5	84%	1	0	1	0	0	0	8	5
N. Z. TOTAL	122	30	25%	6	2	101	18	3	0	232	50
SWEDEN	35	1	3%	20	2	15	7	3	0	73	10
TOTAL	3,082	364	12%	714	88	2,022	349	183	10	6,001	811
SHOULD BE		879	29%		204		577		52		1713
DRIVE GOALS	3,225			725		1,950		200		6,100	

* Single copies of *New International*; subscriptions to *L'Internationaliste*

Cuban union leaders tour U.S. coalfields

Continued from Page 16

government subsidy. The miners were impressed because in the United States unions represent only 16 percent of the workforce.

Miners described the antilabor laws in this country and the unions' campaign to have Congress pass legislation that seeks to prevent companies from hiring scabs to replace striking workers.

"In the 30 years of the Cuban revolution," Bernal told the miners, "not one antilabor law has ever been passed. The trade unions have a say in all legislation." Bernal explained that because Cuba's factories are not privately owned, workers have a voice in all aspects of the enterprise. "We need unions," he continued, "so workers have a collective voice."

The miners quizzed Bernal about Cuba's electoral process. "Over 80 percent voted in Cuba's recent election," he said. One miner told Bernal how the unions here spend a lot of money to elect people who do not represent them. "We need to have more people vote," he told Bernal.

"Isn't Fidel Castro a dictator?" one miner asked. "Not at all," Bernal responded. "He expresses the aspirations of the people and, moreover, is really a leader who is in touch with the people." Bernal described Castro's frequent surprise visits to worksites to inspect them and converse with workers and administrators.

Prior to the miners' union meeting, Bernal met with Ed Yankovich, president of UMWA District 4. Yankovich gave a letter of welcome to the Cuban delegation that read: "On behalf of the United Mine Workers of America District 4 officers and membership we wish to warmly welcome Joaquín Bernal and Luis Guillermo Abreu to our area and certainly hope that through our common goals of representation of the working man we can begin the normalization of relations between our two countries."

Greetings were also received from West Virginia's governor Gaston Caperton. They were read to an audience of 65 at West Virginia University who came to hear Abreu and Bernal speak on the topic of "Revolutionary Cuba Today."

Abreu told the gathering about the gains of the Cuban revolution. "Everyone receives free health care, quality health care. If you need a heart transplant there is no charge." He described Cuba's family doctor program. One doctor for every 120 families lives and practices in neighborhoods throughout the country. Cuba's infant mortality rate is comparable to that of any developed country. Cubans' life expectancy has gone from 60 years before the 1959 revolution to 76 years

today. "Women can retire at 55 and men at 60," Abreu said.

'Keep up your unity'

While Abreu met with union officials in Morgantown and toured the school system with school superintendent Jack Dulaney, Bernal traveled to Ravenswood, West Virginia, to meet with steelworkers who have been locked out by the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation since November 1990. Union leader Clinton Durst explained the issues that led to the lockout and how the company and government have teamed up to destroy the union. Scabs have kept the plant operating and numerous injunctions have limited picketing and strike activity. However, on April 28, steelworkers and supporters from around the region held a rally of 7,000.

Bernal told Durst that, "we don't have any corporations exploiting us in Cuba. When we work, we work for ourselves, but we can profoundly sympathize with your struggle. If you keep up your unity you can win."

Abreu taught four high school classes in Morgantown, fielding a variety of questions from inquisitive students. "Education is free for all Cubans, all the way through university level," Abreu said. Illiteracy is lower than the United States. Nearly a third of all Cubans are enrolled in the school system. "Before the revolution we had three universities. Now we have 67," Abreu mentioned.

When asked about Cuba's position on the Arab-Persian Gulf war, Abreu said, "We opposed the war and spoke out against it in the United Nations. It was unnecessary and cost many lives."

Bernal and Abreu met with David McQuain, president of the Monongalia County teachers union, and Tom Bloom, Morgantown's deputy mayor. McQuain spoke with pride about the successful 16-day strike of West Virginia teachers in the spring of 1990. He pointed to a graph in *U.S.A. Today* showing that the teachers' strike was the second largest strike that year. McQuain said that it was provoked by years of neglect and stalling by the state government. Through their ability to shut the school system down and win broad community and student support, the teachers were victorious.

The last night of their tour Bernal and Abreu gave a talk and fielded questions from WVU's Institute for Labor Studies class on union administration. Glassworkers, machinists, pipefitters, and other union members kept the Cuban unionists for hours after the class asking questions about Cuba and discussing political developments in the United States. They presented the Cubans with hats,



Militant/Jay Ressler
Joaquín Bernal Camero, head of international relations of Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, speaking in Boston at beginning of U.S. tour.

buttons, and T-shirts from their unions. They also informed the local TV station, which covered the event.

Besides the TV coverage, prominent articles appeared on page 1 of Morgantown's *Dominion Post* and the Clarksburg *Exponent*.

BY PAT WRIGHT

BIRMINGHAM — "We hope for your solidarity," said Abreu at a citywide meeting of about 50 people during the two Cuban trade unionists' tour stop here. "The people of Cuba have no bad feelings towards American workers. We are clear that our struggle is against the system of capitalism," he said. The meeting wrapped up three days of discussions with coal miners, letter carriers and other unionists, students, farmers, and community activists.

At a three hour informal discussion with some UMWA miners in District 20, one miner noted that he had no idea there were unions in Cuba. Another asked whether Cuban President Fidel Castro was isolated in Cuba or whether he could walk the streets freely. Joaquín Bernal Camero answered that Fidel was "of the people" and spent a great deal of his time talking with workers and farmers in the factories and fields. Abreu added, "If Fidel was isolated from the people, he would be dead today." After the meeting, all said they felt enlightened by what they had heard.

Abreu spoke before a meeting of the Western Alabama Farmers Association in Epps, Alabama. His greetings were warmly received as he extended solidarity from workers and farmers in Cuba. One farmer asked Abreu to let Blacks in Cuba know that Blacks in the United States are still oppressed and exploited. They also wanted to know, since Abreu's union organizes sports workers, if

Cuban athletes are treated with special privileges like they are in the United States. Abreu paid close attention during the farmers' meeting and explained in his greetings that the struggle of Alabama small farmers to advance their work bears many resemblances to the challenges of cooperative farmers in Cuba.

The changes in Eastern Europe and their effect on the Cuban economy were central topics of discussion at many of the meetings. Bernal explained, before a meeting sponsored by the Anthropology Department at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, the shortages today due to Eastern European countries not meeting their economic commitments. "But," he added, "Cubans are conserving fuel for the most critical needs of the economy." They are not shutting down schools or hospitals, and are issuing bicycles for transportation in the urban areas, he said.

