

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Is opposing NAFTA in workers' interests?

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U.S. hands off Yugoslavia!

Washington will send bombers, troops to Bosnia

BY GEORGE FYSON

The momentum toward U.S. military involvement in the Balkans has greatly speeded up in recent days. The White House threatened May 1 to use its bombers against Serb-based forces in Bosnia if they continued to attack Muslim areas and refused to go along with the UN plan to partition Bosnia along ethnic lines.

With the rejection of the UN plan by the self-proclaimed Bosnia Serb assembly, the stage is set for U.S. military action.

Washington also made it clear that if and when the Serb forces do sign the agreement, known by the names of its initiators as the Vance-Owen plan, it will send in tens of thousands of troops in an "aggressive" peacekeeping operation.

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia, signed the Vance-Owen plan the day after Washington's bombing threats were made. But he made it clear that his signature was conditional on receiving endorsement by the Bosnian Serb assembly, which did not eventuate.

These events came in the wake of a UN Security Council vote to severely tighten the embargo against Belgrade, which has provided military backing to the rightist Serb forces in Bosnia. The embargo puts a clamp on virtually all trade with and through Serbia and Montenegro, and includes the seizure of all assets abroad of these states, from ships to bank accounts. With the greatly tightened embargo, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic endorsed the Vance-Owen plan and called on Karadzic to comply.

When Karadzic signed, the Pentagon immediately announced that preparations were



U.S. warplanes on aircraft carrier stationed in Adriatic Sea off the coast of Bosnia

in motion for thousands of U.S. troops to be in Bosnia within days of the agreement's ratification by the Bosnian Serb assembly.

Washington's rhetoric about its plans for military involvement also became less hesitant. For example, the *Washington Post* quoted a "senior administration official" who bluntly stated that if the Bosnian Serb assembly failed to approve the Vance-Owen plan, "then we go back to the stronger-military-steps option."

A Pentagon official explained that if the Serb assembly were to ratify the accord, and then some among the Serb-based forces continued to take military actions, the U.S. troops would be mandated to respond aggressively. "If American lives are at risk, we'll use the weapons we have to use," he said, indicating that heavy use of air power, including highly destructive bombs, was intended.

To enforce the Vance-Owen plan, Wash-

ington has planned for some 18,000 U.S. troops to be committed as part of a NATO force. In Washington's view, the NATO contingent, with as many as 65,000 troops, will be central to a broader force under the umbrella of the United Nations.

Strains among imperialist powers

Washington's proposed structure for the intervention force reflects some of the strains among the imperialist powers involved. For example, Paris, whose troops are not part of NATO, would prefer that the operation should be under United Nations command, and has objected to the U.S.-dominated NATO heading it up. France, with about 5,000 troops, has the largest contingent in the UN force already in Bosnia.

A U.S. officer, explaining the NATO-cent-

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Miners stand firm in fight for contract

BY STU SINGER

The contract extension between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the main industry bargaining group, expired at midnight May 3. Union officials told miners to stay on the job until officially notified that a strike was on. As of May 5 coal miners have not been called out on strike.

No official announcements have been re-

leased from the union or the companies about the status of negotiations.

Mary Zins, a rail worker in St. Louis and laid-off UMWA miner, reports that miners in southern Illinois are using the time since the contract expiration to step up preparations in the fight for a decent contract.

The picket shacks were kept up by miners outside the Peabody mines after that strike ended March 3. In a provocative move,

Peabody moved these shacks off mine property on May 3.

Miners at other mines in southern Illinois have now set up picket shacks outside their entrances. On May 1 miners at the Zeigler 11 mine near Coulterville, Illinois, painted their shack. That night, someone burned it to the ground.

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Militant/Steve Craine

Mine workers and supporters hold solidarity rally in Pittsburgh May 1

Washington is on the brink of major military intervention in Yugoslavia. Clinton has declared that U.S. planes may soon start bombing roads, bridges, and military posi-

EDITORIAL

tions with the stated goal of forcing the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament to sign a United Nations partition plan for Bosnia. Thousands of U.S. troops will follow.

This plan of attack comes on top of a vicious economic embargo imposed on Serbia and Montenegro.

The U.S. rulers depict their planned in-

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German strikers: no to wage inequality in east

BY ROBERT DEES

ZWICKAU, Germany—"We strike," read the bright orange vests worn by dozens of pickets in front of the big Volkswagen plant near here. More than 30,000 metalworkers walked out on strike in two waves May 3 and 4 in several states in eastern Germany.

