

## Civil war breaks out in Yugoslavia

### Rivalry among imperialist powers sharpens

BY SETH GALINSKY

Civil war has broken out in Yugoslavia. Undeterred by warnings from the U.S. government and its European allies, the Slovenian people beat back attacks by the Yugoslav Army. Fighting also escalated in Croatia, which parallel to Slovenia is struggling for self-determination.

The opening of civil war in Yugoslavia sent shock waves through the governments of Western Europe and highlighted the deepening imperialist rivalries between Washington, Paris, and London on one side, and Germany and Austria on the other.

Slovenia, in northwest Yugoslavia, borders Italy, Austria, and Hungary. As of July 6, some 35 soldiers of the Yugoslav Army and 5 Slovenian militiamen had died since the Slovenian government formally declared independence June 25. One Croatian official said that the dispute between Croatia and neighboring Serbia will make the fighting in

Continued on Page 6



Yugoslav federal forces dispatched to Croatia

## Young Socialists build August convention

BY ANGEL LARISCY

CHICAGO — National Committee members and other leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) met here June 30 to discuss their central task for the next five weeks: organizing and building the YSA's 27th national convention, August 9-11 at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio.

YSA leaders from 30 cities in the United States attended the meeting. Young socialists from Australia, Britain, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden also participated.

The convention will feature eyewitness reports from Cuba and South Africa. Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International* magazine, will speak on the challenges facing the Cuban revolution today. She will have just returned from a *Militant* reporting trip to Cuba.

Derek Bracey, YSA national organizational secretary, and Greg McCartan, editor of

the *Militant*, are currently in South Africa reporting on the historic conference of the African National Congress. McCartan will speak at the convention on the unfolding battles to dismantle the racist apartheid system.

The Young Socialist Alliance is a nationwide revolutionary organization of students and young workers. The YSA seeks to organize young people in the fight against wars, economic devastation, racism, sexism, and the system that breeds them, capitalism.

"At the convention we will be discussing the big questions in world politics, from the unfolding civil war in Yugoslavia to the fight of the Palestinian people for self-determination, to the drive of capitalism toward war and depression," YSA National Chairperson Greg Rosenberg told the meeting.

Delegates at the convention will discuss and vote on political reports outlining the

organization's tasks and will elect a new National Committee. Convention participants will also attend classes and workshops.

The YSA leadership meeting followed on the heels of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) national convention, also held here. More than 100 members of the YSA attended the SWP convention. Dozens of other youth participated, five of whom decided to join the YSA at the gathering.

YSA leaders projected working with the SWP to reach out to fighters in the struggles taking place today — from joining picket lines, to participating in actions defending abortion rights, protesting police brutality, or in support of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Members will circulate the *Militant* at these activities and will help to build *Militant* Labor Forums and YSA classes.

The fight to win parole for Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist in Iowa framed-up by the police for his defense of immigrant coworkers, will be at the center of the YSA's activities, YSA leaders explained.

## African National Congress elects new leadership

BY RUTH HASWELL  
AND GREG MCCARTAN

DURBAN, South Africa — Fifty thousand people at King's Park Stadium here gave a tumultuous welcome July 7 to the newly elected leadership of the African National Congress.

The event came at the end of the ANC's five-day 48th National Conference, the first

See additional coverage of  
ANC gathering on page 10.

such meeting held in South Africa in more than 30 years.

Singing freedom songs and chanting slogans, the overwhelmingly young crowd cheered and saluted the leadership. Rally participants, mainly from surrounding Natal Province, also included conference delegates, international guests, and people from across the country who filled buses to get here.

The rally was adjourned early in order for residents of nearby townships to arrive back home by nightfall, so as to be less vulnerable to attacks by government-backed vigilante squads. Several groups of ANC supporters were assaulted on their way to and from the rally.

Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, elected president and national chairperson of the ANC respectively, reported on the conference's decisions and introduced the liberation organization's National Executive Committee (NEC) and the six national officers elected by the 2,200 conference delegates in a secret ballot.

Because the regime has denied Blacks fundamental democratic rights, including the right to vote, and has blocked the development of a true nation through the imposition of apartheid, the ANC is the "parliament of the people," Mandela said in his address. The conference was the most "representative gathering in the history of our country" since the broadly attended Congress of the People, which was held in 1955 and adopted the Freedom Charter.

"As far as the majority is concerned our  
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#### "African National Congress Crosses a Bridge"

by Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant* newspaper, attended July ANC national conference in Durban, South Africa  
Friday, August 9, 7:30 p.m.

#### "Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution Today"

by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International* magazine, just returned from reporting trip to Cuba  
Saturday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.

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For more information: call the YSA nearest you (see page 12), or write YSA, P.O. Box 211, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8422.

## U.S. threatens military strike on Iraq

BY JAMES HARRIS

U.S. President George Bush has stepped up threats of renewed U.S. military attacks on Iraq.

Washington charges that Iraq is violating the United Nations Security Council resolution that ordered Iraq to accept UN inspection of military sites and destruction of facilities that allegedly have nuclear weapons-making capabilities.

When asked what the United States planned to do to end the "violations," Bush told reporters to "stay tuned."

According to the *New York Times* an unnamed administration official stated, "Don't read that we are going to war tomorrow, but do read that we are not going to tolerate them trying to hide their nuclear capabilities. . . . What you are hearing now are some very clear messages to the Iraqis that we will not tolerate their keeping this stuff, and we have established a pretty good track record with

them of doing what we say."

On June 28 Iraqi soldiers fired over the heads of UN inspectors, driving them away from a truck convoy they were attempting to inspect. It was one of several occasions in which Iraqi soldiers refused to allow inspections to take place.

Since the shooting incident, however, the Hussein regime issued a statement ordering "all responsible authorities to cooperate in full with the United Nations."

Washington began orchestrating the current campaign against Iraq June 26, when it showed spy photographs to the UN Security Council. The administration claimed these pictures were proof that Iraq was hiding nuclear weapons-making machinery.

The Security Council issued a unanimous statement ordering Iraq to immediately allow inspection of the equipment.

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# Supreme Court deepens assault on rights

BY JAMES HARRIS

In two separate decisions handed down June 27, the U.S. Supreme Court delivered sharp blows to democratic rights.

In one case, the court ruled that testimony on the impact of a murder on the family of the victim is admissible evidence during sentencing. In the other, the court upheld a life-without-parole sentence for a man convicted of possessing 1.5 pounds of cocaine.

The two decisions are part of a sustained assault by the Supreme Court on previous legal precedents that reinforced the Bill of Rights and other constitutional protections.

In the case of *Payne v. Tennessee*, Pervis Payne was convicted of killing a mother and one of her two children and sentenced to death. He appealed on grounds that references to the victims' family violated his constitutional rights. A 1987 Supreme Court ruling, *Booth v. Maryland*, had prohibited the use of victim-impact evidence. The June 27 Supreme Court ruling upheld the conviction and death sentence of Payne in a 6-3 decision.

During the sentencing phase of Payne's trial, the prosecutor placed the victim's mother on the stand. She testified that her

grandson "cries for his mom." The prosecutor told the jury that "there is something you can do" for the little boy.

In *Harmelin v. Michigan*, the court upheld in a 5-4 decision the life-without-parole sentence of Ronald Harmelin for possession of 1.5 pounds of cocaine. Harmelin argued that his sentence was disproportionate to his crime and that this constituted "cruel and unusual punishment," which is a violation of the 8th Amendment to the Constitution.

## Louisiana law severely restricts abortion

... we declare it to be a reasonable and proper exercise of the police power of the state to prohibit and otherwise reasonably regulate, through the imposition of criminal penalties, the performance of abortions...

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

These words are taken from the antiabortion bill adopted by the Louisiana state legislature. The bill became law June 18 when legislators overrode the veto of the state's governor.

The court ruled that the category of "cruel and unusual punishment" only applies to the death penalty. It also decided that Harmelin possessed enough cocaine to warrant the life sentence.

In its recent session the court drove to overturn earlier precedents that protected democratic rights and imposed some limitations on the power of the courts and the police. Commenting on the court's course, Chief Justice William Rehnquist said that

following precedent is at an "acme in cases involving property and contract rights." But, he said, "the opposite is true in cases... involving procedural and evidentiary rules."

Thurgood Marshall, who resigned from the Supreme Court June 27, responded that Rehnquist's statement was "a clear signal that essentially all decisions implementing the personal liberties protected by the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment are open to re-examination."

The law is the most restrictive in the United States. Unlike laws passed in Utah and Guam over the past year, the Louisiana law makes no provisions for allowing abortions when a woman's health is threatened by her pregnancy.

In outlawing abortion, the measure makes few exceptions. A physician can terminate a pregnancy "in order to save the life or health of the unborn child or to remove a dead unborn child," according to the law. A doctor can also carry out an abortion to save the life of the woman.

Stiff restrictions apply to victims of rape or incest who seek abortions.

To qualify for an abortion, the law says a rape victim must be examined by a "physician other than the physician who is to terminate the pregnancy within five days of the rape to determine whether she was pregnant prior to the rape..." The rape victim must also report the crime to the cops within seven days. The abortion must be performed within the first 13 weeks of pregnancy.

Victims of incest must also make a report to law enforcement officials within seven days and terminate their pregnancy within 13 weeks.

Harsh penalties apply for physicians who perform abortions not covered by the exceptions. "Whoever commits the crime of abortion shall be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than one nor more than ten years and shall be fined not less than \$10,000 nor more than \$100,000," the legislation stipulates.

Opponents of abortion rights hope to push the Louisiana legislation through to the U.S. Supreme Court as a test case for overturning the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision

that legalized abortion.

"I am anxious that this case reach the U.S. Supreme Court as soon as possible," said William Guste, Jr., Louisiana's attorney general. "We believe that this law will be found to be constitutional and *Roe v. Wade* will be overturned."

Restrictive abortion laws in Pennsylvania, Utah, and Guam are now under appeal and are also headed for possible review by the Supreme Court.

Following its adoption, the Louisiana law was challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union. Its enforcement was delayed until review by a federal judge this month.

Representatives from abortion clinics throughout Louisiana reported receiving calls from women concerned they would be unable to obtain abortions.

"We actually had one patient in tears asking us how she could abort herself," said Esther McGuire, director of the Delta Women's Clinic, one of two abortion clinics in Baton Rouge.

"That is what this law is all about, intimidating women and driving them to unsafe actions."

Meanwhile, the U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation on June 26 to bar the Bush administration from enforcing regulations prohibiting federally financed family planning clinics from discussing abortion with their patients. In May, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the regulations.

It is unlikely, however, that legislation could get through the Senate and to Bush before Congress adjourns in August. Should the legislation make its way to the White House, the Bush administration has maintained it would veto the bill.

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### The Militant

Closing news date: July 8, 1991

Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Business and Circulation

Director: RONI McCANN

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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. New Zealand, Asia, Pacific Islands: Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia.

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

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The *Militant* is proud to announce that an edition of the paper is now being printed in New Zealand. The New Zealand edition is circulated throughout the South Pacific region.

This marks an important step forward in bringing the socialist newsweekly to this part of the world, where the great distance from the New York office makes shipping bundles of newspapers extremely expensive.

The *Militant* is printed in New York each Tuesday. Bundles are then immediately flown out to volunteer distributors around the globe, who begin sales by the weekend, getting out a working-class viewpoint on current world issues in a timely way.

To help defray the enormous shipping costs, New Zealand supporters of the *Militant* have organized to print the paper locally. Each Tuesday, a special set of negatives of the *Militant* pages is made in New York, and the films are shipped by plane to New Zealand.

On Friday morning, after the flight skips a day crossing the international date line, the films arrive in Auckland. They are immediately transferred to a domestic flight to Wanganui, a small city 300 miles to the south, where the paper is printed. Shortly after 5:00 p.m. the paper is back in Auckland and ready for national and international distribution.

Volunteers in Auckland assemble to wrap and mail hundreds of subscriptions around New Zealand, and to the Philippines; Papua, New Guinea; Fiji; Vanuatu; New Caledonia; and Western Samoa.

A bundle is air-freighted from Auckland to Sydney, Australia, where supporters mail out subscriptions across that country.

In June, rallies were held in Auckland and Sydney to celebrate the launching of the *Militant's* Pacific edition. Some \$3,000 was pledged toward the cost of the operation. To

help get the *Militant* around the South Pacific, readers may send contributions to the Militant Pacific Fund, P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.



Militant Worker in New Zealand stripping up film of *Militant* pages to prepare for printing.

## We're back!

The *Militant* resumes publication with this issue after a two-week shutdown to enable staff members to participate in the 36th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party (coverage to be featured in next week's issue).

The break in our publishing schedule will not affect the number of issues subscribers receive.



# Bush hosts South Korean President Roh

## U.S. rejects North Korean initiative on inspection of nuclear weapons, facilities

BY PETER THIERJUNG

South Korea's President Roh Tae Woo met with U.S. President George Bush in Washington, D.C., July 2.

The White House used the occasion of the meeting to reject North Korea's initiatives on the inspection of nuclear facilities in the North and South, and toward establishing the Korean peninsula as a nuclear free zone.

The U.S. and Japanese governments have pressed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK-North Korea) in the last few months to allow international inspection of facilities that Washington and Tokyo claim will eventually produce nuclear weapons.

U.S. officials assert this issue is the most serious security problem facing East Asia. The big-business press in the United States has gone so far as to label North Korea a "renegade state" and the "most dangerous country in the world."

This slander campaign aimed at politically and economically isolating the DPRK has also been echoed by the Soviet government, which has threatened to cut off all nuclear supplies and cooperation with North Korea unless it agrees to international inspection.

North Korea has rejected the charges. Li Yong Ho, the disarmament chief for the DPRK's foreign ministry, told a United Nations conference in Kyoto, Japan, at the end of May, that his country had "no will to possess nuclear weapons." He explained that North Korea is not capable of developing them and stressed that his country had no need for them.

"One cannot reunify one's nation by use of nuclear weapons if it is one's ultimate aim," Li said. "What we want is the reunification of a living nation and not the merger of a barren land where a nation has been exterminated."

The North Korean government has responded to Washington and Tokyo's slander campaign by pointing out that the real nuclear threat in Korea comes from the more than 1,000 nuclear weapons and 45,000 U.S. troops deployed in the South.

A June 10 statement signed by 20 political parties and organizations in North Korea explained that their government had declared "more than once" that "it is ready to sign the Nuclear Safeguards Accord any time according to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and that it does not oppose nuclear inspection."

"If nuclear inspection should be made," the statement continued, "it must not be forced upon us, who have no nuclear weapons, alone. The U.S. nuclear bases in south Korea must be opened to the public, and international inspection of them [must] be made at the same time."

Some 1,000 prominent political figures and dissidents in the South concurrently issued a "1,000-Man Declaration for the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" supporting simultaneous inspection.

"If the United States is truly interested in the removal of the danger of nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula, it should take a decisive step, first of all, to allow inspection of its nuclear weapons in south Korea and withdraw them," the declaration said.

North Korea is planning to send a delegation to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna this month to negotiate an inspection agreement with the aim of having it signed in September.

Popular opposition in Korea and throughout Asia to the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in the area, the end of the Cold War, and North Korea's long-standing campaign for a Korea free of nuclear weapons recently prompted Washington to review its policy. According to the July 3 *Washington Post*, "U.S. officials have been debating for months a possible shift in deployment of nuclear weapons in South Korea."

The debate has been reflected in the big-business press. In April and early June, the *New York Times* editors called on the Bush administration to take the initiative "by withdrawing a few American nuclear weapons from the Korean peninsula."

But statements by Bush and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made during Roh's visit to Washington have apparently ended any debate on North Korea's proposals on in-

spection. In a meeting with South Korean officials who accompanied Roh, Baker stated flatly that Washington opposed linkage between U.S. and North Korean actions on nuclear weapons.

At their White House meeting, Bush and Roh repeated "concerns" about North Korea's alleged nuclear weapons program. According to Assistant Secretary of State Richard Solomon, Bush reaffirmed "firm support and engagement in developments on the Korean peninsula, beginning with our commitment to South Korea's security."

On June 25, just days prior to Roh's arrival in Washington, the North Korean government pressed another initiative to de-escalate tensions on the peninsula, renewing a proposal that the governments in the North and South sign a nonaggression declaration. No peace treaty has ever been signed by the South and the United States with the North following the 1950-53 Korean War.



U.S. forces in demilitarized zone that divides Korea. Washington maintains more than 1,000 nuclear weapons and 45,000 troops in South Korea.

## 'Socialism is only way for humanity'

BY SETH GALINSKY

CHICAGO — "Capitalism generates a whole universe of lies to obscure the truth," says Jason Coughlin, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. He was interviewed while attending the Socialist Workers Party convention in Chicago at the end of June.

Coughlin, 19 and Jeff South, 24, are two of the newest members of the YSA in Omaha, Nebraska. They are both members of the U.S. Air Force stationed at Offutt Air Force Base, which is part of the Strategic Air Command network.

Coughlin is an E-2 (the equivalent of a private) and South is a sergeant. Both are presently on leave of absence from the YSA, which is the socialist youth group's practice for its members in the armed forces.

In an area of Omaha where a lot of young people congregate, Coughlin ran into the YSA outside a record store. He bought a copy of the *Militant* and spoke to socialists who had set up a literature table there. They invited him to a Pathfinder bookstore open house the next day. The program highlighted the ideas of Malcolm X.