When asked if Cuba would have to change its political ideology, Bernal said, "Cuba made its own choice of socialism because we feel it's best for us." He pointed out that other Latin American capitalist countries have not even come close to achieving the modest goals in health care and education that Cuba has. "We don't have socialism yet," he continued, "but the commitment to socialism is not reversible."

During the course of the tour, they were asked what was the most important challenge facing Cuban workers today. "The struggle of the Cuban workers is to make the economy strong, to work against difficulties, to make socialism more perfect, and to maintain our conquests," Bernal said.

At the citywide meeting, Abreu explained that although many know about the gains of the Cuban revolution, Cubans are proud to explain what they have accomplished. Reviewing it helps to fight the anti-Cuban propaganda of the United States.

"The mechanisms for race and sex discrimination have been abolished. Blacks and women have more possibilities to advance now than ever before," Abreu explained. "Women are leading at all levels, and actively participate in the defense of the country," he added. "Of the 350,000 union leaders, 49 percent are women," he said.

The union leaders explained that they are in one of the most important periods of the revolution. For the U.S. government, "it is unacceptable to have a country in its zone of influence that is independent and that it does not control," Abreu said. "We were the only country in the United States that took the heroic position against the war in the Persian Gulf."

"We are the focus of the most primitive show of aggression against our country," he said of the U.S. blockade prohibiting trade with Cuba for over 30 years. "We will defend our country under the banner of socialism or death."

The union leaders were also the invited guests at the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice Conference. Introduced at the conference rally, the Cuban union leaders met many labor and community activists.

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Regular price, \$21.95

To Readers Club members, \$16.50

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Demonstration. Join the picket lines every Saturday to demand Gates Must Go! 9:30 a.m. to noon. Parker Center.

San Francisco

Class Series on Socialism. Every Tuesday, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Hog Roast and Picnic. Fundraiser for Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Hear Priscilla Schenk-Marroquin, activist in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, member United Auto Workers. Local 1642, recently returned from tour of Mexico sponsored by the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights. Sun., May 26, 2 - 8 p.m. in Sargent. Donation: \$5. For rides and info. call (507) 584-6792, 433-3461.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Class series on Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism. Sun. May 19, 4 p.m. 191 7th Ave., 2nd floor. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

How to Fight for a World without War and Racism. Class series. Every Thurs., 6:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

CANADA

Montréal

Young Socialists Discussions on the Middle East War. Every Sun., 3 p.m. 6566 boul. Saint-Laurent. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Sydney, Nova Scotia

Malcolm X Speaks. Speaker: David Brown, Young Socialists. Thurs., May 23, 7 p.m. James McConnell Memorial Library. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (902) 562-9829.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Introduction to Socialism Discussions. Every Tuesday, 6:30 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Communist League National Conference. May 31-June 3. Auckland. For more info. contact Communist League branch nearest you listed in directory on page 12.



South Korean regime attempts to diffuse growing protests

South Korean President Roh Tae Woo rammed an amended version of the anti-democratic National Security Law through Parliament May 10 in an attempt to quell massive protests by students and workers against his regime.

The passage of the legislation lasted 40 seconds with no debate allowed. A 30-minute fistfight between members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the opposition New Democratic Party erupted on the floor of Parliament afterward.

The melee reflected the growing political crisis of the U.S.-backed regime since protests began after police beat a student to death April 26.

The new law, while claiming to get rid of the most repressive aspects of its predecessor, still makes it a crime to praise, encourage, or support "any anti-state organization" or to meet and communicate with members of such a group. Lengthy pretrial detentions used to silence dissidents are allowed. There are currently more than 1,200 political prisoners in South Korea who were jailed under the previous National Security Law.

"It is exactly the opposite of what the people wanted," a supporter of Roh's regime said of the new legislation. "It is one more thing that will put oil on the burning fire."

Soviet miners end strike, Kremlin transfers control of coal industry

Miners in the Soviet Union called off their nine-week strike May 10. The strike's end came after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the president of the Russian republic, Boris Yeltsin, agreed to transfer control of more than 50 percent of the coal industry from the central government to Russia. Coal is a primary fuel in the Soviet Union.

Yeltsin appealed to miners after the agreement was reached to end their strike and pledged to give the coal enterprises greater autonomy. He suggested that production quotas imposed by the Kremlin would be dropped in favor of individual enterprises eventually negotiating agreements directly with customers.

The miners' demands were mainly political, calling for an end to the Stalinist Communist Party's domination and for Gorbachev's resignation. Some strike leaders in Siberia were angered by Yeltsin's compromise with Gorbachev and warned that he may have deceived them.

Angolan government declares cease-fire and new accord

The Angolan government agreed to an immediate cease-fire with the U.S.-backed forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) May 1 and announced that an accord to hold elections in 1992 had been reached.

The accord will be signed by President José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi at the end of May. It provides for a United Nations force of 600 to monitor the cease-fire and for a joint military and political commission with UNITA to prepare the elections.

UNITA forces, backed by the United States and the apartheid regime in South Africa, have waged a bloody war to topple the government since 1975.

At a special April congress the governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) officially declared itself a social-democratic party. The MPLA was founded in 1958 and successfully led a popular armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, resulting in Angolan independence in 1975.

Israeli army punishes dead man

The Israeli army canceled an order to demolish the house of a Palestinian who was dead at the time authorities decided to punish him. Demolition of homes is a method of punishment commonly used against Palestinians charged with "security" crimes. The army, however, said it would nevertheless seal off the bedroom of the deceased owner.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, national leader Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 2665. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$5. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Life and Times of Malcolm X. Video. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker: Ernie Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

Why the Fight Against the Free Trade Bill Does Not Advance the Labor Movement. Speaker: Héctor Marroquin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 18, Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Classes: "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism." Speaker: John Hawkins. Sat., May 18, 2 p.m.; Sun., May 19, 10 a.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: Forum, \$5; classes, \$2 each; entire weekend, \$8. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

The Importance of Malcolm X's Ideas for Youth Today. Panel discussion of young people. Sat., May 25. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: Dinner, \$3; program, \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Airline Workers Under Attack. Panel discussion on how to fight back. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Malcolm X and the Struggle for Justice Today. El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Film. Sat., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker: James War-

ren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, member United Steelworkers. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Education is a Right. Panel discussion on cutbacks in education. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Tel: (507) 433-4864.