"We're striking because two years ago the company made an agreement, which it's now unilaterally breaking," explained Dietmar Gillwald, a VW assembly line worker.

Bosses renege on contract

Workers in the states of the former East Germany are paid considerably less than their counterparts in the western part of the country. In 1991 the employers' association reached an agreement with the metalworkers' union IG Metall (IGM) to equalize wages by 1994. The bosses reneged on the raise scheduled for April 1 this year, which was to in-

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All out to make 'Militant' circulation drive!

The next two weeks are crucial to the international campaign to win thousands of new readers to the *Militant* and other socialist publications. *Militant* supporters around the world need to make an all-out effort to finish the eight-week drive to sign up 2,800 subscribers to the socialist newsweekly and 600 to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as to sell 1,200 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*, by May 22.

Going into the final stretch of this circulation campaign, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription sales are a full week behind where they should be. Only one-third of the *New International* goal has been met to date. Nevertheless, the successes in subscription sales in

many cities so far and political developments around the world makes us confident that it is possible to meet the drive's goals on time.

From the metalworkers' strike in eastern Germany to the contract fight by coal miners in the United States, major political developments and struggles are breaking out around the world. Just this week's issue reports that young people in Minnesota came out to defend an abortion clinic; students in New York began a hunger strike protesting the treatment of Haitian refugees; workers and youth in Cuba take on the challenges facing their revolution; the struggle for a democratic republic in South Africa

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May Day rally in Cuba denounces U.S. embargo — page 8



Sri Lanka president assassinated

Sri Lankan president Ranasinghe Premadasa was assassinated in a suicide bomb attack during a May Day march in Colombo, the capital city. Twenty-four people were killed in the explosion. This attack came a week after the country's leading opposition politician Lalith Athulathmudali was gunned down.

Sri Lanka is an island country of 17 million people southeast of India. For the past decade the Tamils, an ethnic minority, have been waging a struggle for a separate state from the Sinhalese majority. More than 17,000 people have been killed as a result of this fighting. The government is blaming the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam for assassinating the president, a charge the group vehemently denies.

After winning the presidency in 1988, Premadasa unleashed a massive wave of repression, using the army and an array of death squads to virtually wipe out Sinhalese opponents organized in the People's Liberation Front. This group, which opposed any accommodation with Tamil separatists, killed some 1,000 members of the ruling United National Party in the late 1980s.

May Day in Japan, South Korea

In Japan, an estimated 3.4 million workers joined May Day rallies throughout the country. In South Korea, at the first government-sanctioned May Day rally in 35 years, some 20,000 workers rallied in Seoul to demand economic justice and an end to corruption.

Wages decline in New Zealand

Real wages have declined in New Zealand by 23.3 percent over the past decade, according to figures from the government's Department of Statistics. Current wages are now at the level of the early 1950s.

Employers have aggressively made use of new legal powers granted them by the May 1991 Employment Contracts Act. This act makes the closed shop illegal, bans strikes during the life of a contract, and drastically reduces union bargaining rights. The Victoria University Industrial Relations Centre estimates that union membership has declined 37 percent since this act took effect.

Street clashes in Moscow

Russian cops fought an hour-long battle



Supporters atop a bus carrying 15 Palestinians returning to the West Bank April 30. They were among 30 Palestinians allowed to return of nearly 1,000 who had been deported from their homeland by the Israeli government between 1967 and 1987. The second group of Palestinian exiles, which included the former mayor of Jerusalem Rawhi al-Khatib, arrived May 3 and was given a hero's welcome by thousands of people as well. Tel Aviv agreed to the return of some of the deportees as a concession in the Middle East peace talks, which resumed in Washington, D.C., April 27.

with May Day demonstrators in Moscow. More than 150 people, including 80 police, were injured in the clashes, which occurred after police prevented some 2,000 protesters from marching to Red Square in the center of the city. The action was organized by Viktor Anpilov of the Russian Communist Workers' Party and three congressional deputies who are members of the National Salvation Front. Many of those leading the protest had been prominent in the August 1991 coup.

Russian president Boris Yeltsin's ban on the National Salvation Front was recently overruled by the Constitutional Court.

Two days before the May Day protests, Yeltsin held a meeting with regional leaders to discuss a draft of a new constitution that would strengthen the presidency and eliminate the Congress of People's Deputies.