When Coughlin was in high school he began to look favorably on socialism. "I remember hearing some college students talk about Marx," he recalls. "Somebody said you could make a society where everybody created according to their abilities and received according to their needs. I thought, wouldn't that be great?"

Reading the book *The Grapes of Wrath* also had an impact on him. Written by John Steinbeck, it tells the story of a farm family driven off the land and forced to become superexploited farm workers during the Great Depression. "I was so depressed after reading it that I didn't eat for days," the young airman says.

Since meeting the YSA and joining recently, Coughlin says he has learned a lot. He liked reading the article "The Opening Guns of World War III" in *New International* no. 7, a Marxist magazine studied by YSA members. "The article explains the war. Why the capitalists will do anything to maintain superprofits and the exploitation of workers," he notes.

"Now it seems so logical. Before, it seemed incredible that the capitalists would kill millions to be able to continue living on the blood and sweat of workers."

One thing the war showed, the new YSA member says, "is that the slogan of 'No blood for oil' is correct. It demonstrated the U.S. government is not for democracy."

Coughlin has been reading books like *The Eastern Airlines Strike*. It shows "the power of solidarity," Coughlin notes. "The strike proves that people like Frank Lorenzo [former Eastern Airlines president] are a minority and that all the unions can support each other."

An avid reader of the *Militant*, Coughlin's favorite part of the paper is the letters page. He especially likes those from prisoners. "We're all brothers," he says.

"I have more faith in humanity since I met the YSA," Coughlin adds. "Before I just told people things like 'reject pop-culture' but I didn't have any solution on what to do. I

### Two GIs talk about why they joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

remember the stock market crash in 1987 and feeling the world was falling apart.

"Now I've learned to take the workers' point of view in everything. To use Marxist insight."

"I've done things I never did before, like going to the factory gates to talk to workers and going to the Black community."

"I talk to people about cop brutality and the suffering in Iraq, about those 170,000 Iraqi children that could die because of the effects of the war."

Coughlin and South met for the first time at the program on Malcolm X. They have both found that other members of the air force, while not usually in agreement with their views, are open to talking about politics and having a civil discussion.

South contacted the YSA after becoming "fed up" with the positions of the Democratic Party.

"The last straw," South says, "was when I read how the Democratic governor of Virginia came out for drug testing for college-loan applicants. I just felt betrayed by my formerly beloved 'liberals.'"

"I opened up the phone book and looked for third parties and found the Socialist Workers Party."

After meeting the YSA, South read the *Communist Manifesto*, *Socialism and Man*

by Che Guevara, and *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon.

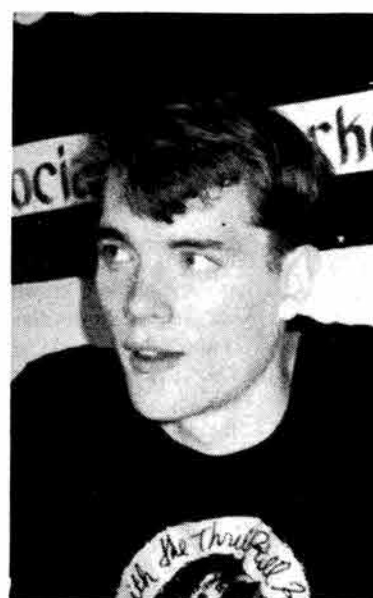
"I like what Cannon said about practical politics," South says. "Like on the military. He said we don't support war, but if the majority of the working class is going then we go with our class, instead of as conscientious objectors. He was serious about getting in touch with the working class."

South says he enlisted in the air force for the same reason many other working people do. "I joined to make a little money, get loans deferred. I hadn't been able to get a job."

"I also thought we were fighting fascism in World War II. I wasn't gung ho, but I thought in the major wars we were fighting for freedom."

South is for socialism "because it's right and just and the only way that humanity can progress."

One of the discussions South liked at the convention was on the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade bill. Neither free trade nor protectionism have much to do with workers, he says. "The interests of the working class is the only way to go. The working class has to stick together."



Militant/Roni McCann



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Two of the newest members of the YSA in Omaha, Jason Coughlin (left) and Jeff South.

### Air Force officials question GI

BY RONI McCANN

OMAHA — Upon returning from the 36th Constitutional convention of the Socialist Workers Party, where he met fellow Young Socialist Alliance members, socialist workers active in industrial trade unions, and attended classes and convention sessions, YSA member Jason Coughlin reported back to work at Offutt Air Force Base here. Coughlin, 19, is enlisted in the U.S. Air Force.

At the end of the day July 1 he was told his top-secret security clearance was temporarily revoked and an investigation had opened. Air Force brass gave him no rea-

son for the investigation. Coughlin was then reassigned from his regular workplace to another area.

Coughlin decided to retain Omaha attorney Mark Cohen of Cohen and Dodge law firm. Together with his lawyer, Coughlin appeared before Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI) agents for questioning July 5.

Supporters of Coughlin's constitutional rights as a citizen-soldier have begun soliciting the backing of democratic rights supporters in the area in preparation for any further initiatives by air force officials.



# Conference in Mexico City debates socialism versus capitalism

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS  
AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

MEXICO CITY — "We are here to prove that despite the power of the United States, it is possible to maintain independence, dignity, social justice, and a broad popular democracy," said Pedro Miret, addressing the opening of a conference here of political parties from Latin America and the Caribbean June 12-15.

Miret, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, headed the party's delegation to the conference.

"The reasons why socialism was necessary continue to exist on the continent. They are behind the failure of capitalism. In 30 years socialism has achieved more in Cuba than capitalism has achieved in 100 years in the world," Miret added.

The gathering, hosted by the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Mexico, was called the "Second Conference of the Movements and Political Parties of the São Paulo Forum." It was called by a previous gathering, held in São Paulo, Brazil, in July 1990.

That meeting, hosted by the Workers Party (PT) of Brazil, issued a strong declaration on behalf of the socialist and anti-imperialist left in Latin America and the Caribbean, and established a continuations committee to organize the next conference.

The São Paulo gathering was organized as a "Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Movements and Political Parties of the Left." On the initiative of members of the continuations committee who were uncomfortable with being identified as part of the "left" that word was dropped from the title of this year's meeting.

The continuations committee elected in São Paulo was composed of representatives designated by the Communist Party of Cuba, the Workers Party (PT) of Brazil, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador, the United Left (IU) of Peru, and the PRD of Mexico.

Some 170 delegates and observers took part in the Mexico City conference, which was substantially larger than the 1990 meeting in Brazil. Delegates from 68 organizations from 22 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean participated this year, along with observers from another dozen parties from Europe and North America. In 1990, 48 organizations from 14 countries sent delegates to the São Paulo meeting.

## A clear political divide

From the opening session of the conference to its closing four days later the political lines of cleavage were clear. On one side were the anti-imperialist and prosocialist forces, represented most prominently by the delegation from the Communist Party of Cuba, and supported by numerous other parties and individuals, including the United Mariateguista Party (PUM) of Peru, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and Luis Inacio Lula da Silva of the PT (known to everyone as Lula.)



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Opening session of Second Conference of Movements and Political Parties of the São Paulo Forum June 12-15 in Mexico City. From left to right: Henry Pease, United Left of Peru; Ricardo Valero, secretary of international relations, Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Mexico; Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, president, PRD; Líber Seregni, Broad Front of Uruguay; Pedro Miret, Political Bureau member, Communist Party of Cuba; Irving Larios, Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; Cuauhtémoc Sandoval, PRD, speaking.

On the other side were parties represented most forcefully by the PRD of Mexico. Oriented to coming electoral contests and hopes of taking over the reins of capitalist government, they argued that the source of Latin America's sharpening economic and social crisis is not capitalism, with its inevitable laws of motion in the imperialist epoch, but "dependent capitalism" and the absence of democracy in many countries.

Positions similar to the PRD's were supported not only by participants such as retired Gen. Líber Seregni, former political prisoner and head of Uruguay's Broad Front (Frente Amplio), but by the delegations of the FSLN, the FMLN, and other political organizations as well.

"Today, the whole world wants to discuss the fall of Eastern European socialism," said Lula, taking the offensive at the opening session of the conference. "But very few are willing to discuss the necessity of solidarity with Cuba, Panama, and the African nations." Da Silva was the presidential candidate of the PT in 1989 and lost to incumbent Fernando Collor de Mello by only a small margin.

In Eastern Europe, Lula stated, the failure of socialism was not the fault of socialists but the fault of the socialist bureaucracies.

## 'Socialism more alive than ever'

"We are millions of human beings on the face of the earth who still exist, who continue to want to build socialism," Lula noted. "Today socialism is more alive than ever."

Lula finished by relating a recent exchange with a German journalist, well traveled in Latin America, who asked his opinion about Cuba. He responded, he said, with a question to her: "Where in Latin America had she seen less misery?"

"She had to recognize that Cuba is the country where she had seen the fewest children in the streets, the only country where she had seen poverty, yes, but not misery, not hunger, not slums. Socialist Cuba today has much more than the majority of capitalist countries."

Defense of Cuba's sovereignty and right to self-determination, as well as debate over Cuba's socialist course, was one of the themes that ran throughout the conference from beginning to end. A separate resolution in defense of Cuba against U.S. acts of aggression and hostility was adopted by acclamation on the final day.

PRD president Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, keynoting the opening session, demanded the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. occupation forces from Panama and strongly condemned the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba and occupation of Guantánamo by U.S. military forces.

He criticized U.S. government interference in Cuba's internal affairs, saying, "The fact that Cuba needs changes is indisputable," but the Cubans themselves must decide them. Cárdenas emphasized his opinion that "transformations leading to economic, social, and political progress" should occur more rapidly in Cuba and noted that he was sure this opinion was shared by broad sectors of the Cuban population.

Responding to Cárdenas' remarks, Miret told the opening plenary: "We have imperfections, inefficiencies, we make mistakes. We are the first to criticize and recognize them. But our system is incomparably better than capitalism. We know both the capitalism of yesterday and of today. And we don't like either one."

The counterpositions to Lula and Miret

were expressed not only in the keynote address by PRD leader Cárdenas, but by others who addressed the opening session.

Cárdenas concentrated his remarks on opposition to the free trade pact now being negotiated by the U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments. The PRD, which speaks for the wing of the Mexican bourgeoisie that stands to lose out to its Mexican and U.S. competitors if the trade agreement goes through, made this question one of the underlying themes of the conference. It was never debated openly or clearly, however. No one addressed the fact that the interests of the workers and the interests of the protectionist wing of the bourgeoisie in each of the countries of Latin America are not the same.

Cárdenas concluded his remarks by calling for the "construction of real, broad, and participatory democracies" and predicting that if political parties like the PRD act with "intelligence and decisiveness" they will be "opening the road in Latin America and the world to a twenty-first century of progress, well-being, equality, fraternity, and peace."

Also addressing the opening session was Commander Fermán Cienfuegos, speaking for the FMLN. The FMLN is currently talking with the Alfredo Cristiani government in El Salvador in an attempt to negotiate a solution to the civil war in that country.

Cienfuegos' remarks expanded on themes laid out by Cárdenas and others. "Latin America's democratic movement has achieved a historical accumulation of forces sufficient to realize its own democratic transformation," Cienfuegos declared.

"America for the Americans," he proclaimed.

"In order to correctly interpret reality, today's left must modify many concepts and categories," Cienfuegos added. Among them "must be the value of taking power . . . from below, so as to be able to transform the state into a national state, not necessarily from above but through civil society."

Following the opening session, the conference broke into two groups for discussion among the delegates. The majority of the participants met in the Diego Rivera Mural Museum, with the Mexican muralist's magnificent "Sunday on the Alameda" as a backdrop.

Dozens of delegates took the floor during the three days of discussion to address loosely

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conceived themes such as "The neoliberal model: economic, political, social, and cultural impact of the crisis" and "A balance sheet on democratic experiences in the region."

The final work session was devoted to solidarity actions, and the presentation of resolutions on Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, Guatemala, the Malvinas, drug trafficking and foreign intervention, the cholera epidemic, and others.

A second, smaller group of delegates met throughout the conference in a "Roundtable on political education," where many of the same political issues were taken up.

#### Decolonization of Puerto Rico

During the final work session, Rafael Anglada López presented a resolution on behalf of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) demanding the decolonization of Puerto Rico. "Economically and socially, our nation has become an appendage of big U.S. capital. Behind the modern facade of the tall buildings and broad expressways, lies hidden an enormous economic dependency designed to facilitate colonial domination," said Anglada López.

"The country was modernized," Anglada López added, so it could be presented as "an alternative to Cuba, socialism, and social changes. But this economic, political, and social model has failed."

Referring to the recurring discussion on democracy at the conference, López noted that bourgeois democracy has been the vehicle of colonial domination. He explained that in Puerto Rico the "free press" will publicize anything but the ideas of those who fight for independence.

López pointed out that the U.S. Congress is discussing the possibility of overturning a decision of the Puerto Rican government to declare Spanish as the country's official language. (See accompanying PSP statement.)

Much of the most fruitful discussion took place informally over meals and between sessions, as the politically diverse delegations met and exchanged experiences, often continuing political debates into the early hours of the morning.

The usefulness of such forums was indicated by the broad range of participation from virtually every country in Latin America and Central America.

The main weakness was the virtual absence of all but the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. In addition to the Cuban delegation and the delegation from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, there were delegations from the Lavallas movement in Haiti (the front that supported Jean-Bertrand Aristide in the February 1991 elections), eight organizations from the Dominican Republic, and a delegate from the Martinique Communist Party for Independence and Socialism. None of the English- or Dutch-speaking countries were represented.

Observers from various social-democratic and Communist parties (or parties that until recently called themselves communist) from France, Italy, Spain, Catalonia, and the Basque Country were present. The head of the Latin American division of the international relations department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party also attended.

The Socialist Workers Party was the only participating delegation from the workers' movement in the United States.

(Several members of the Rainbow Lobby, which is closely associated with the New Alliance Party, a radical right-wing party that uses populist demagoguery, attended. In a leaflet distributed at the conference, the Rainbow Lobby claimed to have 150,000 members and described itself as an organization dedicated to the struggle for a "true radical democracy in the United States." It welcomed the opportunity to deepen relations with "the revolutionary movement for democracy in Latin America." The leaflet singled out as targets the millionaires who control the news media and the "fascist tendencies" of the U.S. ruling classes.)

Throughout the conference the parties represented on the continuations committee met

to draft a final declaration. Given the depth of the political divergences represented by the participants, it was not certain that a unanimous draft would be presented. A single document was submitted to delegates at the closing session, however, and following the incorporation of numerous amendments, it was adopted by acclamation.

#### Retreat from previous conference

The final declaration registered a notable retreat from the São Paulo declaration of a year ago. It reflected the weight not only of the procapitalist PRD, the host organization, but the accelerated rightward shift of organizations such as the FSLN and FMLN as they increasingly abandon the vestiges of an anticapitalist program and search for accommodations with U.S. imperialism.

The declaration issued in São Paulo spoke in the name of anti-imperialist and socialist forces. It uncompromisingly identified U.S. imperialism and capitalism as the source of the economic and social problems confronting Latin America, stating, "We know from the historic experience of subjugation to capitalist regimes and imperialism that the urgent needs and most serious problems of our peoples have their source in this system."

It defended not only Cuba's right to self-determination, but reaffirmed "solidarity with the socialist revolution in Cuba, which

is firmly defending its sovereignty and its achievements." The Mexico City declaration by contrast rarely mentions imperialism or U.S. domination, affirms that "dependent capitalism" is the source of Latin America's backwardness, and speaks for the "democratic" forces of the region.

The forces represented at the conference, the final declaration states, range from "nationalist, democratic and popular in character" to those who espouse concepts "in the direction of various forms of socialism." They are all "committed to the structural transformations required to meet the objectives of the great majority of our peoples for social justice, democracy, and national liberation."

"The deep-going process of reflection undertaken by the left and by all democratic forces in Latin America raises the need to offer society concrete alternatives in the interests of the working classes, the democratic forces, and the nation, thereby moving beyond simple criticism of the capitalist system," the declaration continued.

"In the economic field, the democratic organization of society should determine the functions of the market and the state's participation in economic life. This should be done with an antimonopoly perspective based on social justice. This will be one of the democratic proposals we make in the struggle for governmental power."

## Puerto Rico: 500 years of colonialism

The following statement by the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was presented by Rafael Anglada López at the Second Conference of the Movements and Political Parties of the São Paulo Forum in Mexico City.

July 25 will mark the 93rd anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico.

As a result of the Spanish-American War at the end of the last century the Puerto Rican people passed from Spanish colonial rule (1493-1898) to U.S. domination.

Puerto Rico has never been independent. As the anniversary marking 500 years of conquest and colonization of America by the Europeans occurs, Puerto Rico approaches the anniversary of 500 years of colonialism, which will be marked in 1993.

At the time of the U.S. invasion, our people possessed a rich tradition of struggle for freedom. In fundamental aspects we were already a nation with singular features that distinguished us from other nations. We were not, as the new conquistadors would have preferred, merely a flock or grouping of individuals.

Accordingly, their first great aim, along with seizing our natural resources, was to break the Puerto Rican nationality, to make us disappear as a nation so as to facilitate colonial domination.

In our country all sorts of efforts were made to erase our condition as Puerto Ricans, as a Caribbean people, and as Latin Americans. For 50 years we were forced to accept English as the language of formal education. Our own language was reduced to the level of simply one subject among others. Every morning in our schools the students had to pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag.