St. Paul

Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III. Speaker to be announced. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$5. Forum. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

OHIO

Cleveland

Stop Police Brutality. Los Angeles protests against cop violence: an eyewitness report. Speakers: Kibwe Diarra, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cleveland Heights City Council, others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 1863 W 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

TEXAS

Houston

The Legacy of Malcolm X. "Malcolm X Speaks." Recorded speech by Malcolm X. Discussion to follow. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

Socialist Educational Weekend. "Lessons of the Working-Class Fight against Imperialist War, 1939-1945." Session I: Sat., May 25, 7:30 p.m.; Session II: Sun., May 26, 11 a.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Fundraising barbecue: Sun., May 26, 3 p.m. 12217 Dumas. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Meet the Socialist Workers Candidates. Speakers: Patricia Grogan, SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City; Dave Salner, SWP candidate for Salt Lake City Council District 2; Nancy Boyasko, SWP candidate for Salt Lake City Council District 4. Sat., May 18. Open House, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Malcolm X and the Fight against Imperialist Wars. Speaker to be announced. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Autobiography of Malcolm X. Film. Speaker: Meg Hall, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., May 18, 7 p.m. 1586 E. Washington St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

BRITAIN

Manchester

How Working People Can Respond to the Events in Moss Side. Speaker: representative,

Communist League election campaign. Fri., May 17, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Montréal

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Katy Lerougetel, Communist League, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St.-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Vancouver

Cancel the Third World Debt. Niños Deudores (Children of Debt). Film and discussion. Fri., May 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

The Eastern Airlines Strike: Lessons for Labor Today. Speaker: Maggie Trowe, Communist League. Sat., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

SWEDEN

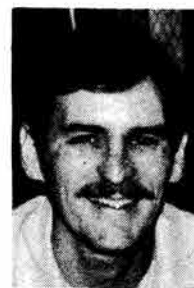
Stockholm

The Present Situation in South Africa. Speaker: Billy Modise, chief representative to Sweden from the African National Congress. Sat., May 18, 2 p.m. Bokhandeln Pathfinder, Vikingagatan 10 T-bana St Eriksplan. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

from *PATHFINDER*

The FRAME-UP of MARK CURTIS A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice 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., \$5.00.

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SWEDEN

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Not to hurry — "WASHINGTON — The Environmental Protection Agency has decided to give the nation's largest public utilities



Harry Ring

up to 21 years to remove dangerous levels of lead from household drinking water." — News item.

A videotape worth many words — Pointing to the widely viewed

videotape of their clients beating Rodney King, a lawyer for the four indicated Los Angeles cops asked for change of trial venue. He cited a poll conducted for the police "union" of 1,000 potential jurors in which 81 percent thought the cops were guilty, 16 percent weren't sure, and 3 percent said not guilty.

A tamperproof box for the chief? — What with the persistent public demand that he get out, Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates met with a representative of Burson-Marseller, the giant PR firm which specializes in "crisis management" and is best known for handling the 1982 Tylenol poisoning scare.

Another cutback — "We don't need another Great Society. ... We need a Good Society." — George Bush.

A thought — As long as we're paring slogans down, how about The Used World Order?

Wanna retch? — A Leningrad cop is in Los Angeles, swapping experiences with his local counterparts, and an L.A. cop will make an exchange visit. At one stationhouse, a report said, "veterans" cheered when the visitor said that in Leningrad, female cops are assigned to desk jobs or juvenile units. "We like

women too much to let them go out on patrol," he said.

P.S. — L.A.-area cops are evaluating the flexible rubber night sticks used in Leningrad which assertedly don't leave bruise marks on suspects.

The more you lose, the more you make — Last year, United Airlines profits dropped 71 percent. Meanwhile, UAL chief Stephen Wolf walked home with total compensation of \$18.3 million, making him the country's top paid boss.

How humanitarian can you get? — During its war there, Washington dumped Agent Orange, na-

palm, and bombs on Vietnam. Now it's offering its first "humanitarian" aid — a fast \$1 million to help pay for artificial limbs.

Sticky wicket — "We can't afford to walk away from Kuwait after investing so much. But we also can't afford to let things continue to disintegrate. Meanwhile, we can't force the emir to do anything. At the moment, we're stuck." — A U.S. policy analyst cited in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Operation Desert Cash — In the first three months of this year, Exxon's profits jumped 75 percent, to \$2.24 billion.

Korea reunification conference held in Australia

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY — "Right after the Gulf War, United States Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney said that 'if you wake up in the morning and hear of a war somewhere in the world — think of Korea.' In fact, on March 6, a U.S. State Department statement named Korea as 'the most likely place for hostilities to break out,' " said Kiyul Chung, the U.S.-based General Secretary of the International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea (ICPRK), at a national conference to launch the ICPRK in Australia.

Held here April 6, the conference was attended by 60 people, including a number of members of the 20,000-strong Korean community in Sydney. Professor Gavan McCormack, well-known academic historian on East Asia from the Australian National University, Canberra; Laurie Ferguson, an Australian Labor Party member of the house of representatives; and Peter Jones, research

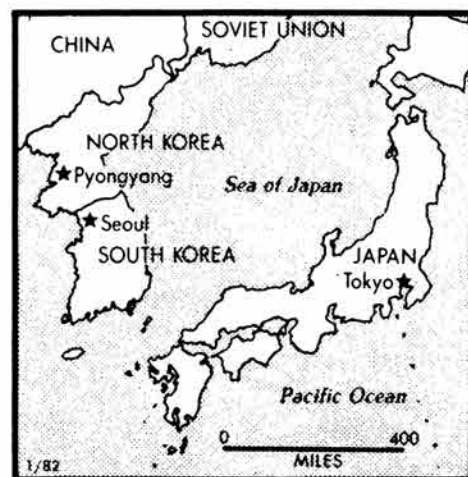
officer for Senator Jo Valentine, were among those on the platform.

Representatives of the Filipino and Aboriginal communities each gave greetings to the conference. Overseas Student Service leaders, Christian student representatives, and individual delegates from Korean solidarity organisations from Melbourne and Brisbane and from the Australian Anti-U.S. Bases Coalition Campaign also participated. A range of individual union officials from the Australian Teachers' federation to the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union also attended.

In his presentation, Chung stressed the importance of the regional conference in establishing an international network of the ICPRK. He pointed out that despite the constant tensions around the demarcation line in Korea and the "constant and real danger of war," including nuclear escalation, that "the issue of Korea is relatively new to the majority of people in progressive movements around the world."

The suppression of the Kwangju uprising, where over two thousand people were massacred by U.S. forces and South Korean troops, "opened up a new dimension in the people's struggle in the South," Chung said. "For the older generation, it has taken 40 years to realize the real face of the United States in Korea."

Yet the Korean War involved "the same vicious crime against a Third World people" as the Gulf war has meant for the Iraqi people. Some 3 million Koreans were killed in the 1950-53 war. In addition to U.S. casualties of 54,000 soldiers, more bombs were dropped on Korea than during the whole European theatre in World War II.



Over 46,000 U.S. troops remain in the South at 42 major military bases. Every year since 1976 the nuclear-equipped Team Spirit war games are conducted for three months. This reflects that the Korean War "has not technically ended" with only a "fragile armistice" which the U.S. government has used as a convenient rationale for maintaining the status quo, including the long U.S. military presence.