Meanwhile, Congress is proceeding to draft its own new constitution by the end of June. The street clashes and wrangling over the constitution reflect ongoing rivalries and conflicts among the various wings of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia.

IRA bomb blast in London

A huge explosion wrecked several buildings in London April 24. A photographer caught by the blast was killed and about 40 others, including construction and office workers, were injured.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) claimed responsibility for the bombing. Two other bombs exploded later that night in hijacked cabs.

Only five weeks earlier two children aged 3 and 12 were killed when two bombs placed in litter bins in the north England town of Warrington exploded in the middle of the busy Saturday lunchtime shopping crowd. The IRA later apologized for these deaths.

U.S. accuses France of spying

U.S. officials have accused the French government of targeting 49 U.S. aerospace and defense companies for industrial spying. The targeted companies include General Electric and the Boeing Corporation. Following the announcement, the Pentagon withdrew all support for the June Paris Air Show, where U.S. aeronautics technology is usually prominently displayed. The French government has not commented on these charges.

Protesters dispersed in Haiti

The Haitian military dispersed several

hundred people demonstrating April 22 in Gonaives, Haiti, to demand the return to power of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Students who held a pro-Aristide rally inside the Lycee Geffard school in Gonaives were also detained for several hours by the armed forces.

Bishop Willy Romelus denounced the upsurge of repression and the numerous cases of physical abuse of citizens by the military. In the capital city of Port-au-Prince alone, more than 1,000 people were arrested during the month of March.

Student hunger strikes protest U.S. detention of Haitian refugees

Twenty-five students from the City University of New York Law School began a hunger strike April 26 to protest Washington's continued detention of Haitians who have tested HIV positive at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Similar hunger strikes are taking place at 25 other colleges around the country.

These actions began March 3 at Yale University, where students built a makeshift prison camp replete with barbed wire. The strike has since grown to include 750 people at other schools including Harvard, Brown, University of Michigan, Stanford, New York University, Georgetown, Howard, Penn State, and San Francisco State. Haitian refugees at Guantánamo began their own hunger strike January 29.

Clinton's National Service Plan

In an April 30 speech at the University of New Orleans, President Bill Clinton unveiled further details about his National Service Plan. In exchange for working a government-designated minimum wage "community service" job for two years, students would get up to \$10,000 — \$5,000 each year — toward college costs. This program, which could start in 1994, would involve 25,000 participants, rising to 150,000 by 1997.

Stricter control over student loans will also be put in place. These loans will now be financed directly by the federal government. Payments would be collected by the Internal Revenue Service through withholdings on future wages. Currently, most student loans are guaranteed by the government but made by banks, which make a profit on the interest charges.

U.S. economic growth slows

The U.S. economy grew at the sluggish annual pace of only 1.8 percent in the first three months of 1993. This is down from a 4.7 percent rate of expansion during the final quarter of 1992. While the rise in the Gross Domestic Product — the total value of goods and services produced within U.S. borders — was the eighth straight quarterly advance since the official end of the last recession in March 1991, it was markedly weaker than in the two previous quarters.

— BRIAN WILLIAMS

Mike Treen from Auckland, New Zealand; Ian Grant, member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in London; and Mark Gilsdorf from New York contributed to this column.

THE MILITANT

News and analysis on the fight to defend abortion rights

Follow the fight to defend abortion rights in the pages of the 'Militant.' As rightist groups like Operation Rescue advance their social agenda — including through street actions at abortion clinics — workers and young people are speaking out and organizing to defend the fundamental right of women to control their own bodies. The 'Militant' follows this fight clinic by clinic. Don't miss a single issue!



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Nelson Mandela: 'It is in our power to transform S. Africa'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Several thousand people paid tribute to the life of African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo at a funeral ceremony held at a stadium in the Black township of Soweto May 2. Tambo, who was national chairman of the ANC, died of a stroke April 24 at the age of 75. He contributed half a century of his life to the struggle for a democratic, nonracist, non-sexist South Africa.

In his speech to the rally, which was broadcast live on South African television, ANC President Nelson Mandela said, "We are watching a new dawn. . . . We can see it that we have it in our power to transform South Africa into what you want it to be — free, just, prosperous, and at peace within itself and the world."

British-born Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, 79, praised Tambo as one of the great figures in the liberation movement and denounced Britain for never supporting the struggle. The U.S. government sent an 18-member delegation to the funeral, which included Jesse Jackson and Health and Human Services secretary Donna Shalala.