In 1917 U.S. citizenship was imposed on the Puerto Rican people. Puerto Rican citizenship does not exist legally; it has been stripped from us. Since then, thousands of Puerto Ricans have been forced to participate in wars organized by the United States in various parts of the planet, most recently in the Middle East.

All U.S. federal laws are in effect in Puerto Rico. Legality that emanates from the colonial government — the Free Associated State — is absolutely subordinate to the dictates of the U.S. Congress, the body that holds power over our country.

#### Plebiscite

Two years ago the U.S. Congress sought to give the impression of opening a process of decolonization by proposing a plebiscite in which it would be judge and jury. President

[George] Bush made a unilateral announcement that the event would take place. Then they ended up canceling the plans for the plebiscite, providing a memorable demonstration of the arbitrary and despotic way they treat their Caribbean colony.

Today Puerto Rico continues to serve as an important U.S. military base in the heart of Latin America. Attacks have been launched from it against Cuba (1961), the Dominican Republic (1965), Grenada (1983), and Central America.

During the Reagan administration our country became one of the coordinating centers of the so-called Caribbean Basin Initiative, an instrument for the economic and political domination of the region. Puerto Rico is also one of the centers of great activity against the Cuban revolution and the social struggles of our region.

Economically and socially, our country has become an appendage of big U.S. capital. Behind the modern facade of tall buildings and broad expressways lies hidden an enormous economic dependency designed to facilitate colonial domination.

More than 2.5 million Puerto Ricans live in the United States, in the worst economic conditions. The massive emigration of Puerto Ricans to the North forms part of the broad plan of economic and social transformation drawn up in the 1940s by the United States and the colonial government of Puerto Rico. In the political realm, the plan called for the establishment of a Free Associated State to give the false impression that colonialism had ended in our country. In the sphere of economics, our predominantly agricultural economy was transformed into an industrial economy, primarily with U.S. capital, which has invested \$30 billion in the island.

The country was modernized to better serve the interests of U.S. big capital and to provide the peoples of Latin America the appearance of an alternative to Cuba, socialism, and genuine social change.

#### Economic model failed

But this economic, political, and social model has failed. The Free Associated State has served only to perpetuate colonialism. The United States is seeking a solution to the present economic and social crisis in Puerto Rico, but one that does not alter the relationship of domination initiated in 1898.

This was the context in which the frustrated plebiscite project was announced two years ago by President Bush. The aim was to give the international community the impression that the Puerto Rican people were

While many delegates were unhappy with the political content of the final declaration they expressed the opinion that the alternative was an open split that would have been a boon to imperialism's attempts to isolate the Cuban revolution in Latin America. They felt that on balance the conference had been positive as a broad forum for discussion and would perhaps give an impetus to the anti-imperialist and socialist forces of the Americas to consider how to organize more effectively.

The delegates voted to hold a third conference in a year's time, but agreed that further consultation was needed before a host country or organization could be designated.

The only other concrete activity agreed to by the conference delegates at the final session is "a seminar on alternative plans for Latin American integration, with the participation of specialists, trade unionists, and Latin American political leaders," scheduled to be held in Lima, Peru, in February 1992. The seminar will be hosted by the United Left of Peru.

A new continuations committee was elected at the conference. In addition to the six parties on the previous committee, representatives of Lavallas from Haiti, the Broad Front of Uruguay, and Free Bolivia were added.



Militant/Selva Nebbia  
Rafael Anglada López of Puerto Rican Socialist Party

being guaranteed their right to self-determination and independence.

The Puerto Rican people have always remained on a war footing. In a colony, to fight for the defense, preservation, and development of the nationality constitutes a titanic achievement. It is the very existence of an occupied nation that is at stake.

Thus it is not only a fight for self-determination and independence, the highest aspiration in our society, but also against annexation as a U.S. state, against cultural aggression, and for our condition as a people of the Caribbean and of Latin America.

The United Nations and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries have proclaimed the final decade of this century as the decade of total elimination of colonialism. Puerto Rico is part of this decolonization agenda, and is backed in its efforts by the United Nations Decolonization Committee, the organization of Nonaligned countries, and many countries and governments.

The struggle for the defense of the Puerto Rican nationality and its integrity as a Latin American nation deserves the active support of the sister peoples of our Latin America. After all, to support the self-determination and independence of Puerto Rico is to strengthen that of each of the peoples of the region.

From this Latin American nation we proclaim the inalienable right to the Puerto Rican people to win their freedom. Our goal is a Free Puerto Rico in a Free Latin America.



# Civil war opens in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page  
Slovenia "look like Disneyland."

Croatia, Slovenia, and the other republics and regions of Yugoslavia have for many years suffered national oppression at the hands of the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy that rules the country and is made up primarily of Serbs. Many working people have thrown their support behind the national struggles in the hope that by this means they will rid themselves of the principal force which has been directly oppressing them for so long.

The events in Yugoslavia mark its inevitable breaking-up — a process that the workers must go through in order to reconquer political space and achieve the right to national self-determination. In the course of this struggle, working people will discover who their real friends and enemies are in Yugoslavia and the world, and forge a new leadership that defends the interests of the workers and farmers.

Until early 1990, Yugoslavia's six republics were ruled by the League of Communists, a Stalinist party.

During World War II, in the course of the massive armed struggle against the German invasion of 1941 and local fascists, a united partisan army was forged in Yugoslavia among the workers and farmers of different nationalities and languages. The partisans succeeded in defeating the fascists, and their leadership in the League of Communists took over the government.

This victory opened up the prospect of developing Yugoslavia as a single nation, based on recognition of equal rights for all nationalities and through special efforts to overcome the national divisions that had been fostered by local capitalists and by the imperialist powers, which had favored the capitalists of one or another nationality.

Most of Yugoslavia's industry was nationalized and organized under a central plan, which included the allocation of special resources to the more backward regions. Economic productivity advanced greatly for several years.

But the progressive impulse of the revolution began unwinding. Instead of mobilizing working people to build on its conquests, the Stalinists in power consolidated themselves as a privileged bureaucratic layer. Coupled with political repression and the denial of rights, this drove working people out of political activity. Hand in hand with this, the rulers relied increasingly on capitalist methods and market mechanisms in running the nationalized economy.

As the economy stagnated, the central government in Belgrade (which is also the capital of the republic of Serbia) came to be seen as an oppressive agency rather than an instrument for the advancement of the

various peoples of Yugoslavia. From the 1960s onwards, nationalist demands gained a new hearing throughout the republics.

When Josip Tito, who had headed Yugoslavia since the overthrow of fascist rule, died in 1980, the deepening national conflicts began to break up the ruling party. The party was dissolved in 1990. This was followed by the election of new governments in many republics, including pro-independence governments in Slovenia and neighboring Croatia. A number of leading figures in these governments are former members of the League of Communists.

In Serbia the Stalinists remained in power, determined to maintain Serbian dominance in the federal government.

Referendums in Slovenia in December 1990 and in Croatia this year demonstrated overwhelming popular support for independence. Slovenia, with a population of 2 million, has gone the farthest in implementing its sovereignty. Croatia with 4.8 million people (which includes 500,000 Serbs) is more and more being drawn into the vortex. Croatia and Slovenia are Yugoslavia's two wealthiest republics.

By early June the Slovenian republic had already established control over its foreign trade, customs levies, and sales taxes, and begun compulsory military service for the Slovenian armed forces.

## Baker trip fails

In a last ditch effort to preserve a "united" Yugoslavia, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker went to Belgrade June 21 where he warned the Croatian and Slovenian leaders of the "dangers of disintegration of this country."

Baker pointedly rejected the Slovenian and Croatian leaders' requests for U.S. recognition. "We will not reward unilateral actions," he told them. Baker also met with the heads of the other four republics and with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

But Baker's trip was to no avail. Dancing and celebrations in the street met Slovenia's June 25 declaration of independence. The next day Slovenian militias took control of posts along the border with Austria, Hungary, and Italy.

Washington's open hostility to the independence move gave the Yugoslavian government the green light to attempt military force to put an end to the "separatists."

On June 28 the Yugoslav Army launched attacks to retake many of the border posts, using tanks and air attacks to drive out the Slovenian forces.

## Slovenians rout federal army

Some of the heaviest fighting took place along the borders as Yugoslav forces attacked

Slovenian-held posts and Slovenian forces attacked Yugoslav garrisons.

The Slovenian militias used guerrilla tactics to ambush the Yugoslav forces. "We can defend Slovenia," said one militiaman. "Just take a look at history. In 1941 who had all the weapons? Not Slovenia, just the Germans. But by 1945 it was different." He was referring to the successful struggle by the worker and peasant partisan forces against local fascists and the German occupation army.

While the 180,000 strong Yugoslav army is led by a Serbian-dominated officer corps, its conscripts come from all over the country, including ethnic Albanians from the Kosovo region, Slovenians, and Croats.

Some 800 federal soldiers deserted in the first few days of fighting, including whole units. Twenty-five hundred more were captured.

After days of fighting the Yugoslav army was unable to dislodge the Slovenian forces from most of the border posts they controlled.

The Slovenian fighters won support in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, where Croatian demonstrators hurled rocks, sticks, and firebombs in an attempt to block army tanks headed for Slovenia. The army fired into the crowd killing at least one person.

In spite of vastly superior firepower, the federal army was unable to rout the highly-motivated Slovenian forces.

"One of the best equipped armies in Europe was defeated by an amateur army," complained Vuk Draskovic, a writer and Serbian nationalist. "The Serbian soldier has been humiliated."

After days of fighting, the Yugoslav Army withdrew many of its troops, leaving the Slovenians in control of the 27 border crossings.

## Rising tensions in Croatia

Within Serbia, the largest of Yugoslavia's republics with more than 9 million people, there is no unanimity on the use of military force to attack Slovenia, even among those who oppose Slovenian independence. Hundreds of Serbian demonstrators in Belgrade were tear-gassed after pouring into the parliament demanding their children be pulled out of the war.

While many working people in Serbia are opposed to sending troops to fight in Slovenia or Croatia, tensions between the federal government and Croatia are running high.

Last fall, with the encouragement of the Serbian regime, Croatia's Serbs declared the Krajina region of Croatia (where about 200,000 Serbs live) to be autonomous. They erected barricades around Knin, which they named Krajina's capital.

Many Serbian nationalists, including Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, have spoken in favor of a "Greater Serbia," which would encompass all parts of the country where Serbs live. To create such an entity would require taking pieces from many of the existing Yugoslav republics. For example, physically linking the Krajina region of Croatia to Serbia would require taking a strip of territory from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1990 the Serbian government forcibly quashed autonomy demanded by Albanians in the Serbian region of Kosovo, which has a 70 percent Albanian majority. The regime took direct control of the region, arguing that it was historically part of Serbia.

Croatia's defense minister, Sime Dodjan, recently called Krajina "nonexistent." Dodjan also denounced "Serbian imperialists" for provoking war between the two regions. He said that the main aim of the federal army was to "maintain Serbian hegemony" in Yugoslavia.

The Serbian regime frequently points to the fact that during World War II Croatia had a fascist government, which systematically exterminated tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies. The implication is that any regime in an independent Croatia would be likely to pursue similar policies. This overlooks the fact that workers and peasants in Croatia were one of the strongest bases of support for the partisan forces which overthrew the fascists.

In some areas of Croatia where there is a mixed Serb and Croatian population, antagonisms have grown bitter. Dozens of Croatian police and Serbs have died in clashes over the past few weeks.

The Yugoslav federal government has been divided and paralyzed by the conflict, unable to slow the unfolding war.

The regime's disintegration has forced the



June 26 Slovenian independence celebration. Break-up of Yugoslavia is inevitable step as toilers reconquer political space.

imperialist powers to attempt to intervene directly, with conflicting interests.

Washington and its allies in London and Paris are worried about the encouragement any successful secessionist moves in Yugoslavia would give to popular struggles for independence in places such as the Baltic states in the Soviet Union, and to oppressed minorities like Corsicans in France and Basques in Spain. The struggle by masses of workers and farmers in Yugoslavia can also help draw other working people around the world into politics.

Germany and Austria have strong economic ties to Slovenia and Croatia. They hope that by recognizing the republics' independence they will bolster their position against their imperialist competitors in Western Europe and North America.

Germany is Yugoslavia's main trading partner. About half of German investments there are in Croatia and Slovenia. Heavy machinery is Germany's principal export to Yugoslavia; meat, fruit, and vegetables are its main imports.

Austria has 200 treaties with Slovenia. As the conflict heated up, Austria stationed 6,000 soldiers at its border with Yugoslavia.

In a slap in the face to Washington, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with Slovenian President Milan Kucan in the Austrian border city of Klagenfurt. That same morning U.S. Secretary of State Baker spoke with Genscher by phone and told him he was making a mistake in hinting at recognition.

According to the *Washington Post* the German stand "infuriates" Paris and Madrid. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas warned at an emergency meeting of the European Community July 5 at the Hague, that recognition of the rebel republics would "throw oil on the flames." He added, "Tomorrow, what we have done for Yugoslavia would be applied to other cases" — that is other minorities in Europe.

Earlier at the meeting, German representative Genscher said a message should be sent to the Yugoslav Army that the community "will seriously consider and also implement recognition" if the army intervenes in Slovenia again.

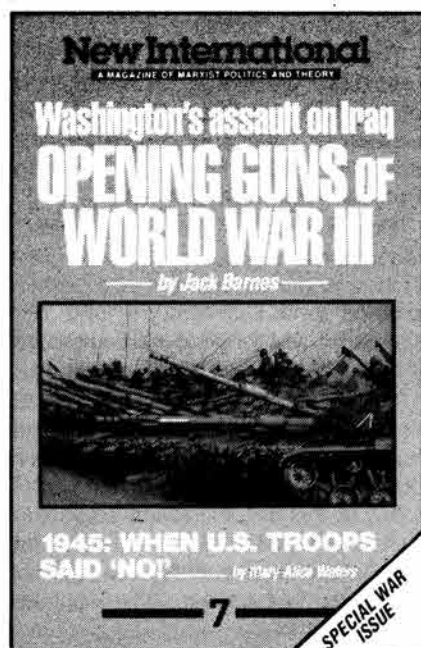
## Yugoslav unity: 'a sinking ship'

As the crisis in Yugoslavia continued and it became clear that an attempt to crush Slovenian independence through more massive force could result in the shattering of the Yugoslav army, Washington backedpedaled somewhat on its original hostility to independence.

Dropping earlier references of opposition to "territorial integrity," State Department spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler stated July 2, "Whatever is to evolve in the Yugoslav situation, it is our strong urge, our strong desire, our strong belief that it be worked out peacefully through dialogue and not what we see happening on the ground right now." But Washington still refused to signal readiness to recognize the republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Explaining the shift in emphasis, one U.S. official said Washington "doesn't want to be lashed to the mast of Yugoslav unity when the ship is sinking."

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# Saab workers in Malmö, Sweden, get the 'Militant'

BY BARBRO DAVIDSON

STOCKHOLM — As part of the international circulation drive, *Militant* supporters from Stockholm hit the road to introduce the socialist press to workers and youth in the south of Sweden. The socialists visited Lund, a university town, and neighboring Malmö, an industrial town now hit hard by factory shutdowns and unemployment.

In Malmö the team joined local *Militant* readers and went to the Saab plant gate for a sale. Saab is one of the two large auto companies in Sweden. Last year General Motors purchased 50 percent of Saab, a deal that was supposed to pull the company out of crisis. Now Saab is closing its Malmö plant, kicking 800 workers out.

Outside the Saab plant, the team met workers from Mali, the Antilles, Asia, Tunisia, and other parts of the world. Workers bought two copies of the *Militant* and one copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Discussion took place on the closure of the Saab plant and how workers can conquer the space to fight back.

Several *Militant* supporters also went to a high school in Malmö. The school board is planning to close the school down next year, so the day before, 1,500 students had demonstrated to keep the school open. The sales team was challenged by the school's headmaster, who declared that the socialists had no right to be there with their material. A whole class listened while the team debated democratic rights with the headmaster.

Another team went to the university in Lund and set up a literature table. Students from all parts of the world stopped to look at the table and discuss. Six *Militants* were

sold in student housing.

A forum celebrating the publishing of *New International* nos. 7 and 8 concluded the sales tour. Ten people gathered to hear Lasse

*This week we print the final tallies in the seven-week international circulation drive that ended June 15. Supporters in 11 countries participated in the effort, which resulted in sales of 2,588 Militant subscriptions; 2,519 copies of New International; 547 Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions; and 120 L'Internationaliste subscriptions. Supporters in industrial unions in Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States sold a total of 783 Militant subscriptions.*

Johansson, the candidate of the Communist League in the upcoming elections. Johansson explained how the assault on Iraq shows what imperialism is prepared to do to uphold its system of exploitation. He pointed to the example of the Cuban revolution, where working people threw off capitalist rule and charted a course toward socialism.

After Johansson's introduction, the discussion revolved around the questions of why the Iraqi army didn't fight back, the Kurdish struggle, and the role of the Cuban government in the United Nations. At the meeting \$170 was raised for the New International Fund, which finances publication of the Marxist magazine. After the forum the team started the 400-mile drive back to Stockholm, tired but satisfied. They had sold 26 copies of the *Militant*, 5 of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 3 of *New International*.

BY BRIGID ROTHERHAM

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper took advantage of the last week of the circulation campaign to reach out to students in the South Island of New Zealand.

A team spent three days at Otago University in the city of Dunedin, where 19 *Militant* subscriptions and one to *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold along with four copies of *New International* no. 8. Students also bought \$80 worth of other literature.