Another speaker was Dr. Kim Jin Yeop, a Korean emigrant and Australian citizen, just released from 18 months imprisonment by the Seoul regime for aiding two protesters who crossed the border from North to South Korea. Dr. Kim said that there were over 1,300 political prisoners in South Korean jails, ranging from "farm and labour unionists, through women and student activists to academics and Christians and even politicians."

He pointed out that the regime in the South regards North Korea as an "anti-state organization," including all who live in the North. Therefore any contact between South and North violates national security laws and is punished as such. He was locked up, "not



Victims of 1980 Kwangju massacre in South Korea. The massacre "opened up new dimension in the peoples' struggle in the South," said Kiyul Chung.

because of a few phone calls," but to try to stem the growing momentum for reunification among the 70 million Koreans.

Dr. Kim also pointed to the Kwangju massacre as a turning point in the struggle, explaining how it shattered the anticommunist "propaganda image of the U.S. as heaven and North Korea as hell," and led to "a new realization among the common masses" of who the real enemy is.

"Now that Germany and Vietnam have been reunited, Korea is the one remaining division stemming from World War II," Peter Jones said in his opening comments to the conference. But "despite the geographic location of Australia in the Asia region, there is far less appreciation of the flashpoint of this division and the presence of U.S. nuclear weaponry than there has been over Western Europe." Jones pointed to the Gulf war as being only the second time since the Korean War that the United Nations has been used as cover for the U.S. "global cop." He connected the push to open new uranium mines

in Australia (which has 30 percent of the world's deposits) with the existence of a large and growing nuclear industry in South Korea.

The conference registered an important step in publicizing and building a contingent from this region toward the peace and reunification march to be held in Korea this August. Converging on the North-South border point of Panmunjom, it will follow the first such peace march in 1985 to "break the wall." The expectation is that with this march, as then, any Korean or foreign citizens attempting to cross the border will be arrested and imprisoned. The march organizers are determined to make this a focus of international publicity against the continuing presence of the 150-mile wall which completely divides the Korean peninsula. The wall was built by the southern regime and U.S. occupation forces at a cost of \$3.5 billion. It both symbolizes and perpetuates the explosive national division among the Korean people, which has kept separate the immediate families of 10 million Koreans.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
May 23, 1966 Price 10c

Some forty Iranian students in Hamburg, West Germany, have been on a hunger strike since April 22 to protest the death sentences [in Iran] of three young Iranians — Bodjourni, Khavari, and Hekmatjoo — the Iranian Students Association in the United States reported April 29. The U.S. Iranian students demonstrated the same day in front of the United Nations in protest of the murders. The three young men were defendants, along with 60 others, in two military courts that handed down long prison terms besides the three death penalties.

THE MILITANT
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

May 24, 1941

Roosevelt and Churchill suffered a serious diplomatic reverse when the Vichy government [of France] moved towards closer "collaboration" with Hitler. The real extent of the collaboration has not yet been revealed. It can be assumed, however, that

Hitler's pressure has succeeded in completely tying Vichy to his "new order."

An immediate result of the agreement was the granting of permission for Nazi planes to land in Syria on the way to help the Iraq government fighting against British armies. The British did not hesitate to bomb the Syrian airfields and the probability of a real struggle between French and British forces is becoming ever more serious.

It has not proved such an easy task for the British to suppress the revolt of the Iraqis.

The British imperialists have stored up such hatred for their rule that the idea of utilizing Nazi aid to defeat the British imperialist army is accepted with equanimity by the Arabs, who feel that their main enemy is the enemy that has been actually oppressing them and not the one that might oppress them later.

Naturally the German imperialists are very anxious to lay their hands on Iraq, which contains immense oil resources. The struggle between the two imperialist forces in the Near and Middle East and in North Africa will indeed be a savage one. Control of the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the oil wells in Iraq, are all involved. In this struggle the Nazis are at an advantage because they can pose for the moment as liberators of the Arabs from British oppression.

McDonnell Douglas workers vote down contract again

BY BOB CUSTER AND CAROL LESNICK

LONG BEACH, California — On April 24 unionists at the giant McDonnell Douglas aerospace plant here rejected for the second time a four-year contract offered by the company. United Auto Workers Local 148 members were angered that the company brought back for a vote the same contract 88 percent of the workers turned down a month earlier.

Before the first vote, held at a meeting of 8,000 workers, UAW international officials said that a "no" vote would result in an immediate strike, which they implied would be defeated.

The second vote was held on company property. Instead of one big meeting, the vote was held with smaller groups of workers at various locations in the plant. Some workers came to the meetings wearing black and holding up signs urging a "no" vote.

Many unionists view the proposed wage increases of 3 percent in the first two years and 4 percent in the last two as inadequate. A one-time 4 percent lump-sum payment is also included. While a blow to the union because it replaces pay increases with a simple one-time payment, the bonus is even much lower than those in contracts negotiated at Boeing and at other McDonnell Douglas plants. Provisions in the pact would also lower health benefits and substantially eliminate overtime pay.

The UAW officialdom is divided on the contract vote, with the top UAW officials pushing hard for ratification, saying the contract is "the best we can do." The local's president is opposed to the proposed settlement.

In addition to the contract the U.S. war against the people of Iraq and the cop violence against Rodney King in Los Angeles are also being discussed by union members.

At the April 25 monthly union meeting a motion was adopted to organize Local 148 members to participate in a May 11 Los Angeles demonstration calling for the removal of Police Chief Gates. Some McDonnell Douglas workers participated in earlier anti-Gates demonstrations.

Bob Custer and Carol Lesnick work at McDonnell Douglas and are members of UAW Local 148.

A harbinger of what is to come

Washington had hoped for a quick, clean, easy victory in the war against the Iraqi people. The U.S. rulers thought that by flexing Washington's muscle of military superiority they would bolster their position against their competitors in Germany and Japan, win a subservient regime in Iraq, and strengthen their control of Middle Eastern oil. Whatever their doubts or hesitations, visions of bigger, fatter bank accounts and hardworking submissive workers danced in their heads.

But their dreams of a new world order have become a never-ending nightmare. The millions of refugees created by their war and the ongoing devastation are coming back to haunt them.

The U.S. warmakers have given their predicament a word. They call it the "Q" word — the quagmire. Every step they take, the further they sink into the mud. They debate among themselves and in the pages of the capitalist dailies what to do about it.

Each visit by Secretary of State James Baker to the Middle East in the elusive search of somehow, someday parlaying the U.S.-led slaughter of the Iraqi people into a solution for Washington, has turned into a kind of international comedy played out alongside the unfolding human tragedy.