A week earlier at the opening of the Cultural Development Congress in Johannesburg, Mandela said, speaking of Tambo, "[He] believed in the efficacy of

culture to make us whole and to give us a richer quality of life. The ANC's policies on the arts and culture stemmed to a large extent from his vision, understanding and initiative.

"Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition," continued Mandela, "is to move from protest, defiance, and resistance to building and reconstruction."

The night before the funeral service, there was an attack on a hotel bar in the southern coastal town of East London. Gunmen killed five whites and wounded six other whites and the barman, who is Black. The African National Congress strongly condemned the killings, blaming them on a "tiny minority" trying to derail the multiparty talks.

Multiparty negotiations to plan one-person one-vote elections resumed April 30. Representatives from 26 political groups participated. The ANC called for immediately setting the date for the country's first-ever democratic nonracial elections.

In an April 29 CNN interview Nelson Mandela said that National Party leader F. W. de Klerk has agreed that an election date will be set before the end of May and that the Transitional Executive Council to oversee the electoral process "should be installed not later than June this year."



South African youth at May 2 memorial rally for ANC leader Oliver Tambo in Soweto

The ANC has also issued a statement condemning attacks on journalists. According to the South African Union of Journalists, there have been at least 43 such attacks since the April 10 assassination of ANC leader Chris Hani.

Calvin Thisago, a Black television journalist who worked for the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), was attacked and killed in Sharpeville April 23. At the same time Dudley Saunders, a white cameraman, was critically injured. The following day, members of the Sharpeville ANC branch and ANC Youth League made a citizens' arrest of three suspects, who were then turned over to the police. None of these individuals are members of the ANC or the Pan Africanist Congress.

The ANC "strongly condemns the out-

rageous behavior by criminal elements who use the name of the ANC and other political organizations to carry out their heinous acts," said the statement. "We believe that journalists, black and white, have a legitimate right to carry out their duties without fear of victimization and harassment. . . . We call on our youth, members and supporters to ensure the safety of journalists irrespective of colour."

The ANC said it would train special marshals to provide assistance to journalists. The South African Union of Journalists and the Media Workers Association of South Africa organized a march April 27 to support the right of journalists to perform their duties unhindered and free of harassment or physical attacks.

ANC youth leaders tour Cleveland auto plant

BY GARMEZ PARKS

CLEVELAND — Two members of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League, Eldred de Klerk and Thabo Mzilikazi, visited this area April 20-24 as part of a nationwide tour. A highlight was a visit to the Ford Motor Co. assembly plant in Avon Lake, Ohio. The plant's 3,000 workers are organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 2000. The tour culminated an evening of events sponsored by the local, including a reception, where workers during their breaks came and met the youths, and a dinner at the plant cafeteria.

"It's amazing how our struggles are so similar, even though oceans separate us," said Anna Biggins, civil rights director for UAW Region 2 during a gift exchange with the youths. Many workers wanted to know if their boycotts and other means of support made a difference.

"Your support and actions helped get [Nelson] Mandela out of prison," Mzilikazi explained. "You must now continue to press forward and ask your government to put pressure on the regime to immediately set a date for the first democratic elections in South Africa."

"The media seems to say that Mandela is not in control. Is he still the leader?" one worker asked.

In response de Klerk said, "The ANC has always had leadership, not a leader. We don't see Mandela as the leader, but part of the leadership of the ANC, which includes several people. Mandela has explained before that his job is not to control us. We listen to his reasoning and make an independent decision on whether we agree or not."

The plant tour was conducted by two members of Local 2000, along with an entourage of nine that included, the vice-president of action of the Cleveland National Organization for Women, Amanda Byrne, and other members of the youth tour committee. The delegation was warmly recognized by workers as the youths passed through areas of the plant. Often the ANC Youth League members stopped to ask questions about different jobs and engage in discussion about the fight for a democratic, nonracist, nonsexist South Africa.

Warren Davis, director of Region 2, endorsed the tour. Region 2 of the UAW played an important role in making sure the youths had transportation and an entourage at each event throughout the week. Several UAW workers in the region were paid for the time they took off to be part of the entourage and

security for the youths. This enabled the UAW to have at least two members at each event. UAW member Peter Theirjung received union time for the entire week to be their escort, and another worker in the plant joined the entourage for two days.

The four-day tour was sponsored by the Northeast Ohio ANC Youth League Tour Support Committee. The committee included community and political groups, campus organizations, trade unions, and elected officials. Activists planning the tour had met every other week since February.