The team spent much of the time explaining the consequences of the U.S.-led war against Iraq and answering questions about developments in Eastern Europe.

Many students were interested in what is happening in Cuba today. One student explained that he had just finished reading some of Che Guevara's writings. After buying a subscription to the *Militant*, he decided to join in selling it at student hostels the next day.

The team also conducted door-to-door sales in an area where military personnel live. Sellers had visited there just after the shooting war against Iraq started. Most residents indicated that they continued to support New Zealand and U.S. intervention in the Arab-Persian Gulf but a number felt that nothing had been resolved as a result. Four copies of the paper were sold.



Militant/Dag Avango  
New readers of the *Militant* have been won during special sales drives. Above, supporters in Sweden during previous effort.

## Alabama socialist denounces rightist attack on bookstore

BY DAN FURMAN

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Birmingham mayor, denounced the recent spray-painting of swastikas and the slogan "White Power" on the building that houses the offices of the Socialist Workers Party and the Pathfinder bookstore.

Hawkins called it "an attempt by rightist forces — such as the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, and some skinheads — to exercise political intimidation against those fighting for social progress — trade unionists,

fighters for Black rights, fighters for women's rights, socialists, and other defenders of democracy.

The socialist candidate was speaking at a June 19 news conference held at the Pathfinder bookstore and covered by three local TV stations, several radio stations, the Birmingham News, and the Post Herald.

James Tuohy of St. Andrews Episcopal Church joined Hawkins in condemning the attack at the news conference. Several written statements of support and solidarity were also received.

"It is unfortunately a small step from attacking a bookstore . . . to burning books . . . to banning ideas . . . to jailing people whose views or race or religion you don't share," wrote John Zippert, co-publisher of the *Green County Democrat*. A statement from Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington decried the attack and promised that the police department would conduct an investigation.

Responding to questions from reporters, Hawkins pointed out that the attack was not simply what the media labels a "hate crime." Instead, Hawkins said, it was an attempt to create an atmosphere of political intimidation.

A plate glass window at the former offices of the party and bookstore was broken two years ago by local skinheads. At that same time, paint was thrown on the statue of Martin Luther King, Jr. in Kelly Ingram Park. Young people in the area organized several demonstrations that politically pushed back this attempt of fascist-like outfits to operate more openly. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were in the forefront of those organizing that response, the socialist candidate noted.

Asked about his reaction to the mayor's statement, Hawkins called it "a step in the right direction." He went on to urge the city administration to do all in its power to apprehend and prosecute the perpetrators and to insure that a similar or more damaging incident does not occur in the future. "We won't be satisfied," the socialist candidate said, "until that is done."

"It is easy to see why we were singled out this time," said Hawkins, pointing to the role of the Pathfinder bookstore in distributing revolutionary literature and to the SWP and YSA's participation in working-class struggles. "But more importantly, this act is aimed at all who struggle for social justice."

## Selling the press to unionists

Union	%Sold	Militant (Goal)	Sold	New Int'l (Goal)	Sold
<b>UNITED STATES</b>					
ACTWU	72%	46	33	30	4
IAM	77%	143	110	87	25
ILGWU	66%	30	20	10	4
IUE	102%	42	43	25	10
OCAW	74%	50	37	55	19
UAW	83%	87	72	32	30
UFCW	120%	93	112	35	16
UMWA	218%	33	72	19	10
USWA	108%	90	97	50	28
UTU	117%	65	76	50	15
<b>TOTAL SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>672</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>161</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>					
MTFU	67%	6	4	6	1
<b>SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>				
<b>BRITAIN</b>					
AEU	53%	15	8	11	5
NUM	56%	18	10	15	6
RMT	91%	32	29	22	15
TGWU	113%	8	9	3	8
<b>TOTAL SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>CANADA</b>					
ACTWU	43%	7	3	2	2
CAW	67%	9	6	10	3
IAM	57%	14	8	8	3
USWA	19%	16	7	11	5
<b>TOTAL SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>					
NZEW	75%	4	3	3	2
NZMWU	100%	10	10	5	0
FTWU	30%	10	3	3	2
UFCW	71%	7	5	3	1
<b>TOTAL SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>					
FOOD	33%	6	2	0	0
METAL	80%	5	4	3	0
TRANSPORT	0%	1	0	1	0
<b>TOTAL SHOULD BE</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>

## Final Sales Scoreboard

Areas	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New Int'l*		L'inter*		Total	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
<b>UNITED STATES</b>											
Austin, Minn. **	50	62	124%	10	16	30	36	2	1	92	115
Salt Lake City	105	117	111%	18	22	50	59	2	2	175	200
Twin Cities, Minn. *	115	123	107%	15	15	60	75	2	2	192	215
Charleston, WV	80	64	107%	5	2	30	35	2	1	97	102
Newark, NJ	110	117	106%	40	28	140	113	10	7	300	265
Price, Utah **	50	53	106%	9	11	25	28	2	0	86	92
Philadelphia	60	62	103%	21	9	56	73	2	0	139	144
Phoenix **	30	31	103%	10	8	30	35	1	0	71	74
Seattle **	89	91	102%	33	34	75	80	3	3	200	208
Birmingham, Ala.	85	86	101%	8	4	43	48	2	0	138	138
Baltimore	66	68	100%	10	11	31	41	3	3	110	123
Miami	67	64	96%	25	12	45	55	15	3	152	134
Omaha, Neb.	65	58	89%	10	14	18	23	2	0	95	95
Greensboro, NC	50	44	88%	10	6	34	31	2	2	96	83
St. Louis	100	83	83%	5	2	48	44	2	2	155	131
Atlanta **	70	58	83%	10	5	60	61	2	0	142	124
Des Moines, Iowa	98	81	83%	15	21	35	52	2	0	150	154
Detroit	80	66	83%	8	9	40	51	2	3	130	129
Washington, DC	80	65	81%	13	17	50	66	2	2	145	150
Morgantown, WV	65	48	74%	5	1	40	41	2	0	112	90
Houston	65	45	69%	20	9	35	53	2	1	122	108
Chicago	130	89	68%	30	26	70	111	5	0	235	226
Boston	100	66	66%	25	23	50	75	10	7	185	171
Los Angeles	150	94	63%	80	46	124	152	3	2	357	294
Ft. Madison, Iowa	5	3	60%	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3
New York **	200	116	58%	75	51	200	142	15	4	490	313
Pittsburgh	75	42	56%	3	4	40	46	2	1	120	93
San Francisco **	150	76	51%	70	35	150	151	5	1	375	263
Cleveland **	85	37	44%	10	5	50	45	2	0	147	87
Albany, N.Y.	15	4	27%	2	0	10	5	0	0	27	9
Louisville, KY	3	0	0%	0	0	4	0	0	0	7	0
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>2,473</b>	<b>2,013</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>1,673</b>	<b>1,827</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>4,847</b>	<b>4,333</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>											
	10	16	160%	3	5	22	23	0	0	35	44
<b>BRITAIN</b>											
	1	2	200%	1	2	9	12	10	13	21	29
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>											
	202	202	100%	24	14	210	277	9	3	445	496
<b>CANADA</b>											
Vancouver **	65	66	102%	15	15	60	64	5	5	145	150
Montréal **	70	37	53%	15	22	75	76	35	29	195	164
Toronto	80	31	39%	30	15	50	66	5	5	165	114
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>428</b>
<b>FRANCE</b>											
	5	3	60%	5	3	5	6	15	15	30	27
<b>ICELAND</b>											
	30	19	63%	1	0	12	14	1	0	44	33
<b>MEXICO</b>											
	—	1	—	15	9	—	—	—	—	15	10
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>											
Other	6	9	150%	1	0	1	3	0	0	8	12
Auckland **	45	59	131%	3	2	45	47	1	1	94	109
Christchurch	43	49	114%	1	3	30	34	1	0	75	86
Wellington	53	56	106%	1	1	30	35	1	0	85	92
<b>N. Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>118%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>											
	2	0	0%	10	2	1	0	1	0	14	2
<b>SWEDEN **</b>											
	35	25	71%	20	8	20	35	3	2	78	70
<b>TOTAL DRIVE GOALS</b>	<b>3,120</b>	<b>2,588</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>648</b>	<b>547</b>	<b>2,243</b>	<b>2,519</b>	<b>193</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>6,204</b>	<b>5,771</b>
	<b>3,225</b>			<b>725</b>		<b>1,950</b>		<b>200</b>		<b>6,100</b>	

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

\*\* Raised New International Goal



# GM strike in Baltimore: 'a matter of dignity'

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 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.

lay off 400 workers. While strikers said that poor working conditions are nothing new to the plant, recent months have seen a 40 percent increase in injuries.

One striker walking the picket line summed up GM's methods and reasons for its actions: "By laying off a lot of people they overworked those left, making workers speed up and causing more accidents. They overworked us so they could make more profits."

UAW Local 239 public relations representative Sonny Biedrzycki

injunction ordering UAW members to stop picketing at that site undercut this support.

The union is demanding that more workers be hired at the plant by having "part-timers" reinstated as full-time. "Part-timers" are laid-off UAW members who are guaranteed 36 weeks of work over the three years following their layoff. Eighteen years is low seniority in the plant.

Union members reported that none of the UAW members have crossed the picket line.

tempts to worsen their working conditions and explain that the five-day workweek was a big gain for the labor movement. The grain handlers explained that employers are trying to roll the clock back 50 years.

The antiunion legislation, passed without opposition in Parliament, appoints a mediator-arbitrator with authority to impose a settlement. It prohibits job action by grain workers in Vancouver and at the big port at Prince Rupert on British Columbia's northern coast. The bill provides for fines of \$100,000 a day if the union interferes with the resumption of grain handling.

can't live on \$6 an hour."

The company has also increased the amount of nonpaid work on the job. Workers are forced to get their own supplies and to fix the constantly jamming machines on piece-rate time.

Workers reported that the heat soars inside the plant when the air conditioning regularly malfunctions. On June 7 a number of workers collapsed on the job, overcome by toxic fumes from repairs being made to the plant roof during work hours.

The protests resulted in company officials including the owner, Howard Corbin, agreeing to meet with the local in spite of threats that protests and picketing would cost workers their jobs.

Owner Corbin met with workers in an informal meeting in the shop June 13. One worker reported that he told them that he was their "friend" and that the real enemy was "competition." Many of the workers challenged him on their falling wages.

After Corbin met with the union, the company promised some reforms. The workers agreed to wait until the contract expires in August to see what happens. If the wage cuts and abuses are not overturned, many workers said they would continue their protests and perhaps strike.

"We have taken abuse for a long time," said one ACTWU member. "We just got fed up," said another.

Peggy Kreiner and Ken Morgan in Baltimore; Ned Dmytryshyn in Vancouver, Canada; and Cecelia Moriarity in Charleston, West Virginia, contributed to this column.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

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.

On June 25, 3,200 members of United Auto Workers Local 239 struck the General Motors mini-van plant in Baltimore over working conditions that have caused a dramatic increase in injuries. The Baltimore plant is the only supplier of the GMC Astar and Safari mini-van. Daily picket lines have gone up outside the plant from 6 a.m.-6 p.m.

Workers on the picket line described the strike as "long overdue" and "a matter of dignity." GM used a cut in production in February to

said, "It's not so much unsafe conditions, but the speedup is too much to be able to work safely. GM wants us working at a line speed more than 55 minutes out of the hour and it's crippling."

The union had ongoing discussions with the company for several months prior to the strike. Strikers on the picket line described the poor working conditions due to cuts in manpower. Carpel Tunnel Syndrome is a big problem, as are increased cuts and sprains. Previous injuries are becoming aggravated as a result of the pace of work. The company is not responding to grievances.

Picketers are determined. "We had to do it," one striker said. "People are working injured. It's a question of how much dignity can they take away."

Teamsters union members working for a sub-contractor at the GM plant refused to cross UAW picket lines at their work entrance. A court

With 18 grain ships waiting in Vancouver harbor and 1,400 loaded railway grain cars sitting idle, the Canadian House of Commons rushed through legislation forcing 760 members of the Grain Workers Union back to work June 14 after a five-day lockout by the B.C. Terminal Elevator Operators Association.

Half the grain exported from Canada goes through Vancouver. The work stoppage paralyzed grain transport in a crop year approaching record levels.

Grain Workers Union members have been working without a contract for 18 months.

The B.C. Terminal Elevators' Association has tried to force grain handlers to accept 12-hour shifts, continuous seven-day-a-week operations, and an end to shift differentials and overtime premiums. In response, union members began an overtime ban May 8 and a slowdown June 7. At midnight June 9 grain terminal bosses locked out the workers.

Many picketers express determination to resist the employers' at-

Garment workers at Corbin Ltd. in Huntingdon, West Virginia, held a series of protests in June against wage cuts and working conditions. The more than 300 workers at Corbin are members of Local 747 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

For a week, workers protested outside the plant with picket signs before work and at lunch. Fifty workers demonstrated in downtown Huntingdon June 8, marching by the Corbin clothing outlet store there.

Although the contract does not expire until August, the company implemented a wage-cutting system (GSD — General Sewing Data) that the workers have dubbed "Great Stealing of Dollars." The wage cut, made with the agreement of international union officials, amounts to 18 percent for some workers.

Some of the unionists were already working additional jobs before the cuts to support their families. As one worker told the Huntingdon *Herald Dispatch*, "A single mother

## British mine workers union wins court victory

Continued from Page 16

national executive had taken place, with Scargill and Heathfield excluded. The executive proceeded to take legal action against the two unions leaders. Lightman advised that this was necessary to avoid personal liability for the measures taken by the national officials.

Scargill responded by declaring that he was going to "fight like hell," declaring that for him the jury was to be the members of the NUM. He and Heathfield addressed more than 40 public meetings in the following months, attended in many cases by hundreds of miners and supporters of the union. They issued 10,000 copies of a pamphlet, *Response to the Lightman Inquiry*, in their defense. This countercampaign culminated with a special delegate conference of the union on Oct. 10, 1990, which endorsed by a 4-1 margin the stand of Scargill and Heathfield.



G.M. Cookson  
National Union of Mineworkers President Arthur Scargill.

The special delegate conference was the turning point. The campaign against the union's leaders had failed to gain sufficient ground inside the union to isolate Scargill.

Following the conference, legal action by Roger Windsor against Scargill and the Fraud Squad investigation were both dropped, but the government continued to pursue its court action.

The June 19 court victory came on the third day of the case against the miners' union and its leaders. They had pleaded not guilty the nine charges filed under the 1974 Trade Union and Labour Relations Act. They had been charged with failure to keep proper accounts to maintain a satisfactory system of control and accounting records, and to send the government-appointed Trade Union Certification Officer an accurate balance sheet of the accounts.

The maximum fine for each of the nine charges was £400 (US\$650). However, a successful conviction could have aided opponents of the NUM leaders in reopening the witch-hunt. It would have been a cue for strengthening government interference into union finances and other internal affairs.

At the court hearing here prosecuting lawyer Roger Ter Haar explained that the government case rested on the Lightman report to the union, in particular the details of how the union leaders had established bank accounts to avoid sequestration of the union's and strikers' assets.

The court hearing focused on whether interviews and papers given to Lightman could be called in evidence by the prosecution.

The NUM lawyers argued that these papers and interviews were protected by legal privilege, confidential to the union, and inadmissible as evidence.

The solicitor acting for the NUM was Gareth Peirce, who had successfully represented the Birmingham 6 and Guildford 4, Irish men and women falsely framed up on murder charges. Their convictions were recently overturned.

The court magistrate ruled that the prosecution could not use the Lightman report or

the submissions by the union leaders to it. He also refused an adjournment for a judicial review of his ruling by High Court judges, the only way the government could keep open this specific case open. The magistrate's ruling deprived the prosecution of the core of its "evidence" and the magistrate dismissed the case.

After the court hearing the government Trade Union Certification Officer reported they may still appeal to the High Court on the points of law involved. Even were this to proceed, though, the government cannot reopen this particular case.

### Miners fill courtroom

Throughout the court hearing, supporters of the union packed the public gallery. On the first day the union leaders were clapped into the court by 70 miners and their supporters.

"We had a delegation of 10 to show that we support Arthur," said Kevin Robinson, NUM Allerton Bywater president. Their union banner was outside the court, draped with a black ribbon to mark the death of a miner killed the previous week by a roof fall in the mine.

Nottinghamshire miners leader, Henry

Richardson, who had been present throughout the court hearing, said, "This was an attempt by the establishment to rush something through the courts as part of the 'Get Scargill' campaign. This is one victory in the battle of a big war, but it's very important we realize the story hasn't ended. They'll seek to carry on to attack our union as long as they can."

A major article in the June 21 *Financial Times* reported that "The country's best known militant union leader was back on the offensive against the enemy. . . . Scargill will be a thorn in many sides for some time to come."

Following the court hearing the NUM announced it was suing Lightman and Penguin Books for breach of confidence. Without the union's agreement Lightman authorized Penguin to publish his report to the union. The same day the union's Yorkshire Area leaders condemned Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock for presenting awards for British "reporters of the year" to the *Daily Mirror* team that had initiated the witch-hunt.

Mark Weinstein is a member of the Maltby branch of the National Union of Mineworkers in the Yorkshire area.



**'Militant' supplement publicizes mine workers victory in Britain**

The *Militant* published a special two-page supplement, for distribution in Britain, reporting on the dismissal of government charges against the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The supplement, dated July 5, came out during the *Militant's* two-week break.