Working people who oppose the imperialist plans can take advantage of the space that is opened because of the political fiasco for Washington created in the wake of its military adventure in the Gulf.

We must continue to demand that all foreign troops get out of Iraq; that the U.S. borders and the borders of other nations be opened to the Kurds and other war refugees; and that the criminal embargo against the people of Iraq be lifted.

Millions of working people around the world are begin-

ning to see that this war had nothing to do with democracy and moral principles. It was an imperialist war to defend the interests of the ruling rich who, in the face of stiffening interimperialist competition, are driven to war and assaults on working people at home.

The capitalists have their newspapers, television stations, and books to tell the lies that try to convince working people that the war was in our interest.

We need our own working-class publications that can explain the truth about what working people face in the years ahead.

New International No. 7 with the lead article "The Opening Guns of World War III" is such a weapon for fighting workers and youth.

The article explains that the imperialists will drag humanity into more wars and economic crises on a world scale.

The war against the Iraqi people was not a diversion invented by the ruling rich to take workers' minds off problems at home. It was an extension of their war against the standard of living and rights of workers and farmers here. It is a harbinger of what is to come.

Getting this Marxist magazine and subscriptions to the *Militant* into the hands of workers, farmers, GIs, students, and as many people as possible is the single most important thing that any fighter can do.

In the difficult times ahead, the labor movement must chart an independent course to effectively fight to unite the working class to take power out of the hands of the warmongers.

Join us by ordering your bundle of *New International* and the *Militant* today.

Washington, D.C., rebellion

Washington, D.C., officials moved quickly to put down protests against the point-blank shooting of Daniel Enrique Gomez by city cops. They backed up the cops' story despite witnesses who maintain, in face of police pressure to do otherwise, that Gomez was shot while handcuffed and unarmed.

Hundreds of youth protested the shooting in the face of a massive cop deployment, dusk-to-dawn curfew, and police roundups, determined not to let the assault go unanswered.

As in the videotaped beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, and subsequent fight to force the cops' commander in that city out of office, the shooting of Gomez is not an isolated incident.

The labor movement across the country, defenders of democratic rights, and all working people should demand the arrest and prosecution to the full extent of the law of those cops responsible for shooting Gomez. This call can be combined with stepped-up messages urging the removal of Police Chief Daryl Gates from office in Los Angeles as well.

The character of the attack and the response of Washington, D.C., officials shows why this course is needed.

First, the employers use restrictive immigration laws and anti-immigrant roundups to justify the superexploitation of

this layer of the working class in the United States. The rulers depend on creating and perpetuating divisions between working people to boost their profits and defend their class rule. This weakens the entire labor movement and saps its fighting strength.

Secondly, capitalist politicians began cranking out racist propaganda in order to turn the victims — Gomez in particular, but working-class immigrants as a whole — into the criminals. Similar campaigns are launched against unionists who go on strike, fighters defending Black rights, and others who decide to wage a determined struggle for their rights. When the employers or their government are successful in creating a pariah layer — a group supposedly not deserving of rights guaranteed under the law — they can then widen the net even more.

Thirdly, racist and anti-working class brutality in the form of cops' billy clubs and firearms is a daily fact of life across the country. It serves as a daily and mostly arbitrary reminder to working people of the casual brutality the rulers are capable of meting out to defend their system. It is the domestic side of imperialism's wars abroad. Exposing the character and extent of police brutality not only places the labor movement on the side of all working people, but helps push back the government's ability to use their cops against future struggles.

Challenge to New Zealand labor

Working people in New Zealand have been dealt a vicious blow with the passing of the Employment Contracts Act. This law removes the right of unions to cover all workers in a given industry; outlaws attempts to enforce a closed union shop; and removes legal backing of the 40-hour, five-day week.

The hundreds of thousands of New Zealand unionists and their supporters, who took to the streets on several occasions during April in protest against this new law, deserve the support of the labor movement of all countries. The immediate challenge now before unions in the country is to continue the fight against the bosses' and the government's moves to deal more blows in applying the act and to demand its repeal.

The introduction of this law undermining basic union rights is the outcome of a sustained attack on working people over the past decade by the bosses, and by their governments of both the National and Labour parties.

Wages, working conditions, government-paid pensions and other benefit levels, and farm incomes, have all come under increasing attack. New Zealand's economy never recovered from the 1982 recession. Fourteen percent of the workforce — 250,000 people; equivalent to 19 million in a country the size of the United States — is now unemployed. For the indigenous Maori population and immigrant workers from the south Pacific, unemployment levels and social conditions are even worse.

The union officialdom has utterly failed to mount a serious response to this devastation wrought on workers' lives. As New Zealand's capitalist economy has plunged deeper and deeper into crisis, the officialdom's capitulation has emboldened the employers to demand more and more

from working people.

Faced with the prospect of devastation of their dues base with the enactment of the new law, the union tops opened the door a little to protests against the Employment Contracts Bill. The massive response shows both the desire and the determination on the part of hundreds of thousands to resist the ever-widening consequences of the employer-government assault.

This fight by workers in New Zealand holds lessons for workers everywhere.

Conceding to employer demands to make "our" company profitable or to government attacks launched under the guise of "national" interests only results in the further weakening of the labor movement and even bigger setbacks to the already worst-off sections of the working class. Only through the mobilization of all layers of working people — employed and out of work; wage workers and working farmers on the land — in a fight against the rulers' rapacious demands, can a road forward be charted. Every retreat emboldens the rulers more.

Rather than collaborating with the bosses' political parties, labor must embark on an independent course that champions the interests of all working people — both at home and abroad. This includes mounting a fight against assaults on democratic rights, union-busting, cutbacks in social services, and imperialist war.

The decade-long assault and its results show the need for independent political organization — a labor party — based on a mobilized labor movement, to both defend the interests of working people and mount the kind of fight needed to confront the effects of capitalism's wars and social crises.

Washington's role in Kwangju massacre

BY GREG McCARTAN

Hundreds of thousands of youth, joined by working people, have participated in protests over the past weeks across South Korea demanding an end to the repressive policies of the U.S.-backed regime in Seoul. Facing riot police and volleys of tear gas, they are calling for the resignation of South Korean President Roh Tae-Woo as well.

The protests coincide with the eleventh anniversary of the Kwangju revolt of 1980. It was one of the most massive uprisings against the series of regimes in the South installed through bloody terror by Washington following World War II.

In the midst of a broader, countrywide upsurge for democratic rights in early 1980, some 100 people had been

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

killed by police in Kwangju. The regime of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan extended martial law to all of South Korea in response to the protests.

Unable to demonstrate peacefully, the people of Kwangju rose up May 21. Some 200,000 surged through the streets, and many armed themselves. The police and military were forced out of the city, which fell under the control of the demonstrators.