De Klerk and Mzilikazi spoke at four campuses: Cleveland State University (CSU), Oberlin College, Hiram College, and the University of Akron. At each cam-

pus students took responsibility for raising funds and organizing the speaking events.

The youths were welcomed to Cleveland by Mayor Michael White during a press conference in the mayor's office. The mayor declared April 20-24 "Stop Apartheid Violence Week." Later the ANC Youth League members were greeted by two City Council members and the City Council president Jay Westbrook. The City Council presented the youth a proclamation honoring ANC leader Chris Hani, who was assassinated April 10.

The culmination of the tour was a community meeting April 24 at the CSU Marshall School of Law in Cleveland. More than 140 people came to the event, where more than \$500 was raised for the tour and to

support the ANC's projected voter registration drive. The fund pitch was given by Absalom Mutese, a professor at Hiram College. Greetings were read by Frank Adams of the CSU African American Cultural Center; Jeff Jones, chairperson of the 11th Congressional District Caucus; and Louis Stokes, U.S. representative from the 11th District and a sponsor of the tour.

"We remained committed to negotiations because it was our struggle that brought us this far," said Mzilikazi. "We salute you for your support and ask you to walk the last mile with us. We are not about to go along with power-sharing. . . . This [government violence] is the last kick of the dying mule. . . . Freedom is at our fingertips. We need a date for elections."

Canadian troops in Somalia kill four civilians

BY DAN GRANT

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Four Somali civilians died at the hands of Canadian soldiers between mid-February and mid-March in separate confrontations in the town of Belet Huen in western Somalia. The soldiers are members of the Canadian contingent of the U.S.-led occupying forces in Somalia.

In a letter to his wife, a Canadian soldier described one incident that took place March 4 as an "execution." The letter said the unarmed Somali was shot in the back as he fled from Canadian soldiers and later suffered bullet wounds in the head and neck as he was lying on the ground. "There's a very big racist thing going on here," the soldier wrote. "Canada good, Somalis bad. It's the basic Airborne prejudice."

The *Globe and Mail* reported April 28 that Maj. Barry Armstrong, a surgeon attached to the Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia, was the soldier who wrote the letter. Armstrong, who is reportedly the doctor who examined two of the Somalis after they were shot, has been sent back to Canada. He is not permitted to make a statement by the military.

Although a military investigation team was sent to Somalia after the killing, no report was made to Parliament. It was the release of the personal letter by Armstrong and his wife, in an effort to force an investigation, that brought the incident to the attention of New Democratic Party member of Parliament John Brewin.

In a separate incident, five Canadian soldiers are under investigation for the March 16 beating death of Shidane Omar Aroni.

The Defense Department said the Somali man, also unarmed, was found dead "after contact with Canadian soldiers. Master Cpl. Clayton Matchee, 29, of Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan, was arrested in connection with the death the same day, and was later found hanging unconscious in big detention cell in what has been called a suicide attempt. Five days later military investigators were sent to Somalia where four more soldiers were eventually arrested.

However, a full two weeks passed before either the death of Aroni or the alleged suicide attempt were reported in Canada. Although no charges have been laid as yet, Lt. Gen. Gordon Reay, commander of Canada's land forces, said they are treating the death as "a serious homicide case." Aroni's family has filed a claim against the Canadian government for "wrongful death."

Greg Matchee, brother of Cpl. Matchee, told the *Globe and Mail*, "They're trying to hide it. They told us that he tried to commit suicide, and then the story started changing left and right. Nobody really knows what happened. Nobody knows the truth." Matchee says his brother, who was in a coma for two weeks after he was found and remains in serious condition, has been smeared by the military.

Responding to pressure, Defense Minister Kim Campbell told Parliament that there was "some confusion" about the handling of information around the death of Aroni. "It was an unacceptable mistake that this was not communicated to defense headquarters, and I have taken steps to ensure that the error will not happen again," she said.

Brewin rejected the explanation of the defense minister. "I have no doubt that, at some level, it was a deliberate attempt to keep it quiet," he said.

In addition, Canadian troops killed a Somali Red Cross guard in March, and an unarmed Somali protester in a mid-February confrontation with troops. These killings have been largely ignored by the media.

Canada has committed more than 1,000 troops to Somalia as part of the U.S.-led forces, which reached nearly 26,000 troops at its peak. Three hundred Canadian troops along with hundreds of U.S. soldiers captured the Somali town of Belet Huen on December 25.