Supporters in Britain immediately began distributing copies to coal miners and other unionists after receiving a bundle of 600. Many of the supplements were inserted into issue no. 24 of the *Militant*, which was printed shortly before the NUM court victory.

Most of the articles that appeared in the supplement are reprinted in this week's issue.



# British cops to pay miners for assault during 1984 strike

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

LONDON — Thirty-nine members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) are to be paid £425,000 (\$680,000) compensation by the South Yorkshire police for assault, wrongful arrest, malicious prosecution, and false imprisonment.

They were among 95 NUM members arrested June 18, 1984, at the Orgreave coking plant in South Yorkshire, during the 1984-85 miners strike.

The Orgreave picket — aimed at stopping British Steel from transporting coke made from scab coal — was a major focus of the strike. Six thousand striking miners were confronted by 3,500 police, many in riot gear, on horses, or with dogs. Fifty-three miners suffered injuries, including broken arms, legs, and skull fractures on that day alone. Among them was NUM President Arthur Scargill.

The government feared a repeat of their defeat in the "Battle of Saltley Gates," a turning point in the 1972 miners strike. In that strike, tens of thousands of Birmingham car and engineering workers mobilized in support of the miners, closing the Saltley coke depot.

At Orgreave, TV reports made it appear that the police were acting defensively, in the face of an unprovoked assault. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher dubbed the miners "the enemy within" ("the enemy without" having been Argentina during the war over the Malvinas Islands). Home Secretary Leon Brittan called for those arrested to be given life sentences.

Labour Party and Trades Union Congress leaders joined the chorus against "picket line violence." The campaign had an impact on some NUM area leaders who wound down the mobilization of pickets to Orgreave.

In July 1985, 15 NUM members were acquitted on charges of riot and unlawful assembly at Orgreave after a 48-day trial in which the prosecution case collapsed. "It must count as one of the most ignominious failures of the state in prosecuting people for many years. There was a riot but it was a police riot, and it was a miracle that none of the miners were killed," said Michael McGolgan, a lawyer for the NUM members.

The police commander at Orgreave, Ray Clement, had testified that the miners "had no right to be there." Consequently, he said, he would "not be the slightest troubled if they were trampled on by horses."

## INS forced to lower stiff fees paid by Salvadoran, Guatemalan applicants

BY SETH GALINSKY

Under pressure from immigrant rights organizations, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has been forced to lower the stiff fees that Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants have to pay when applying for "safe haven" in the United States. The INS also says it will grant fee waivers to poverty-stricken applicants.

Under a 1990 law, undocumented immigrant workers who fled El Salvador and Guatemala can register for "temporary protected status," allowing them to seek work legally in the United States for at least 18 months.

Although as many as 1 million Salvadorans live in the United States, most without legal documentation, only 50,000 had applied for the program as of May 19, six weeks away from the June 30 filing deadline.

Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants have fled government repression and economic crisis in their homelands. In El Salvador 70,000 people have been killed, most at the hands of the U.S.-backed government in the course of a decade-long civil war.

The high filing fees have been a big obstacle to applying for the program. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had been charging Salvadorans and Guatemalans \$405 a person, while immigrants from Kuwait, Lebanon, and Liberia, who were included in the program under an extension provision in March of this year, are

The June 23, 1991, *Observer* reported: "The cases against the 95 had collapsed when they came to court after defense counsel showed that numerous officials had copied each other's statements verbatim."

The defense forced the police to produce film they had shot throughout the day, which gave a completely different picture from that presented by Clement. As the *Sheffield Star* reported June 20: "One senior officer could also be heard briefing his truncheon-wielding men on the sound-track. He said simply: 'You know what you are doing. No heads. Bodies only.'"

The paper went on to quote "one South Yorkshire sergeant" who said, "The bosses wanted us to act with military efficiency, ruthlessness, and above all to win. I can still hear the screams of some miners when the dogs went in on them. The idea was to strip away the more feint-hearted and concentrate on the hard core. I never want to go through that again."

Arthur Scargill said the out-of-court settlement by the police made it clear that there was now a need for a public investigation. "It demands an inquiry as to why they practiced the tactics they did; why they inflicted

## Yorkshire gala: miners determined to fight

**Since strike, more than 100 pits have closed; 100,000 miners have lost their jobs.**

BY RICH PALSER

DONCASTER, Britain — Thousands of miners, their families, and supporters attended the 103rd Yorkshire Miners' demonstration and gala here June 15.

This annual event, organized by the Yorkshire Area National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), provides an opportunity for the miners to demonstrate their commitment to union solidarity and discuss the challenges currently facing the labor movement.

"We on this demonstration once again pledge our support for our Black comrades in South Africa and their fight against apartheid," declared Frank Cave, assistant general

secretary of Yorkshire area NUM, in his address opening the gala.

Cave explained that he recently went with an NUM delegation to South Africa, meeting with members of the National Union of Mineworkers there. He visited the company-run hostels where Black miners live and went to Alexandra township where many have died in violent attacks on the anti-apartheid movement.

"We support the release of all political prisoners," Cave said. "We demand that this government impose sanctions until apartheid is removed."

In his keynote address to the rally, Arthur Scargill, president of the NUM, gave a vigorous defense of the union's role in waging the 1984-85 strike against pit closures.

Since that strike, more than 100 pits have been closed and 100,000 miners have lost their jobs.

"Unless the government's policy is checked we are likely to see the industry further slaughtered in this next period, with no more than 30 to 35 pits, and the workforce decimated to 35,000," Scargill warned. "This is not scaremongering, but cold hard facts, because they pursue a policy of the acquisition of maximum profit at the expense of human beings."

Pointing to a 1979 leaked cabinet document that targeted destroying the power of the NUM and the transport union, Scargill said, "You see, the Tories don't mess around. They understand the nature of the system under which they live, and they will do anything in their power to protect their privileged position, to attack those forces and individuals who seek to change society and improve the quality of life for human beings."

The official leadership of the unions, organized in the Trades Union Congress (TUC), should respond to these attacks, he said. They failed to do so in the past. "If the TUC had not pontificated in 1984-85 and instead called upon the movement to take strike action, we would not be in this position now," Scargill explained.

The TUC and the leadership of the Labour Party failed to mobilize solidarity with the NUM in the 1984-85 strike. Since the defeat of the strike, the leadership of the Labour Party has moved progressively to the right, taking the same stand as the Tories on many domestic and foreign policy questions.

"I want to make my position clear on where I stand in relation to the next Labour government," said Scargill. "I've seen the red roses in place of the red flags. I've seen the clean-cut image in place of rallies like this. I say to you, I've not been a member of the Labour Party for 30 years to tell people we can run capitalism better than the Tories. I want a change in



June 20 *Sheffield Star* front page featured photo of 1984 cop assault on miners' picket line at Orgreave.

the pain and damage to the people they did."

Russell Broadhead, one of the miners who will be receiving compensation, said, "I would have preferred to see it go to court. That's the only place where justice can be seen to be done, not through check books or bank accounts."

Another NUM member, David Moore, said the police had tried to impose a "no publicity" clause on their settlement.

One of the NUM members to be compensated, Ray Morris, said he wanted to see "the

people who instigated this attack on the pickets put in the dock — the Chief Constable, his deputy, and some of the constables who exceeded necessary force."

Jim Spaul, an NUM member at Kellingley colliery and a leading activist in the Justice for Mineworkers campaign, explained that more than 50 miners are still victimized six years after the end of the strike. "British Coal used trumped-up court cases like this as the reason for firing many of them. They should all be reinstated now."

the system. I want a socialist system."

Two days later Scargill and union leader Peter Heathfield were due to appear in court on frame-up charges related to their handling of union finances during the strike.

Scargill concluded his address by referring to the pending case: "I'm proud of the role that I played; and I know that Peter is proud of the role that he played during the course of the miners strike; and I'm prepared to come to the real court of justice and the one that matters to me — the members of this union, their wives, and their families."

Speaking to 60 people at a Militant Labor Forum here after the gala, Yorkshire Area NUM leader Ken Capstick said: "I believe Scargill and Heathfield have survived the witch-hunt because there's a bulwark between them and the state, *Daily Mirror* owner Robert Maxwell, and so on. That bulwark is the miners. The political consciousness miners gained through the strike meant they couldn't be stampeded to get rid of Scargill and Heathfield."

Joining Capstick on the platform were Sue Reid, Communist League parliamentary election candidate for Sheffield Central, and Betsy Farley, a member of the United Steelworkers of America from Birmingham, Alabama.

## San Francisco judge rules in favor of right to legal defense

San Francisco Federal Judge Marilyn Hall Patel dismissed a criminal case at the end of May in a test of a Justice Department policy that undermines the right to legal representation.

U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh issued a memorandum two years ago giving prosecutors the green light to talk directly to defendants in the absence of their attorney. "Such contacts or communications are an important element of law enforcement," the memorandum said.

The American Bar Association voted in 1990 to oppose any Justice Department attempt to implement the policy.

In the case before Patel, the prosecutor directly contacted a defendant in a drug case without informing the defendant's attorney. The judge ruled that the Justice Department's policy violated Federal court rules requiring an attorney to get the opposing lawyer's consent before meeting with that lawyer's client.

The Justice Department has not yet announced whether it will appeal the ruling.



# ANC conference discusses 'transfer of power to people'

BY GREG McCARTAN

DURBAN, South Africa — Under the banner of fighting for a "transfer of power to the people," the conference of the African National Congress (ANC) began here July 2.

Outgoing ANC President Oliver Tambo and Deputy-president Nelson Mandela presented keynote speeches at the opening of the meeting to 2,200 delegates elected by ANC branches across the country.

Brightly-colored banners with slogans from the Freedom Charter, the document outlining the goals and demands of the liberation struggle, draped the sides of the large meeting hall at the University of Durban-Westville.

Some 350 guests from 56 countries and dozens of reporters from around the world also attended the first day of the meeting.

## Appeal to our readers

*Militant editor Greg McCartan, Young Socialist Alliance leader Derek Bracey, and Ruth Haswell from Britain are in South Africa reporting on the historic national conference of the African National Congress. Following the event they will stay an additional week gathering interviews and covering protest actions. We urge readers to send contributions to the Militant to help cover the costs of their trip.*

The first and final sessions of the five-day conference were opened for the press and international guests to observe.

Both speeches and interviews with delegates here revealed a determination to build on the victories scored in the decades-long struggle to bring an end to apartheid. The gathering provided the first opportunity since the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990 for unionists and other workers, those formerly in exile, youth, leaders of community-based organizations, and others from all racial groups to collectively chart a course for the ANC to follow in the fight for a democratic republic.

Tambo welcomed the delegates "conscious of the fact that you have come here propelled by a burning desire to make this conference the last one we shall have to hold under minority rule."

"Given the cloud of uncertainty hanging over our country," the ANC stalwart said, "and the climate of confrontation fostered by enemies of peace and democracy; and given our people's and the world's impatience with oppression, decisions emanating from this conference must infuse South Africa and the region with consequences of historical magnitude."

Tambo was one of the ANC leaders assigned in 1959 to set up a base of operations

outside South Africa due to increasing repression by the regime. In 1960 the ANC, along with the Pan Africanist Congress, was banned in what became 30 years of widespread arrests, killings, and denial of rights on the part of the regime as it sought to completely subjugate the country's 35 million Blacks. Tambo's report summarized the key turning points in winning solidarity for the freedom struggle and isolating the racist regime.

## Historic occasion

Mandela opened his speech by calling the conference "an historic occasion not only for the ANC but also with regard to the future of our country."

He charged the delegates with formulating policy guidelines and strategic aims that will take South Africa "forward as quickly as possible to its destination as a united, democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist country."

The reestablishment of the ANC inside South Africa and the deepening of the struggle for a government representing the majority "could not be a smooth process," Mandela said. "We are dealing with a regime that is steeped in a culture of racism, violence, and domination. We are dealing with a group of politicians who do not want to negotiate themselves out of power and representatives of the state who fear the impact of democratic change."

"Despite our own heroic efforts," Mandela said, "we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people. Therefore some issues are nonnegotiable: among others our demands for one person, one vote; a united South Africa; the liberation of women; and the protection of fundamental human rights."

## 'Freedom now!'

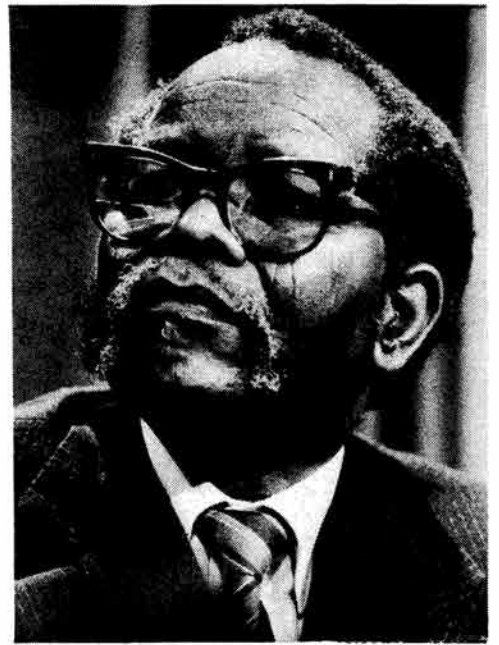
"Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system," he said.

Over the past year and a half the Pretoria regime has unbanned the ANC and other organizations, freed some political prisoners, lifted the state of emergency, ended most press censorship, repealed main pieces of legislation around which apartheid was constructed and consolidated, and entered into talks with the ANC that are to lead to a political climate constructive to full-scale negotiations.

Legislation that has been repealed includes measures that denied Blacks the right to own land and farm on all but 13 percent of the least-arable areas; that strictly segregated public facilities and living and business areas; and that categorized every person in the country



Militant/Margrethe Siem



G.M. Cookson

Nelson Mandela (left) and Oliver Tambo gave opening speeches on history of anti-apartheid struggle and challenges before African National Congress today.

according to a government-defined "race."

These steps taken by the regime so far registered the success of the struggle against apartheid, the relationship of forces within the country, and the recognition by the capitalist rulers that they could no longer maintain their particular form of class rule, even with massive violence against the population.

While the ANC has welcomed each new move, it insists that only a new government representing the masses of the dispossessed can begin to address the enormous social, political, and economic inequalities resulting from apartheid.

## 'Talking peace while conducting war'

Even forcing the government to comply with a series of demands prior to commencement of negotiations faces serious obstacles. As yet, some 900 political prisoners remain in jail, despite government pledges to release them by last April 30. In addition, not all exiles have been allowed to return, much security legislation remains in place, and there is mounting evidence that government security forces are involved in organizing violent assaults across the country.

These forces have carried out widespread attacks on anti-apartheid rallies and meetings and against residents of Black townships. They have done so in collaboration with persons identified as members of the Inkatha Freedom Party — an organization headed by Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, who has in the past collaborated with the regime.

Mandela said the regime "cannot expect that we will accept its good faith when it sits paralyzed as the security forces it controls themselves engage in violence against the people, permit such violence to occur, and remain immune from prosecution when there is clear evidence of their involvement or connivance in the murder of innocent people."

"Consequently," he said, "no one should complain when we accuse the Pretoria regime of pursuing a double agenda, one of talking peace while actually conducting a war."

In addition to pressing the regime to curb its security forces, the ANC has begun encouraging the formation of self-defense units in townships affected by the violence. In a press briefing during the conference ANC leader Chris Hani said the building of the units was in the initial stages and that they would be controlled by the community, not the ANC.

Mandela said in his speech that "We must defend peace at the same time as we advance toward people's power. We must engage in successful defensive battles against the counterrevolution at the same time as we conduct successful offensive battles to defeat the apartheid system."

The ANC has put forward a number of stages through which a new constitution and popularly elected government would come about through the negotiation process.

First would be the convening of an All Party Congress, where representatives would formulate the composition of an interim government, a "government of national unity." That transitional regime would be charged with drawing up a new constitution and preparing the election of a constituent assembly.

Saying this is "one of the major campaigning slogans" of the ANC, Mandela noted that

"the winning of the objective of a constituent assembly will not be achieved solely through the negotiating process. It will require the generation of mass support. ... In the absence of voting rights, the only power we can exercise is the power and the strength of our organized people."

Along these lines Mandela said that, although some 700,000 people have formed nearly 1,000 branches of the ANC, "there is no room for complacency and much more work has got to be done to draw millions of all our people into the ANC."

"We must remain a movement," he said, "representative of all the people of South Africa — a people's movement, both in name and reality."

Noting the small numbers of "whites, Coloureds, and Indians" recruited so far to the liberation organization he said that special efforts should be undertaken to "ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population." More recruitment is needed in the rural areas, as well, he said.

## A challenging period

Mandela said that the ANC faces "one of the most difficult, complex, and challenging times in the entire life of our organization."

The delegates must "arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party," he said, noting that "the elaboration of policy cannot go on forever."

ANC delegates will also discuss how to "arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon, which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted," he said.

Greetings from representatives of governments across Africa, anti-apartheid organizations in imperialist countries, and elected government officials were delivered for several hours on the opening days. All hailed the ANC for its uncompromising struggle and pledged to continue to press for international solidarity with the freedom struggle.

Delegates gave the most enthusiastic response to representatives of the Cuban, Soviet, and Namibian governments. Bringing greetings from President Sam Nujoma, the Namibian guest spoke of the long ties between the fight against South African colonial rule in his country and the struggle against apartheid.

The representative from the Soviet Union pledged, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in that country, to deepen ties with the ANC.