Mass meetings organized by popular committees of residents and students demanded an end to the dictatorship. Having ousted the government's forces, the city quickly became the center of a wider revolt, threatening the regime's control of an even larger area of the country.

On May 27 Chun's military counterattacked, with the backing and blessing of Washington. U.S. Gen. John Wickham, head of the joint U.S.-South Korea military command, released some 8,000 South Korean troops from their regular duties to help put down the rebellion.

Using tanks, helicopters, machine guns, and assault weapons, the regime's forces stormed the city, massacring hundreds. Official government figures put the number killed at 200. Unofficial estimates put the numbers closer to 2,000.

The Kwangju uprising and the events of that year stand as a testimony to the determination of the Korean people to rid the southern part of their country of U.S. imperialist domination and reunify their divided land. They marked a watershed in the decades-long battle of the Korean people for their national liberation.

Moreover, the manner in which the protests were put down demonstrates that the reason Washington maintains 45,000 troops in South Korea is to threaten the population, keep the country divided, and defend imperialist interests on the peninsula.

Although the uprising was crushed, protests over the past decade show that opposition to the U.S.-backed governments continues to run deep in Kwangju. In 1986, 50,000 residents demanding direct elections again filled the downtown plaza, now known as "Democracy Square."

More direct opposition has emerged to U.S. military and economic domination of South Korea. Many residents hold Washington responsible for the Kwangju massacre. And more and more believe that it is U.S. imperialism — in collusion with its surrogates in Seoul — that stands in the way of, and benefits from, the division of their country.

Korea was carved up following the Second World War. U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin agreed to divide the Japanese-occupied country at the 38th parallel, leading to the U.S. occupation of the southern part of the country and the Korean War.

After the 1950-53 war, in which U.S. forces devastated the North but failed in overturning the North Korean government, Washington justified its military presence in the South with claims that North Korea is a belligerent country planning a war against South Korea.

Wall Street's attempt to impose an 'economic miracle' on South Korea, as an example of how capitalism really can develop the impoverished countries in Asia, has only bred widening social polarization, extreme poverty, and denial of democratic rights for working people.

It has also bred a large working class that can organize, resist, and wage even bigger battles in the future against imperialism and the capitalist rulers of the South.

Growing pressure from inside South Korea, the North Korean government, and around the world for the reunification of the country has opened some doors to contacts previously barred by the South. Joint sports teams and cultural events have been held.

Working people around the world, and especially those in the United States, have an opportunity and responsibility to learn about and solidarize with the battle to reunify Korea and the struggles of working people and youth in the South against the repressive governments backed by Washington.

Textile workers hold 1-day walkout at Cone Mills

This column is dedicated to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes

Workers struck to protest the company's unfair labor practices and to demand Cone negotiate a settlement of wages and benefits for textile workers at three of its mills.

More than 65 percent of the work force on first shift at the Granite

fired. For those working 12-hour shifts the limit is six every half year.

The company is also threatening to end health insurance coverage for workers' dependents unless workers agree to a stiff increase in the amount they pay.

All of these company attacks come at a time of increased union activity at Cone Mills. At the Granite plant some 54 percent of the work force of 550 are now union members as opposed to about 30 percent a year ago. There are similar increases in ACTWU membership at Cone's mills in Salisbury and Greensboro.

The company responded to the strike by posting notices threatening those who stayed out with disciplinary action. Write-ups were then handed out the week following the walkout. Supervisors said the notices would not be counted against attendance records since everyone's record was supposedly wiped clean as of April 1. Nevertheless, the forms were placed in personnel files.

Cone singled out several strikers for random drug testing, despite the fact that these workers do not fall in the category of those the company said it will test. One of those singled out for the discriminatory testing is a shop steward who was on the picket line March 30.

Another serious attack against the union occurred at the White Oak

mill in Greensboro, where two union activists were fired on flimsy pretexts.

Discussions at the Granite mill are now turning to the need for workers to stick together, keep the pressure on the company, and beat back the attacks.

Four hundred and fifty meatpackers at Thorn Apple Valley-Frederick division in Detroit, a hog slaughterhouse, voted to accept a four-year extension of their current contract. The contract, approved last year, freezes wages and reduces the 40-hour-a-week work guarantee to 36 hours. The plant is organized by Local 26 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

The vote was 332 in favor and 124 opposed, a 3-1 margin. Key to the contract passage was a \$1,500 lump-sum bonus to be paid on ratification.

Top wages at the plant range from \$8.50 an hour for laborers to \$9.50 an hour for skilled butchers and house mechanics. Workers start at \$5.00 an hour with 50-cent wage increases every six months. Full pay can be reached in 36 months.

Many workers in the plant have not reached the top wage. There is a high turnover due to the brutality of the work, high injury rates, and excessive line speeds.

Low seniority workers, who still

have raises coming, voted overwhelmingly for the contract.

Many high seniority workers thought this was the best contract they could get given the high unemployment rate in Detroit. They felt a four-year contract would provide "job security." There was also the feeling that "you couldn't fight the company and win."

Heated discussion has taken place over the contract. Some meatpackers explained that the \$1,500 could not possibly keep up with inflation; what was needed was a wage increase instead.

Henry Dorfman and his family, owners of Thorn Apple, reported net earnings of \$10.1 million on sales in the last six months of 1990. Thorn Apple stock — 70 percent of which is owned by the Dorfman family — rose to \$30 a share following the contract ratification. It stood at \$22 a share the day of the vote.

One kicker to the bonus: a worker must not leave the company for any reason within the first year or the bonus must be paid back. The bosses state they have a "right to recover any unearned bonus money by whatever legal means."

Devin Oldendick, a member of ACTWU Local 1113T in Haw River, North Carolina; and Lea Sherman, a member of UFCW Local 26 in Detroit, contributed to this column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, or attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with steep takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that, too.

Members of Local 1113T of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) held a one-day walkout March 30 at the Cone Mills Granite Finishing Plant in Haw River, North Carolina.

LETTERS

Cuba & human rights-I

I read with shock and incredulity Albert Fried-Cassorla's attack on Socialist Cuba's human rights record and the honesty of the *Militant* in your April 26 letters column. Before dashing off his letter Mr. Cassorla should have considered the source of his "information." The *New York Times* is not exactly a source of unbiased news about revolutionary Cuba.

In 1988 the U.N. Human Rights Commission carried out an extensive investigation of human rights abuses in Cuba and was unable to find any evidence of human rights violations. In spite of these findings, the U.S. has continued to wage a slander campaign.

In 1990 several Cuban citizens were arrested for aiding the slander campaign. They were members of a "human rights group" funded and organized by the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba.

It seems that Mr. Cassorla would approve of a peaceful revolution and a nonrepressive workers' and farmers' republic. Unfortunately, no such thing is possible; if one accepts socialism, then one must accept the struggle to win and defend the revolution.