Chants of "Viva Cuba!" greeted Rodolfo Puente Ferro, who brought greetings from the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party.

Mkhululi Guala, a young delegate from the Western Cape region, said in an interview that the conference represents "a giant gain for our struggle." He noted that "most of us were not even born when the ANC was banned. The meeting will help set the pace for how we should move to transform the country from minority or majority rule."

Christina Makhoba, a 59-year-old domestic worker, said that apartheid "is still in force. I earn 50 rand (\$18) a month. People are still fighting just for a place to live. We need to recruit more to the ANC."



Militant/Margrethe Siem

March 1990 protest by students against detentions by police authorities in Thabong. Some 900 political prisoners remain in jail.



# Mexican workers identify with Curtis case

BY HECTOR RAMOS

Sixteen Mexican unions, labor organizations, and human rights groups joined the international fight for justice for Mark Curtis in May. Curtis is a Des Moines, Iowa, union and political activist serving a 25-year jail term in an Iowa state prison.

Priscilla Schenk, a member of the United Auto Workers union and a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, joined by Martín Koppel, a member of the United Steelworkers union from Chicago, won the support on a two-week tour of Mexico. Their tour was organized by the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights.

Curtis, a packinghouse worker and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, was arrested in March 1988 by Des Moines police. They brutalized him and fabricated rape and burglary charges against him.

"At two dozen events and meetings Martín and I explained Mark's real 'crimes' were having been a fighter for the rights of working people and his involvement in defending 17 Mexican and Salvadoran workers arrested by immigration police at the meat-packing plant where he worked," Schenk explained.

"Mark stood for unity among working people no matter what country we're from or what language we speak," Schenk added. "It's that fighting stance that won him the hatred of the police and government authorities. And it's what made him so attractive to the unionists and other activists we met with in Mexico."

## Fight for parole

Schenk and Koppel sought to win endorsers in Mexico for the defense committee and to get letters sent to the Iowa Parole Board asking for Curtis' release from prison.

"We won both endorsements as well as commitments for letters from virtually everyone we met with," Koppel said. "Priscilla and I were truly impressed with the show of solidarity."

The Curtis defense delegation won the support of the Mexican Electrical Workers Union, September 19 Garment Workers Union, organizations of fired workers at Aeroméxico airlines and at the Ford Motor Co. in Cuatitlán, Miguel Agustín Pro Center for Human Rights, Tecolote Cultural Center, six organizations affiliated to the Urban Popular Movement, and Permanent Seminar on Chicanos and Border Studies.

Several letters to the Iowa Parole Board have been received at the Des Moines defense committee office so far. The Federation of Union Organizations of the Electrical Industry, representing 20 electrical workers unions in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States wrote to the parole board: "Brother Curtis has already served 30 months in prison. We think this represents more than the average term established in the National and State Penal Codes for the charges on which he was sentenced."

"The prison authorities have acknowledged his excellent work history and exemplary personal conduct in prison. Because of these reasons, parole should be granted to Mark Curtis."

"The electrical workers union federation has a very combative history," Schenk said. "While Martín and I were in Mexico we found that working people throughout Latin America face police beatings, arrests on the picket line, firings for union activities, frame-up criminal charges lodged against union fighters, and in the case of the Mexican auto workers, the murder of one of their union brothers at the hands of gun thugs."

"These attacks take place in the context of a deepening economic crisis throughout Mexico," Schenk continued. "Billions of dollars are drained out of the country to pay foreign debt payments to the banks in the United States. Wages average \$4 a day for those who are able to find work. Close to half are unemployed or underemployed."

"Farmers are regularly and brutally driven off their land by big landowners and their hired thugs. The environment is so bad that people speak in horror of 'the contamination' and what it is doing to their health and that of their children."

"Hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers have fled this combination of economic and political brutality to seek safety and work in the United States. These conditions fuel a deep interest in finding out about the situation



Leaders of Authentic Labor Front in Mexico with Curtis defense leader Priscilla Schenk. Alfredo Domínguez (left), director of foreign relations; Manuel García (right), co-secretary general.

of U.S. workers," Schenk said. "Martín and I stood out because we were there to reach out for solidarity for a union brother in the United States and to learn about struggles going on among working people in Mexico to take back their unions."

"What was not well known," Koppel said, "was that these same attacks are everyday business by police, the employers and the government in the United States as well. Our tour was helpful not only in explaining the fight of Mark Curtis, but in answering questions about the police beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, the 20-year imprisonment of Johnny Imani Harris on phony rape charges in Alabama, and other attacks on the rights and living conditions of U.S. workers."

## Electrical workers extend support

The common interest in solidarity across borders is reflected in the letter to the Iowa Parole Board sent by Jorge Sánchez and Antonio Durán on behalf of the Mexican Electrical Workers Union. They told of Curtis' "record of struggle to unify all of the workers at the plant he was working at, regardless of race or language, always defending the interests of working people against attempts by the bosses to cut their wages, increase speedup, and impose ever more dangerous working conditions."

The union leaders added, "We are confident that when you review the case of Mark Curtis, justice will be done and his freedom will be granted immediately. Our union, which represents 45,000 electrical workers in our country, will follow very closely the case of our union brother Mark Curtis."

Koppel and Schenk met hundreds of electrical workers when they participated in a health fair in the town of Nuevo Necaxa, the site of a huge hydroelectric power plant.

"A dozen workers gathered around us to hear the story of Mark Curtis," Schenk said. "One told of an incident in their own town when an electrical worker who is known as one of the 'red bones' — that is, a unionist who stands up and defends workers' rights — was accused of rape. 'We marched to city hall,' one of the workers explained to us, 'and we demanded the charges be dropped and the unionist's good name be restored.' The union won the fight and got the charges dropped."

The hydroelectric workers promised to spread the word about Curtis' fight and got the agreement of a reporter from their local paper to run a story about the case.

The delegation also met with the Authentic Labor Front (FAT), a labor organization representing trade unions, peasants, cooperatives, and popular organizations. National FAT leaders Manuel García and Antonio Velázquez sent a letter to the Iowa Parole Board asking for the "immediate and unconditional" release of Mark Curtis. "Besides being unjust, it is also improper to keep him in prison," the letter said.

"FAT leaders immediately understood why authorities chose rape as Mark's 'crime,'" Schenk explained. "One of their leaders in Chihuahua was framed up on an identical charge just two months after Mark in May 1988. After a fight to clear his name, the police dropped the charges."

"The leaders of FAT asked a question that became the most common one we were asked during our tour — What can we do to help Mark Curtis?" Koppel said. "And they responded, as nearly everyone we met with did,

with their organization's endorsement, their promise to send a letter to win Mark's freedom, and ideas on what else they could do to help."

"Many union and human rights activists decided to make Curtis' defense an ongoing priority," Schenk said. "The Tecolote Cultural Center, a theater group, donated posters, records, and books from their productions to help raise needed funds for Curtis' defense fight. They also plan to mount a display on Curtis at the opening of a new play they are producing on the victimization of workers

and farmers by the government of Argentina during the 1970s."

Soledad Deceano, a teacher and political activist, met with the U.S. unionists at her union local, which plans a video showing on the Mark Curtis case. "Fighting for justice for Mark Curtis is my number one priority," Deceano told them.

The unionists were interviewed and received calls from listeners in a one-hour morning show on Radio Educación, arranged by Deceano. The radio show's hosts were very excited about the interest in the program among their listening audience. "They told us 32 calls had been received during the show, which has an audience of 300,000 listeners," Koppel said. "The callers offered to help and wanted more information about police brutality and conditions facing U.S. working people."

"One of the hosts was also interested in the fact that I was interrogated by U.S. secret police at my workplace because of my opposition to the U.S. war in the Arab-Persian Gulf," Schenk explained. "The reporter told us he had been suspended from his job at the radio station because he used one of his shows to oppose the war. He told us he and his supporters organized a fight, got public backing, including coverage in nine papers, and won his job back. This was just another example of how the struggles of working people in Mexico are closely linked with the struggles of working people in the United States."

For more information on the defense committee's campaign to win parole for Curtis, or to invite Schenk or Koppel to speak in your area, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.



## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

JUDY STRANAHAN

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made central contributions to the forward march of humanity against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Pathfinder representatives were among the 35,869 people who attended the recent annual convention of the American Booksellers Association held in New York City. Pathfinder had a booth in the main exhibitors hall.

The central display and backdrop of the booth was a five-foot by six-and-a-half foot mounted color photograph of the six-story-high mural painted on the side of the Pathfinder building in New York City. The photo, along with a display of Pathfinder's titles on Malcolm X, attracted hundreds of people to the booth.

During the four-day convention, Pathfinder accepted orders for 355 books and 50 pamphlets, totaling nearly \$3,000. The range of books published by Pathfinder found an international demand. Book distributors in Antigua, Taiwan, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands placed orders.

Pathfinder's book *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* was of particular interest to

some of the high school librarians who dropped by. The book was the top-selling title at the booth.

"We met hundreds of bookstore representatives who were not yet familiar with Pathfinder, and many immediately expressed interest in getting our books into their areas," said Rich Stuart, a Pathfinder representative.

Stuart reported that a total of 1,300 catalogs were distributed to participants and 160 people left business cards or signed the booth's visitors' book.

Ian Grant, a Pathfinder representative in London, recently made a sales trip to Ireland. He noted a wider interest in books by Malcolm X, with the highest selling title being *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Grant reported that overall, the best seller was issue no. 7 of the Marxist magazine *New International*, entitled "Opening Guns of World War III."

Pathfinder received a thank-you letter from the David M. Winfield Foundation for its contribution of copies of *The Struggle is My Life* by Nelson Mandela to the foundation's literacy program. The foundation distributes books to 10 schools and youth organizations within the New York area.



Pathfinder at American Booksellers Association convention in June

Militant/Eric Simpson



# ANC elects new leaders at congress

Continued from front page

conference is more representative and has more authority than the illegitimate tricameral parliament," the ANC president said. In the apartheid regime's current parliament, the two chambers reserved for those designated by the government as "Coloureds" and "Asians" are dominated by the whites-only chamber. Africans are not allowed to vote or run for office.

Mandela introduced the six officers and NEC members one by one to the rally. Longtime ANC leader Walter Sisulu was elected deputy-president. National Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ramaphosa is the new secretary-general. Jacob Zuma, a leader in Natal Province, won the post of deputy-secretary-general. Exiled leader Thomas Nkobi retained the office of treasurer-general.

Mandela said that due to a stroke suffered in 1989, Tambo declined to stand for reelection as president. In the new post of national chairperson, he will continue in a leadership capacity as much as his health allows.

Sisulu, who had earlier indicated he would decline nomination, was elected by a margin of 1,567 to 412 over Harry Gwala. Gwala, a leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP) who heads the ANC's Natal Midlands region, had been opposed to talks with the government. He was later among the top eight in the NEC election, polling 1,644 votes.

Ramaphosa, 38 years old, told a press conference after his election that in addition to the generation of exiled and imprisoned leaders, bringing onto the NEC younger members and those who had led union or other mass-based organizations inside South Africa while the ANC was banned was part of the "fusing of the three strands of the organization."

A tested layer of those who led the United Democratic Front — a coalition of anti-apartheid organizations — and youth and women's groups were placed on the leadership body in the election held after the direct vote on officers. Many who operated in the ANC underground were elected as well. Only one leader of the Congress of South African Trade Unions is on the new NEC, despite the fact that the trade union's president and secretary-general were nominated.

The previous NEC of 35 members was expanded to nearly 90. This included the 50 elected by conference, the chairperson and secretary of each of the ANC's 14 regions, representatives of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC guerrilla army, the ANC Youth League, and the ANC Women's League.

Eighteen exiled leaders and four 1963-64 Rivonia trial defendants released with Mandela were elected. Seventeen members of the former NEC are on the new committee.

Five whites, including the first two women who are white, were elected by the delegates. This is an increase of three over the previous committee.

The youngest person elected is Youth League leader Peter Mokaba at 32 years old. A larger number of members from the Indian population group won NEC spots and many new NEC members have been part of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The new committee also includes Zulu prince and former Inkatha leader Mawayizeni Zulu.

The top three vote-getters were Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Chris Hani, who received 1,858 votes; International Department head Thabo Mbeki, with 1,824 votes; and Joe Slovo, with 1,761 votes. Hani and Slovo are well-known SACP leaders.

With the new NEC on stage, Mandela gave a brief closing speech to the delegates.

Assessing the debates and discussions at the conference, Mandela said the historic meeting "reflected the shifts we have made in our organization and the transformation from a banned illegal formation to a mass-based democratic organization."

The leadership's "task is not only to come to our next conference with a stronger and more powerful ANC," he told the rally the following day, "but together with you, it is to deliver before our next conference a new nonracial, united, and democratic South Africa."

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation should attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how to best advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**The Philippines Today: Working People Demand U.S. Bases Out, Cancel the Foreign Debt.** Speakers: Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, recently attended League of Filipino Students Congress; Chito Quijano, North American representative League of Filipino Students; Ramon Abad, staff member Philippines Resource Center. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Korea: The Fight for Unification.** Video: *Until Daybreak*. Speaker: Tom Fiske, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Yugoslavia: On the Verge of Civil War.** Speaker: Juliette Montauk, Socialist Workers Party and member United Auto Workers. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Stop the Executions! No to the Death Penalty!** Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 13, 7 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Yugoslavia: The Fight for National Self-Determination.** Speaker: George Buchanan, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish and French. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Yugoslavia: Which Way Forward?** Speaker: Kibwe Diarra, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cleveland Board of Education. Sun., July 14, 1863 W 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Free Trade Agreement: What Stand Should**

**Working People Take?** Speaker: Maureen Colletta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**Yugoslavia: The Fight against National Oppression.** Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-578. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

### CANADA

#### Toronto

**Yugoslavia... on the Brink of Civil War.** Speaker: Heidi Rose, Communist League. Sat., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

#### Vancouver

**Free Trade Pact: What Stand Should Working People Take?** Speaker: Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seattle city council, member International Association of Machinists. Fri., July 12, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

**Civil War in Yugoslavia: Break-Up of the Stalinist Prisonhouse of Nations.** Speaker: Ned Dmytryshyn, member Communist League. Fri., July 19, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

## Washington threatens military strike on Iraq

Continued from front page

Washington is using Hussein's alleged attempt to obtain nuclear weapons as a pretext to force a change of regime in Baghdad.

According to *Times* reporter Thomas Friedman, Bush had hoped that continued economic sanctions on Iraq would be enough to force the ouster of Hussein. "Then Washington would have the best of all worlds: an iron-fisted Iraqi junta without Saddam Hussein," he wrote.

But "Hussein and his generals are not following the scripts Washington handed them," the *Times* reporter added. "The generals have not ousted Mr. Hussein, and he is refusing to play the chastened and defeated foe ready to tacitly preserve a Pax Americana in the gulf."

Leslie Gelb, a prominent columnist, openly called for Washington to carry out "surgical air strikes against suspected nuclear, chemical and biological weapons sites," if Iraq does not immediately comply with U.S. demands.

Gelb lamented the fact that the brutal impact of sanctions on the Iraqi people is becoming known and causing worldwide concern.

"Increasingly, key Administration officials are arguing that full U.N. sanctions cannot survive tragic reports of widespread

pestilence and dying babies," wrote Gelb June 30 in the *Times*. "They fear that Saddam will be able to use this as a wedge to insure his own survival, as well as the survival of some weapons of mass destruction. They say that the only way to help the Iraqi people and eliminate the nuclear and chemical threats is to drive Saddam from power. And the only way to do that they argue, is to start selective bombing."

"Their case is persuasive. Renewed limited air strikes in unpopulated areas will rekindle Baghdad's sense of Saddam's vulnerability and his costs to Iraq's future. That, in turn, could ignite Saddam's overthrow."

Meanwhile, the U.S.-enforced embargo is rapidly deteriorating conditions in the country.

*New York Times* reporter Patrick Tyler wrote from Baghdad June 24 that diseases such as typhoid, hepatitis, meningitis, and gastroenteritis have increased to epidemic levels.

Tyler reported that:

- Iraqi hospitals have seen a 25 percent increase in patients suffering from gastroenteritis in the last two months. This figure is low because many do not reach a hospital.
- The death rate for reported typhoid cases has gone up this year to as many as 80 deaths per 1,000, from almost no deaths in

previous years.

- The death rate from infectious diarrheal diseases has gone from being a rare occurrence in 1990 to 32 per 1,000 in the last two months. More than 17,000 people suffering these diseases were admitted to hospitals in April and May.

- There are many cases of marasmus, progressive emaciation from advanced malnutrition, and kwashiorkor, an advanced form of protein deficiency in babies.

- Iraq continues to suffer from lack of electrical power and clean drinking water, with no end to these problems in sight.

The impact of these conditions is harsher on working people than the rich.

For example, the price of infant formula has risen beyond the means of many working-class families. One can, which used to cost \$1, has skyrocketed to nearly \$50. Poor families are allowed three cans per month from government stocks at a lower, subsidized price, but according to doctors the minimum nutritional need of an infant is 10 cans per month.

"Last year Bush made a speech at the United Nations about the children of the world, but look what he is doing to Iraqi children," Iraqi Deputy Health Minister Dr. Shawki Murqos said. "Nobody here will forget that."

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**As green as their money** — A lobbying outfit for California lumber barons has changed its name from the Timber Association to the Forestry Association.



**Harry Ring**

**Makes perfect sense** — Preliminary to storing hundreds of thousands of barrels of lethal nuclear waste in New Mexico salt mines, the government is doing a 10-year test run in a chamber which, it's now

reported, will collapse in the next two or three years. The feds say, no problem, they can do the test storage in a next-door chamber by propping up the ceiling long enough for the test to be completed.

**Spy-catchers** — A Kuwaiti official explained the 15-year jail term meted out to an Iraqi resident for wearing a Saddam Hussein T-shirt. He said there was also evidence — not presented in court — that the man was a member of Iraq's Baath Socialist Party and a longtime Iraqi spy. The T-shirt, we assume, was a cloak for the spying.

**Dim situation** — In an upset, the Australian Labor Party won 46 per-

cent of the votes in the New South Wales election, deadlocking with the incumbent coalition led by the National Party. Premier Nicholas Greiner voiced disappointment, observing, "This is a hard time to be in government anywhere in Australia, or anywhere in the world."

**Phew** — "Recession," an "eau de cologne" for businessmen, is available — its slogan, "The economy stinks. You shouldn't have to."

**Everything's fine** — The amount of bad business loans held by the 100 top U.S. lenders soared 26 percent last year. Industrial and commercial borrowers are now behind in their payments by \$17.8 billion. And that

doesn't include real estate loans, an even bigger challenge for the banks.

**Rapid Deployment Force** — Plans are projected to market a \$40 million supersonic corporate jet that will travel at twice the speed of sound. Explained an official: "With the increasing globalization of American business, this will be an important tool for American companies."

**This you can believe** — "To a cynic listening to Dick Cheney... the new world order might have sounded surprisingly like the old one. Mr. Cheney, returning from a 10-day trip to Europe and the Middle East, announced arms sales

worth \$2.1 billion... The new world order seems to favor exports." — *New York Times*.

**Like, "Move and I shoot."** — A cassette/book language course on Spanish for police and firefighters offers "specialized expressions, phrases and terminology needed to communicate with Spanish-speaking people in a variety of human services situations."

**You must remember this** — "Great Society" items should be sent to Harry Ring, Pathfinder Books, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90006. Clippings sent to New York are sent on, but it takes a bit longer.

## Garment workers in Cleveland fight wage cuts

BY MARTY PETTIT AND JON HILLSON

CLEVELAND — Nearly 400 workers packed into a union meeting June 3 in the Joseph & Feiss suit manufacturer's plant cafeteria to express outrage at wage-cutting attacks aimed at sewing machine operators.

The bosses' new piece-rate structure has slashed hourly wages from an average of \$8.50 to the \$4.50 hourly contractual minimum for many of the highly skilled workers, all members of Local 168C of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

This employer assault is the latest stage in a general reorganization of Joseph & Feiss, which was bought in 1989 by Hugo Boss, a leading clothing manufacturer in Germany.

Joseph & Feiss announced sales of \$389 million in 1989.

The union meeting was the first general meeting since September 1990, at which ACTWU members were presented the national contract offer by the Clothing Manufacturers Association (CMA). The membership of 1,200 voted by a two-to-one margin

to accept the contract, after being told a "no vote" amounted to a strike call.

Since then, CMA bosses across the country have successfully reopened the contract, squeezing out wage givebacks of up to five percent.

Intense domestic and international competition among these employers compels each company to attempt to drive down "labor costs" to beat their rivals. In other words, in the eyes of those who own Joseph & Feiss, all workers there make "too much money."

In the second week of May, after sweeping physical changes in the Joseph & Feiss plant, the bosses imposed the new piece-rate structure, notifying union officials of the decision.

The new rates doubled and tripled output demands for the approximately 70 operators affected. Many of these workers have 10-15 years seniority. When the first paychecks appeared, indicating a plunge in piece-rate earnings, the operators were shocked, stunned, and angry.

"It's like they give you a pound of flour," one top operator with 20 years in the shop said, "and they tell you to make

a hundred loaves of bread."

Union officials refused an initial request from the workers for a meeting to discuss the attack.

Several operators then wrote a letter to union officers requesting the meeting, gaining the signatures of dozens of workers in the "small shop," where the cuts were first felt. This effort, coupled with widespread discussion throughout the plant, sparked by the operators, convinced the Cleveland Joint Board of ACTWU to call the June 3 local meeting.

The operators worked together to draft an appeal to the entire membership to attend, illustrated with a copy of a pay stub, dramatizing the wage-gouging attack by management.

"The same thing will happen to the whole plant," the letter stated, "unless we organize to stop this here and now. We all need to hear from each other about what is really going on in all the departments in J & F to begin to defend our rights more effectively."

Nearly 20 union stewards handed out hundreds of the letters to workers entering the plant and in the cafeteria. The appeal struck a chord among many ACTWU members.

Bosses at Joseph & Feiss routinely slash individual rates and wages for operators, cutting room employees, and other workers. These practices have increased as the Hugo Boss rate restructuring has been imposed, and as the national contract is being gutted by clothing industry giants nationwide.

A general crackdown by management on

the workers, supposedly to increase "efficiency," including arbitrary discipline of workers and petty harassment — like the banning of radios and headsets — is also unfolding.

Since the union meeting, ACTWU member Jon Hillson, who spoke out against the wage slashes — winning a big ovation from those workers attending — has already been written up for talking with a coworker. He was falsely accused of interfering with the work of another union member. The union is fighting against this with a grievance against harassment.

Workers who decided to attend the June 3 meeting were uncertain if anything would be accomplished. These included operators not yet touched by the piece-rate slash, cutters, pressers, spreaders, Soabar operators, and other workers.

After the meeting, the operators are still being paid the same rate. But the determination and anger that many said they heard expressed and cheered at the union meeting remains high.

As one worker said, "I was really happy so many people came. I wasn't discouraged. We need to have another meeting. We need regular meetings."

Another operator said, "I like what one guy said about the company going after everyone, and we need to fight the company. Now we've got the keep the pressure on."

Marty Pettit and Jon Hillson are members of ACTWU Local 168C and work at Joseph & Feiss.

## New Zealand working people learn about class struggle in Sweden

BY JANET EDWARDS

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — "Sweden is pictured as a country of labor peace, economic growth, and high living standards. It is said to be neutral in world affairs. These are myths."

This is what Carl-Erik Isacson, a leader of the Communist League of Sweden, explained at his public meetings during a tour of this country in early June.

"Late last year the Swedish government proposed welfare cuts and a few days later provided a military hospital in Saudi Arabia for the U.S.-led forces fighting Iraq," Isacson told his audiences.

"This was a change in policy, reflecting the impact of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis and sharpening inter-imperialist competition. Sweden's rulers are no longer able to stand aside from growing trade wars and the large trading blocs carving up the world market."

"Sweden has been portrayed as an example of capitalism working without mass exploitation of working people either at home or abroad," Isacson explained. "It is a loss to the imperialist system that 'neutral' Sweden is now directly intervening in wars. It makes it easier for working people to see that Sweden is a part of this imperialist system that has to be defeated."

At his meetings Isacson showed a brief video of a strike last year by unionists at the Saab-Scania auto plant, where he works. The strike illustrated that unions in Sweden have not been broken and that the employers have not been as successful as they need to be.

Seeing the video highlighted an important fact about the industrial work force in Sweden: its multinational composition. "It's not just blonde Vikings — they're there — but also workers from the Middle East, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa," he said. "Fifty percent of the work force at my plant are immigrant workers."

Isacson also outlined Swedish government restrictions on immigrants and the ill treatment meted out to them. Kurds have



**Communist League of Sweden leader Carl-Erik Isacson.**

faced particular harassment. This gives added importance, he said, to the demand that such restrictions be ended and that the borders of imperialist countries such as Sweden be opened to Kurdish refugees from Iraq.

A highlight of the tour was Isacson's visit to Griffins, a biscuit factory of several hundred workers, mostly members of the United Food and Chemical Workers Union. There he met three union delegates and a number of past and present *Militant* subscribers as he toured the production area. Most discussions took place in the packing area, where women pack the biscuits by hand off moving lines.

Workers were interested to hear Isacson explain that unions in Sweden are under attack and unemployment is rising. One commented that she always thought Sweden was without such problems. Virtually all those whom Isacson met had taken part in the 12,000-strong march on April 30, protesting the antiunion Employment Contracts Bill. They took note of Isacson's statement that similar legislation is being prepared by the Swedish government.

Patrick Evans also contributed to this article.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
July 25, 1966 Price 10c

LOS ANGELES — The question of "Black power" dominated the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which ended its sessions here on July 9 after passing a resolution that would soften the more conservative, middle-class organization's attitude toward the militant "young Turks."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, opened the convention with a keynote speech equating "black power" with "black death." Cries for "black power" and moves like the one to turn Watts into an independent Freedom City "offer a disadvantaged minority little except the chance to shrivel and die," he said.

"Though [black power] be clarified and clarified again... in the quick, uncritical and highly emotional adoption it has received from some segments of a beleaguered people, it can mean in the end only black death."

Rev. James Jones, a dissident member of the McCone Commission, presented the delegates a sharply different view of "black power" from that taken by Wilkins.

Rev. Jones noted that history is filled with references to "ecclesiastical power," "Democratic power," "Republican power," "economic power," and "Mexican political power."

"When Negroes organize to benefit themselves and to advance their future," he said,

"they have to do it by organizing their power. And, since we're black, that's black power."

**THE MILITANT**  
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

July 19, 1941

MINNEAPOLIS — Acting on the demand of the Roosevelt Administration, a federal grand jury today handed down indictments on "seditious conspiracy" charges against 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party members.

These indictments are but the latest and most ruthless steps taken by federal authorities to aid AFL chieftain Daniel J. Tobin in his fight to crush Local 544-CIO, the famous Minneapolis truck drivers union which, at a June 9 membership meeting, voted to withdraw from the AFL and accept an invitation to join the CIO. In the ensuing five weeks, Tobin and his friends in the government have moved heaven and earth to crush Local 544-CIO, but without success. That they now resort to using the Smith Act of 1940 — these are the first indictments under that anti-labor law — is but a measure of Tobin's desperation.

To all the Tobin and government moves, Local 544-CIO has answered with one demand: industry-wide elections, under government supervision, to determine what union the Minneapolis motor transport workers want to represent them.

Instead of an election came FBI raids on the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in St. Paul and Minneapolis on June 28.



# Supreme Court and 'pariahs'

The U.S. Supreme Court is making substantial inroads on democratic rights won by working people in the last three decades.

The court has unleashed a barrage of rulings that hit hardest at workers who are the most marginalized by the workings of capitalism — prisoners, those awaiting trial, immigrants, oppressed nationalities, and women. The actions of the Court, however, are aimed at beating back the rights of all working people.

In past sessions the Court made decisions that seriously weakened affirmative action, abortion rights, and the implementation of school desegregation.

So far in 1991 the Court has handed down several rulings that increase the power of cops and the courts against working people:

- It freed the hands of the cops to use more police-state-type methods such as warrantless searches of cars, incarceration for 48 hours without charges, and allowing coerced confessions as testimony.
- It limited the rights of those accused of crimes by cutting back on prisoners' ability to use the appeals process, and by allowing testimony from victims' families to be heard in court during sentencing.
- It opened the door to increased use of mandatory sentencing and longer jail terms, and weakened curbs on "cruel and unusual punishment."

The actions of the Court do not occur in isolation. They are part of the effort by the U.S. capitalist rulers to drive down the standard of living and working conditions of the working class. The employers are pushing to change the relationship of forces between themselves and the great mass of working people worldwide. The ruling rich wish to make working people pay the cost for the economic and political crisis of world capitalism.

The rulers know that workers will fight these attacks. Their goal is to make this fightback as difficult as possible by taking away some of the democratic rights that workers can use to defend themselves.

What the rulers have in store for working people can already be seen in the skyrocketing prison population. The United States, with more than 1 million people in jail, has

the highest per capita prison rate in the world, with 426 prisoners for every 100,000 residents. This is many more than the 333 per 100,000 in South Africa or the 268 per 100,000 in the Soviet Union. A Black man in the United States is four times as likely to be in prison than in South Africa.

In the last 10 years of the stepped-up ruling-class offensive against working people, the prison population has more than doubled. It continues to grow at a rate of 13 percent a year. The cost of construction for new prisons alone is \$100 million a week.

Partially due to mandatory sentencing laws, prison sentences are getting longer. A fourth of the inmates in the federal system are serving sentences of more than 15 years, one half over 7 years. These are some of the severest sentences anywhere in the world.

The attacks on democratic rights are aimed at the working class as a whole. The rulers attempt to justify their actions by creating a pariah layer among the exploited: prisoners, those accused of heinous crimes, and those accused of drug-related crimes. This list rapidly extends to immigrant workers, oppressed nationalities, and women. By waging their offensive in this way the rulers seek to divide the working class and make it less willing to fight on behalf of victims of their onslaught. Meanwhile they relentlessly chip away at all workers' rights.

The Supreme Court's decisions will be used against workers who seek to exercise their rights as union activists, on the picket line, or in struggles against imperialist war. The rulings back up the arbitrary violence of the cops and their right to act as judge, jury, and executioner of anyone who steps out of line.

All working people should protest these recent decisions, discussing them in the unions, with fellow workers, and educating broadly on their significance for the working class as a whole.

Working people should not let themselves be divided by the tactics of the ruling class. The labor slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all" remains vital for today's and future struggles.

# Marxist arsenal expands

Civil war in Yugoslavia. Attacks on abortion, affirmative action, and prisoners' rights. Sharpening inter-imperialist conflict. The protectionist and free-trade policies of rival capitalists. The fight for national self-determination and for socialism.

These are some of the big political questions being discussed by working people around the world, including millions who speak Spanish or French. The publication of the inaugural issue of *Nueva Internacional*, in Spanish, and redesigned and reprinted issues of *Nouvelle Internationale*, in French, means more workers and farmers now have access to a Marxist analysis of these and other issues.

Farm workers from Washington to Virginia, garment workers, meat-packers, toilers throughout the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin America, independence fighters in Puerto Rico, and workers in the *maquiladora* border factories up and down the Río Grande can now read, study, and discuss the ideas contained in *Nueva Internacional*.

The 384-page issue is a valuable tool for better understanding the world unfolding today and thus being better equipped to change it. *Nueva Internacional* features the article "Opening Guns of World War III" as well as "1945: When U.S. Troops Said No!" and "Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War." By reading it fighters can arm themselves with a communist viewpoint and use it as a guide in their struggles for rights and social justice.

Today workers and farmers the world over are confronted with viewpoints propagated by the bourgeois media that are alien to their class interests: socialism is finished; capitalism has gotten a new lease on life; and U.S. imperialism is stronger than ever.

These views are widely discussed and debated by Spanish-speaking toilers and young people in the fields and factories from Ohio to Argentina, at political gatherings such as the recent Mexico City conference of Latin American

and Caribbean political parties, and on university campuses from San Juan to Miami.

The clearly presented, working-class explanation and perspectives in *Nueva Internacional* are serious and important contributions to these discussions and welcomed by fighters as such.

*Nueva Internacional* no. 2 will be published soon, featuring the articles on Che Guevara, Cuba, and the road to socialism that appeared in English in *New International* no. 8.

Two issues of *Nouvelle Internationale*, nos. 1 and 2, are now available with attractive new covers and advertisements.

*Nouvelle Internationale* no. 1 contains "Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government: 1848 to Today" by Mary-Alice Waters. Issue no. 2 features "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes. Both of these magazines are new weapons in the hands of French-speaking workers around the globe.

From immigrant Moroccan workers in Belgium, unionists in France, toilers in Algeria, workers and peasants throughout Africa, the Middle East, and Pacific Islands, to Québécois, Haitians and other Caribbean workers, many French-speaking fighters will want to get their hands on *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Coming soon, issue no. 4 of the magazine will feature the article "Opening Guns of World War III," now being translated into French by an international team of volunteers.

*Nueva Internacional* and *Nouvelle Internationale* are magazines that deserve to be read, studied, and distributed as widely as possible. Copies can be ordered from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, New York, 10014. *Nueva Internacional* no. 1 costs \$13, *Nouvelle Internationale* nos. 1 and 2 cost \$11 each. Enclose \$3 for shipping and handling, \$.50 for each additional copy.

# Beds, 'Sprungs,' and the need for a labor party

BY DOUG JENNESS

A few weeks ago it looked like there might be a small glimmer of light amidst the massive butchery of social services and jobs in New York City. Mayor David Dinkins proposed building 5,500 new beds. With all the trappings the bill is \$1 billion — \$181,000 a bed.

What first came to mind is that Dinkins might have had a small jolt of conscience and was proposing new hospital beds. Everyone in the city knows there is a shameful shortage of space for patients in the crowded public hospitals. But that isn't what the mayor is projecting.

What about the thousands of homeless who sleep in the city's parks, train stations, and sidewalks and construct small shantytowns? Maybe the \$1 billion is earmarked for low-cost public housing units for them?

But that's not what Dinkins has in mind.

Surely, then, the beds are for public child-care centers

# LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

where working mothers can place their children for free or at a minimal cost. That's certainly a badly needed social service that the city government should expand. But that, too, isn't where the \$1 billion is to go.

Nor is it earmarked for beds in homes for the elderly where care in New York as in other cities is scandalous.

Instead of doing the unexpected, Dinkins lived up to his role as a defender of private property and big business and announced that the \$1 billion is to expand the number of beds in the city's jails. In the last decade the jail population grew from 7,000 to 22,000. It is expected to exceed 23,000 in September. Currently the jails are filled to 103 percent of capacity.