Here in the United States, we have democracy for the rich and dictatorship for the rest of us. I don't see why a socialist should object to the Cubans reversing the rules — democracy for the workers and farmers and dictatorship against the exploiters and their agents.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Cuba & human rights-II

I'm writing in response to a letter on Cuba and human rights in the April 26 *Militant*.

As a Cuban-American and as a former follower of these so-called human rights groups, I can tell you that for the most part these groups are either fronts of, or in alliance with, reactionary groups which have for years used the human rights issue as a smokescreen for their political and economic self-interest.

These are groups which together with the U.S. press (yes, including the *New York Times*) and the reac-

tionary Cuban-Miami press have over the years distorted the truth about human rights violations in Cuba.

These are the same organizations that have assaulted people at Cuba-related cultural and political events; bombed a Cuban art exhibition in Miami; made a cult hero out of Orlando Bosch, a Cuban exile terrorist whose bomb in 1973 killed over 70 Cuban men and women; and picketed Nelson Mandela.

Do I need to say more?

It is true that human rights violations have occurred and do occur in Cuba. However, compared to human rights violations in other countries (including the United States) Cuba's violations are relatively mild.

Given the past history of U.S. and counterrevolutionary collaboration in acts of sabotage, air strikes, and invasions; given the past and present hypocrisy and cynicism of these so-called human rights groups and their allies, there is little doubt that their aim is neither democracy nor human rights, but rather the destruction of the island's socialist system.

It is within this context that the Cuban government, with the consent and cooperation of the people, had to adopt and maintain a defensive posture.

If we want a more relaxed posture from Cuba, we should relieve their anxieties by demanding an end to all hostilities on the part of Washington and an end to the trade and travel embargo.

Juan Luis
Hoboken, New Jersey

Pure dynamite

I am very grateful for all the past copies of your very informative newspaper. I pass them down to other interested people in here. You would not believe the amount of readers.

Your articles are pure dynamite and a fresh view of world situations. It's amazing how the mainstream of news in the U.S. is so tilted toward our government and special interests.

If it is not a financial burden on you, I hope that my subscription can be extended somehow.

A prisoner
Soledad, California



Nicaragua important

I am writing to you to express my disappointment at the closure of your Managua office and the subsequent drop-off in your coverage of the Central American region.

It is very difficult in the United Kingdom to get up-to-date and accurate coverage of this important region. Your supportive but critical position on the Sandinistas made a welcome change from the uncritical line taken by our solidarity groups.

Despite the election setback, there is still a large base of progressive organizations struggling to hold on to the gains made during the period of Sandinista rule. Nicaragua is still an important country in the front line against U.S. imperialism and I feel that the *Militant* should still be reflecting this.

Your September 1990 *International Socialist Review* article on the reasons for the Sandinista defeat was invaluable, but the struggle continues for tens of thousands of politicized and militant Nicaraguans and their voices still need to be heard.

P.S.
Sussex, England

Prisoner Fund

Your Prisoner Fund program is an excellent idea. I expect 98 percent of the prisoners in this country are working-class people. Our nation has the largest prisoner population in the world, according to an article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. Thank you for reaching out to the victims of the capitalist state. Enclosed is \$10 for the Prisoner Fund.

J. B.
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Korean reunification

Kyung Hyun Kim, a South Korean student and leader of the Oberlin-Korean Student Alliance, spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in Cleveland and showed a powerful video, *Until Daybreak*.

The video was made illegally in South Korea. It shows images of hundreds of thousands of student and worker protesters marching, battling police brutality, and reaching out from the screen with their message: "For Reunification of Korea! Down with the Dictatorship!"

Workers depicted in the film found an eloquent voice in the person of one fighter who spoke bandaged from head to foot because of

burns received on the job, as his boss stood over him saying, "Let him burn to death."

"The government of South Korea is not in favor of reunification, the capitalist class is not, and even my father is not," said Kyung. "They call us communists and say we are anti-Korean. To the contrary, I care very much about Korea and consider myself a Korean nationalist."

Until Daybreak is available from the Korean Cultural Network in New York City. Call (212) 533-6229.

Marty Pettit
Cleveland

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

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

Washington, D.C., protests hit cop shooting of construction worker

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In response to the brutal cop shooting of an unarmed detainee, hundreds of Latino, Black, and white youth battled police for over six hours on the evening of May 5 in the Mt. Pleasant section of Washington, D.C., two miles north of the White House. The rebellion continued for a second day on the evening of May 6, spreading to the adjacent area of Adams-Morgan.

The Democratic administration of Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon responded to the protest by mobilizing over 1,000 police, arresting 150 people, declaring a state of emergency, and imposing a 7:00 p.m.–5:00 a.m. curfew over a four-square-mile area of the city. On May 9, Dixon lifted the curfew following broad community opposition, although the state of emergency, heavy police presence in Mt. Pleasant and Adams-Morgan, and arbitrary arrests have continued.

The catalyst for the confrontation was the early evening shooting of Daniel Enrique Gomez, a 30-year-old construction worker from El Salvador who has lived in D.C. for two years.

Gomez had entered Don Juan's, a popular Mt. Pleasant restaurant that does not serve alcoholic beverages. He was holding a beer. Along with two friends he asked the owner if he could finish his drink before being served, but was asked to do so outside. The three walked to a park across the street. Minutes later Gomez lay in the street bleeding profusely from a single shot in his chest. Witnesses claim nearly 30 minutes passed before an ambulance arrived.

Angela Jewell, the cop who shot Gomez, alleges he pulled a knife and lunged at her after the three men were arrested on a charge of drinking in public. Her story was backed by the three other cops present at the time of the shooting, which took place at around 7:30 p.m.

Witnesses dispute cops' story

The cops' account is vigorously disputed by as many as 15 eyewitnesses from the community who say Gomez was handcuffed and defenseless when he was shot at point-blank range.

Jorge Urizar, a 36-year-old refugee from Guatemala, witnessed the entire confrontation from another restaurant across the street from the incident. Urizar told the *Washington Post* that a police lieutenant questioned his account that Gomez was handcuffed, claiming contradictory testimony from "other witnesses."

"You want me to change my mind? I'm not," Urizar said he told the police. "I am certain he was handcuffed." Asked by a *Post* reporter if Gomez had knife, Urizar said, "That's a lie. They tell me about a knife. I never saw a knife. Absolutely not."

The *Post* also interviewed a waitress at Don Juan's restaurant who supported Urizar's account. Two other witnesses said Gomez was already handcuffed when shot.

Immediately following the shooting, dozens of Latinos gathered where Gomez had been gunned down. By then many additional police had been rushed to the scene. Scott Hollenbach, a 32-year-old accountant, described the police response. "Instead of talking to these people, [the police] started to beat them," he said. It was then that "all hell broke loose. Bottles started to fly. The police just handled it awful. They didn't say anything to these people."