The cops have been arresting people — mostly youth — so fast that the city is erecting special dormitory tents called "Sprungs" after the name of the company that makes them. Though the white, steel-framed Sprungs are cheaper and easier to set up, the city's jailers are worried that they cannot adequately control "restive" prisoners. They want more durable structures.

The city is also expecting the arrival in January of its fifth prison barge, which will cost \$156.4 million. The prison fleet was launched four years ago to more rapidly develop space to confine inmates than could be done on land.

New York City officials are doing their part to keep the United States at the top of the list of countries with the highest per capita jail population in the world.

Mayor Dinkins, in proposing a substantial expansion of prison capacity, does not address the fact that two-thirds of the city's prisoners have never been tried. They are awaiting trial, which takes an average of 46 days.

This is part of the brutalization of working people carried out by the cops, courts, district attorneys, and jailers throughout the country. Their job is not to implement justice, but to mete out punishment to "suspects" whether or not they ever get their day in court. Cops beat them or shoot them down in cold blood, and judges set outrageously high bail forcing them to be locked up in crowded cells for weeks.

According to a June 17 Supreme Court ruling, overcrowding, poor sanitation, and exposure to violence cannot be considered cruel and unusual punishment unless the jailers are "deliberately indifferent."

Dinkins' insistence on beefing up the city's repressive apparatus goes hand in hand with his administration's savage attack on social services that benefit working people, including sanitation pick-ups, and library, school, hospital, park, and other city services.

By the time his budget was adopted June 30, some 10,000 city employees had been given pink slips, and further cuts could lead to 10,000 more layoffs. This was designed to pressure city employee unions to concede to deep bites in wages.

Labor officials in the city, including Stanley Hill, president of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Barry Feinstein, president of Teamsters Local 237, are complaining about "backstabbing" and "double-talking" by the Dinkins' administration.

Their dismay rings hollow, however. When Dinkins, whose election these and other union officials backed to the hilt, campaigned for mayor in 1989, he pledged to make substantial cuts in city services. And despite their protestations, on July 1 these union chiefs agreed to \$100 million in givebacks by city workers.

Instead of buckling under to demands that social benefits and jobs for working people be axed, these officials, who feed from the union-dues trough (which is the main thing they try to protect), should be fighting to expand and improve social services.

The union bureaucracy's time-worn policy of backing Democratic politicians who claim to be "friends of labor" is a dead end. This experience with Dinkins underscores the need for working people to pull together our own political party — a labor party based on trade unions that fight uncompromisingly for the interests of all workers.



# Free speech and abortion rights attacked again

BY MARK CURTIS AND RODDNEY PALMER

FORT MADISON, Iowa — On May 23, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld government regulations barring employees of federally financed family planning clinics from talking to patients about abortions or where to get one.

In this latest example of "gunboat diplomacy" the Bush administration holds a gun to the head of clinic workers and demands that they never mention abortion — or lose the money they need to keep operating.

This ruling is a flagrant violation of democratic rights, including free speech. It prohibits clinic workers from even mentioning the word abortion, bringing the thought police

many of these antiabortion groups do a complete about-face, swinging from "pro-life" to advocating the death penalty.

This latest decision is similar to many of the court's recent rulings on democratic rights. For example, they now allow someone arrested to be held up to 48 hours in jail before a hearing in front of a judge. Forced confessions can be legal evidence, and the use of evidence obtained by cops without a search warrant is all right, as long as it was done in "good faith."

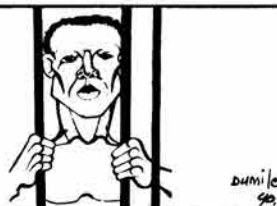
Ever since abortion was legalized in the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, those in power have been chipping away at the ability to exercise this right. Even though it's legal to get an abortion in this country, finding a doctor to do it and money to pay for it is getting tougher and tougher for millions of women. Health care money available for poor women, like Medicaid, cannot be used for abortion and some states have passed laws stopping teenage women from getting an abortion without first getting permission from or notifying their parents. With this new ruling they have moved from cutting off funds for abortion to cutting off funds for even talking about it.

Where are these attacks leading to? Abortion is a fundamental right of women. Having the right to control their reproductive function is a precondition for women to plan their lives, work, education, and families.

This chipping-away strategy shrinks the ground we stand on; whether or not these attacks are successful depends on what we do in support of our rights. For their part, Planned Parenthood and other clinics have pledged to turn their backs on federal funding rather than submit to the government's ultimatum. We should demand that the government stop this blackmail, scrap its antiabortion and anti-free-speech rules, and restore the funding immediately.

Mark Curtis and Roddney Palmer are inmates at the state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

## BEHIND PRISON WALLS



into one of the most private decisions a person can make. It increases government interference in all our lives and limits our freedoms further.

Jerking money from groups like Planned Parenthood will especially hurt the poor, working, and young women who use these clinics and may not know what their rights and options are.

The decision will embolden antiabortion forces, especially Congress and the president, to further push to make abortion illegal in fact, if not in law. The attack on abortion rights is made under the banner of "pro-life," but this is pure hypocrisy. The antiabortion movement is pro-life only at the point of conception, as evidenced by what happens to children born to poor women in this country. Most children today face cuts in education, welfare, Social Security, and other social programs. After a child is born,



## LETTERS

### Attica 20th anniversary

On September 13, 1991, the inmates at Attica will mark the 20th anniversary of New York's bloodiest uprising. Our brothers gave their lives for a cause they believed in, and attempted with no avail to change.

The situation that brought about the actions of inmates in September 1971 still exists today. The treatment of inmates by guards is horrendous, and racially motivated. We still contend with inadequate medical treatment and food. Supplies such as toilet paper, soap, toothpaste, writing paper, and envelopes — which are supposed to be handed out to inmates on a weekly basis — are almost nonexistent.

Inmates are allowed only two showers per week, and phone calls once a week. And since the guards run the showers and phones, there are always a number of inmates who are skipped over because they either have had a problem with the guard on duty, or racial discrimination. Hard to believe but it goes on daily.

Attica is once again approaching a very volatile situation. The inmates have had enough of the injustices handed out by the guards and the administration. We Are People Too, and only want to be treated as such.

What is needed at Attica is a full investigation of the staff and the operation. We the inmates do not want a confrontation with the guards or administration but, when we are pushed hard enough, and backed into a corner, we will fight and the September 13, 1971, uprising will be of no comparison to what could be in the making.

Attica Inmates, 1991  
Attica, New York

### Gulf war casualties

I believe that your accurate coverage of the mass murder in the Persian Gulf War was unmatched and invaluable. My sincerest thanks to each and every one of you for giving us, your readers, an uncensored and objective look at what really occurred.

Lately, I have found your articles on North and South Korea, and Cuba, quite fascinating. I am very interested in following the peoples' struggles within these countries in the future — with the help of your paper.

I would like to take this opportunity

to extend my sincerest condolences to the families and friends of all the casualties of all nationalities of the Persian Gulf War.

A prisoner  
Concord, New Hampshire

### Keep presses running

I'm an advocate reader of your paper and share it with all my fellow comrades here in lockup.

Your coverage of the Rodney King beating is par excellence. I agree in full with the "Gates Must Go" campaign because just as my Brother Rodney and all the others, I was a victim of physical brutality. Only mine took place behind these closed-end walls called prison.

It happens every day, and we are made to look like the villain instead of the victim.

So, my friends, keep the presses running and never stop exposing the corruption of this country.

A prisoner  
Tennessee Colony, Texas

### Yellowknife library

We rely upon the *Militant* to keep us in touch with the Marxist perspective in world affairs. I found the article on Nicaragua just after the elections particularly enlightening and helpful in view of my confusion and disappointment.

I want you to know that we are donating our back issues of the *Militant* to the Yellowknife Correctional Center Library.

Albert Howard  
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories  
Canada

### Inmates' self-esteem

The people that run the Indiana Dept. of Corrections are making some very reactionary moves. They're reducing the schooling and limiting the vocational training.

They're also threatening not to comply with the new law that gives prisoners who complete high school, get a trade, or go to college, a "time cut." These dinosaurs don't believe in incentive programs.

Indiana has a very racially disproportionate prison population. This coupled with high recidivism keeps a good portion of Black males off the streets.

When closely examined, the sys-



Rebels at prison in Attica, New York, come out to meet observers during September 1971 uprising against inhuman conditions and brutal treatment by authorities.

tem here seems as if it were intentionally set up to reduce an inmate's self-esteem and, as a consequence, his chances of making it when he gets out.

A prisoner  
Westville, Indiana

### Prisoner Fund

I am writing this brief letter so that you can know how much I appreciate receiving the newspaper. But you can stop sending my subscription because I will be out of prison soon.

As soon as I get employed I will try very hard to send a contribution to the Prisoner Fund so that some other prisoner will be able to read it.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

### British Columbia strikes

Two strikes are taking place in the small town of Princeton, British Columbia.

The 250 miners at the SIMILCO copper, gold, and silver mine have been on strike since June 1. The workers, who are organized by the Canadian Association of Industrial Mechanics and Allied Workers,

voted 92 percent in favor of a strike, their first since 1976. All production has been halted. The company wants to force them to do overtime, and to change their clothing and travel to the pit on their own time. Their strike bulletin is called *Dry to Dry*.

Ten of the 16 employees of the Sandman Inn are also on strike. Their lively picket line on the main highway is supported by the copper miners, the hospital employees, and the woodworkers unions. Truckers driving by honk their support. They are striking for a first contract with

the Hotel, Restaurant and Culinary Employees and Bartenders Union.

The strikers are demanding improvements in wages and working conditions.

Colleen Levis  
Vancouver, Canada

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.

## Militant Prisoner Fund

Enclosed is my contribution \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help defray the costs of providing *Militant* subscriptions to prisoners.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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



## British mine workers union wins big victory in court case

### Government charges dismissed; blow dealt to witch-hunt

PETE CLIFFORD  
AND MARK WEINSTEIN

SHEFFIELD, Britain — The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) won a big victory here June 19. Charges by the government against NUM President Arthur Scargill, General Secretary Peter Heathfield, and the entire national executive committee were dismissed by the judge hearing the case.

The miners' leaders had been accused of failure to account for funds donated during the 1984-85 coal strike led by the NUM. In bringing the charges, the government sought to build on a year-long slander campaign aimed at discrediting the union and the example it set through the 1984-85 strike, and unseating its leadership.

All the charges have been dismissed with legal costs awarded to the NUM. "This court has put a lid on the issue," said Scargill after the court hearing at Sheffield Magistrates Court. "Our position has been fully vindicated. My view is that the case should never have been brought in the first place."

#### Example of 1984-85 strike

The NUM led miners out on strike in 1984 against the threat that up to 75 mines would be closed. Tens of thousands of miners mobilized daily on picket lines, in demonstrations, and at rallies. Women in the coalfield communities organized and solidarity was widespread among working people.

The strike became an example of how to respond to employer attacks in Britain and internationally. Recent revelations show that London and Washington responded by coordinating an international antistrike operation, including the use of spying and telephone tapping by both British and U.S. secret police.

Nine thousand miners were arrested, 300 jailed, 1,000 sacked, and 2 killed, as the government sought to break the miners' fight. It attempted to strangle the union by sequestering NUM funds. A receiver appointed by the government declared, "To all intents and purposes I am the NUM."

The union's leaders, forged from the rank-and-file leadership of three previous national strikes, defied this strike breaking. They organized a maze of accounts, transferring funds from bank to bank in several European countries, to protect the union's money.

After a year, during which the labor officialdom in Britain refused to organize solidarity action with the miners, the strike ended without achieving its demands. Over the last five years, 100 mines have closed as the government has sharpened its attacks.

#### Goal of witch-hunt

The court case was the latest episode in a 16-month-long witch-hunt and slander campaign against the NUM leaders.

This began on March 5, 1990, with a banner headline in the *Daily Mirror*: "Tell us about the money Arthur." Independent Television interrupted its normal program schedule that evening to broadcast a program called "Where did the money go?" by journalist Roger Cook. The next days saw newspapers throughout the world seize on the story. Allegations centered on claims by a former NUM executive officer, Roger Windsor, that the union leaders had allocated funds raised during the strike for their own personal use.

From the outset the allegations were combined with a political offensive against the NUM. The March 5 edition of the *Daily Mirror* ran an editorial by its owner, media billionaire Robert Maxwell. He wrote, "The miners strike of 1984-85 was... the wrong strike, at the wrong time, with the wrong motive — the top-

pling of the government — and with the wrong leaders."

Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock called for a public inquiry into the union's affairs.

The union's national executive called its own inquiry, headed by lawyer Gavin Lightman.

Lightman reported back to the union leaders July 3, 1990, clearing the union and its leaders of any misappropriation of the union's funds. However, his report went on to criticize the union leaders for establishing a maze of accounts to avoid the government's sequestrator, who had been placed in charge of the union's funds during the strike.

Scargill responded sharply to Lightman's charge: "I confess that I am guilty — totally guilty — of defying sequestration and receivership and doing all in my power to thwart the court's attempts to stop the NUM operating."

Lightman's criticism of the union leaders opened a new round of attacks.

Deputy Prime Minister Geoffrey Howe announced in July that he hoped the union would be investigated. On Sept. 7, 1990, the Trade Union Certification Officer laid charges against the union. This government attack was combined with an investigation by the police Fraud Squad.

Earlier, on Lightman's prompting, a July 20, 1990, meeting of the NUM's

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G.M. Cookson

Rally during 1984-85 strike in Britain by National Union of Mineworkers. Slander campaign aimed to discredit union and its leadership.

## Justice Department ducks prosecuting cops who stood by during beating of Rodney King

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — The U.S. Justice Department has leaked information that it is unlikely to prosecute the Los Angeles cops who stood by while four of their ranks illegally clubbed and stomped Rodney King.

The four cops who were videotaped beating King, a construction worker who is Black, have been indicted for criminal assault.

The grand jury that indicted them, however, refused to indict the cops who stood by during the attack. These included 17 members of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), four state highway police, and two school cops. Additional members of the LAPD watched the gangup from a police helicopter.

In a leak to the June 14 *Los Angeles Times*, Justice Department "sources close to the case" asserted that there was little legal basis for prosecuting those who stood by while the crime was being committed.

#### Cops' secret dossiers

Meanwhile, the public anger triggered by the King beating continues to generate rifts in the city's political structure.

A front-page story in the June 18 *Los Angeles Times* focused on the widely accepted charge that the LAPD is using secret dossiers to pressure city officials to resist the public demand for the firing of Police Chief Daryl Gates.

The *Times* account opened:

"Just as Rodney G. King's beating reopened complaints of police racism and brutality, suspicions that the Police Department secretly gathers damaging intelligence on public officials have been rekindled in the ensuing political firestorm."

The paper cited the recent declaration by Geoffrey Gibbs, a spokesperson for an association of lawyers who are Black. At a public hearing, Gibbs charged that "the belief is

widespread in this city that Chief Gates, much like J. Edgar Hoover, maintains files of personal and political information on every major political figure in Los Angeles and that his willingness to use such information is the reason so many of this city's leading political figures seem terrified of Chief Gates."

The *Times* account notes that Gates "stoked speculation" that he was ready to use police information against those like Mayor Thomas Bradley, who had called for his resignation.

Gates had responded to Bradley's demand by noting that the police were probing the mayor's personal finances and political conduct. The chief suggested he had more information he could release. "If I laid it on the line... and it may come down to just that," Gates had warned, "and when I do, watch out."

Many of the charges of police blackmail have focused on the strong support given to Gates by the city council. The council is regarded as mainly liberal in composition, yet all its members but one have scrambled to support the chief.

There is a long political record of refusal to act on police brutality by all city bodies — including Mayor Bradley, who is a former career cop; the city council; and the police commission.

Over the past four years, some 4,400 complaints have been filed against the cops. Last year, the city shelled out \$11.3 million in awards and out-of-court settlements in 31 suits for brutality, false arrests, false imprisonments, and wrongful deaths.

City officials have been equally lackadaisical about police spying.

In 1984, after a civil liberties suit, city officials agreed that the LAPD would stop its political spying and accumulation of dossiers on public figures. It was established at the time that there were files on Bradley,

members of the city council, and the police commission.

Part of that settlement was that the police commission, which is supposed to oversee the cops, would make an annual audit of LAPD secret files. Now it's been disclosed that the last such audit was for the year 1988.

According to one member of the police commission, the failure to do the annual audits was because "the entire focus on Rodney King has stifled the police commission to the point where we are not doing what we should be doing."

King was beaten less than four months ago.

Meanwhile, Justice for Janitors filed a new damage suit against Chief Gates and the city. A year ago the police attacked a legal demonstration by striking members of Local 399 of the Service Employees International Union. They were marching to protest the refusal of a maintenance company to sign a union contract.

TV cameras recorded the attack by cops in riot gear on the strikers and their supporters.

Forty workers suffered injuries ranging from fractured skulls to miscarriages.

Last December, the union filed a civil rights suit against the city, which is now the subject of a negotiated settlement. The current damage suit is on top of the pending one.

In another out-of-court settlement, the LAPD agreed to stop using *nunchakus* against antiabortion demonstrators. A suit against the use of the weapon, which consists of two clubs connected by nylon cord, was filed by Operation Rescue. Cops used the *nunchakus* at demonstrations aimed at shutting down abortion clinics.

The agreement is limited to the antiabortion forces, and does not bar use of the weapon against other protesters. The police said they had no immediate plans to use them against others.