Protests demand justice

By 9:00 p.m. hundreds of people, including Black and some white youth, began chanting in Spanish and English, "Justice! Justice!" The youth drove the police off Mt. Pleasant Street, the main road in the neighborhood where Gomez was shot, with a constant torrent of bricks and bottles. Within minutes six police vehicles, including a patrol



Washington, D.C., mayor declared state of emergency, mobilized more than 1,000 cops, and imposed 7 p.m.–5 a.m. curfew in response to rebellion.

wagon, were set afire and destroyed. By the end of that night's battle an additional 60 police vehicles were damaged. Crowds gathered on the sidewalks and residents peering out of the windows from high-rise tenements cheered and aided the youth as they repulsed the cop attack.

During the first night of the rebellion, little damage was done to area businesses as the anger of the youth was directed at the police.

On May 6, over 1,000 cops were mobilized in the Mt. Pleasant and Adams-Morgan areas. By twilight several hundred young people had gathered, including Black youth from adjacent neighborhoods. As they began to march down Mt. Pleasant St. they were confronted by dozens of cops in full riot gear. A police cruiser drove into the middle of the crowd. Police fired dozens of rounds of tear gas which enveloped the entire neighborhood.

Running battles between smaller groups of youth and the police went on for six hours, spreading to the adjacent Adams-Morgan business district. Many more businesses were hit by small groups, with some 30 stores reporting damage, including several instances of looting.

Curfew to 'restore law and order'

Also on May 6, Mayor Dixon announced the 7:00 p.m.–5:00 a.m. curfew and said police tactics would shift to direct attacks and mass arrests in order to "restore law and order by any means necessary." Dixon had come under attack from right-wing and liberal quarters for the "containment" tactics employed by the police on May 5.

No elected or appointed city officials criticized the draconian curfew measures.

Dixon also attempted to restrict news coverage of the rebellion, making use of the precedent of censorship imposed on reporters by the Pentagon during the U.S. war against Iraq. The mayor's office sought to limit coverage to "pool reports" by a select few who would only be allowed in the area of the rebellion under tightly controlled police escort. Executives of all print, radio, and TV outlets immediately rejected the idea and it was dropped.

William J. Carroll, director of the Washington district of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) confirmed reports that INS agents were working with city police in identification and "background checks" of those arrested and held in custody. He threatened formal inquiries and deportations for detainees found to be "illegal aliens," as well as those with legal status. Carroll told the *Post*, "That could happen. It may happen."

At a May 9 meeting with students at a predominantly Latino high school in Mt.

Pleasant, Dixon was barraged with complaints about school and community conditions and the lack of summer job opportunities. Asked repeatedly about the reports of INS collaboration with the police, she denied the city government had asked the INS for assistance.

On May 8, several hundred people attended a meeting at the Latin American Youth Center near Mt. Pleasant. The composition of the crowd inside was relatively older while hundreds of youth stayed around outside. The meeting was addressed by a number of elected officials, Jesse Jackson, and several community figures. Jackson urged people to stay in their homes and find a more "constructive" way to "air your grievances."

'Not an isolated incident'

José Ramos, director of the highly respected Central American Refugee Center, which aids and defends the rights of immigrant workers, stated that the shooting of Gomez was "not an isolated incident. The harassment of us by the police is the norm. We demand an independent investigation. We demand that all who were arrested be freed."

Since the early 1980s tens of thousands of working people from Central America fleeing U.S.-backed military regimes and worsening economic conditions in El Salvador,

Guatemala, and Honduras have settled here. The largest concentration of these refugees is in the Mt. Pleasant area. Central Americans make up some 30 percent of Mt. Pleasant's population; largely working-class Blacks make up 35 percent.

Unemployment is high among the Central American immigrants who find themselves near the bottom of the city's recession-wrecked economy. Salvadoran and other Central Americans predominate in low-paying jobs in the large hotel and restaurant industry here. Many, like Daniel Enrique Gomez, have worked in the depressed construction industry.

Class polarization and tensions in the area have increased in recent years with the influx of more affluent layers, including many young white collar workers and professionals, who make up 35 percent of the population. Rents have increased dramatically in the past decade, with many Latino and Black families living in high-priced, overcrowded tenements.

Mt. Pleasant Street, the center of the rebellion, highlights this polarization. An article in the May 9 *Post* stated, "[Mt. Pleasant Street] divides poorer residents — largely Hispanic and black people — who live in apartments to the east from more affluent homeowners, mostly white and black residents, who occupy the gentrified row houses and stately Victorians to the west... The juxtaposition of living conditions can be jarring... The class tensions and competing world views in Mt. Pleasant bubbled to the surface this week."

Racist campaign

The social explosion of May 5 and 6 has brought out a racist anti-immigrant and anti-Latino campaign fueled by elected officials — both Black and white, as well as liberal and conservative newspaper columnists, radio talk-show hosts, and TV commentators.

Democratic City Councilman H.R. Crawford, who is Black, said, "If they don't appreciate our country, get out." Liberal *Post* columnist Courtland Milloy, also Black, referring to "my Hispanic neighbors," wrote: "They make me feel like white people must have felt when sharecropping blacks brought their country ways to the neighborhood of the northern cities... some of their social customs are woefully out of place downtown. They are contributing to serious health, traffic, and crime problems in the city."

The aim of this campaign is to turn the

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Cuban trade union leaders tour Appalachian coalfields

BY BERNIE SENTER

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — Two leaders of Cuba's trade unions found a warm and welcome response as they toured through the Appalachian coalfields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania May 5–7.

Joaquín Bernal Camero and Luis Guillermo Abreu Mejías met with coal miners, steelworkers, union officials, students, and elected public officials.

Bernal is a member of the national secretariat of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), Cuba's labor federation. He is the head of international relations for the union. Abreu is the general secretary of the National Union of Workers in Education, Sciences, and Sports — Cuba's teachers' union.

Bernal and Abreu are in the United States for one month to learn more about the labor movement here and to discuss the progress and challenges facing the Cuban revolution.

The tour through Appalachia was hosted by West Virginia University's Institute for Industrial Labor Relations and the Council of International Programs.

This is the first time in over 30 years that Cuban labor leaders have been allowed by the U.S. State Department to tour the United States speaking to audiences.

Meeting with mine workers

Bernal attended a membership meeting of the United Mine Workers of America Local 1980 in Carmichaels, Pennsylvania. After the meeting he discussed with miners how Cuba's unions are organized.

"We have 97 percent of Cuba's workers voluntarily organized into unions," he told the miners. He explained that Cuba's 74,000 union locals are independent of the government — funded by the members without taking dues money from paychecks and without

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