On April 26 Campbell, who is the current frontrunner in the ruling Conservative Party leadership race, ordered an inquiry into the deaths of the four Somalis killed by Canadian troops. The inquiry, which will be conducted in secret, won't report its findings until July—well after the June 13 vote to choose Canada's next prime minister.

The *New York Times* reported on April 30 that the governments of Canada and Australia are withdrawing their troops from Somalia. U.S. officials expect Italian troops to replace the Canadian soldiers in Belet Huen.

In the beginning of May, the United States began transferring military control of troops in Somalia to a 28,000-member United Nations force. About 4,000 U.S. troops will stay behind, including a 1,300-member "quick reaction" force to be stationed in Mogadishu.

Bonita Murdock, a member of the Canadian Auto Workers, also contributed to this article.

Framed-up unionist appealed to other fighters for support

BY NAOMI CRAINE

(Third in a series)

Shouts of "What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!" and "Free the Swift 17!" rang out in Des Moines, Iowa, one cold day in March 1988. Two hundred people had gathered to protest the arrest of 17 Latino workers by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in a recent raid at the Swift Packing Co. The meat-packers, several of whom had previously applied for citizenship under an amnesty program, faced felony charges of falsifying documents so they could work in the United States.

One of the many Swift workers who joined in that March 12 protest was Mark Curtis, who was just beginning his own fight for justice.

About a week earlier, Curtis had been arrested by the Des Moines police, beaten in jail, and falsely charged with attempting to rape a Black teenage girl and assaulting the two cops who brutalized him. This occurred just hours after Curtis participated in a public meeting protesting the arrest of the Swift 17. He was convicted in an unfair trial in September 1988 and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Curtis, a union activist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party for many years, knew it would take a strong political defense campaign to defeat the cops' attempt to frame him, and he looked to other fighting workers for help. Key to this was assembling a public, nonpartisan defense committee to involve all those who wanted to counter what was clearly a political frame-up.

The struggle around the immigration raid at Swift was itself a lesson in the importance of waging a broad, public fight for justice. Under pressure from the demonstration and other protests, federal prosecutors backed off in May 1988 and dropped the felony charges against all 17 workers.

First meeting to plan defense

At the March 12 protest against the immigration raid, Curtis talked to the media about what happened to him and helped pass out a flier, titled "Protest Des Moines police brutality and frame-up." The leaflet asked people to come to a meeting at the Pathfinder bookstore later that day.

More than 40 people came, including several workers from the Swift plant, members of the Iowa Citizens Action Network, students from the University of Iowa and Drake University, and Jane Curtis, Mark's mother. They decided to organize a news conference to get out the truth about Curtis's arrest. Curtis also urged people to send telegrams to Des Moines police chief William Moulder demanding the charges against him be dropped and protesting his brutalization by the cops. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee was formally launched at a similar meeting of supporters March 27, 1988.

Hazel Zimmerman, currently treasurer

of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, was one of those who first met Curtis at the demonstration for the Swift 17. In a 1988 interview Zimmerman said when she first saw Curtis there, with his face still bruised and cut from the police beating, "I went looking for the facts." After she found them, she added, she went "looking for justice."

The fight to make sure the facts about what happened to Curtis could be found began just an hour after his arrest March 4.

Runaround from the police

When Stu Singer, a friend and political collaborator of Curtis, heard about the arrest, he immediately called the city jail to find out how much the bail was. But the cops gave him the runaround—first denying Curtis was there, then saying they weren't sure, and finally saying they were "processing" someone in the back room and to call back later. At that time Curtis was being beaten by the police and called a "Mexican lover"—his real crime.

At 8:00 the next morning, a delegation of Curtis's friends, coworkers, and community activists arrived at the jail. Through a combination of one person's trust fund and five people signing over their cars, they managed to raise the \$30,000 bail. Around 2:00 p.m. Curtis was able to go home.

Getting Curtis out of jail in less than 24 hours was the first blow to the police frame-up and the beginning of his defense campaign. He got a complete checkup, including X-rays that showed the cops had shattered his cheekbone when they hit him with a nightstick. Singer was able to photograph him. The picture he took graphically illustrates what happened to Curtis that night, and was important in winning a later civil rights lawsuit against the cops who assaulted him.

Looking broadly for support

Curtis and his supporters in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee reached out to every worker, farmer, student, and democratic rights fighter they thought could be won to support the case. They went to union meetings and to factory gates, including the Swift plant where Curtis had worked, to explain the facts of what had happened. They took the case to political actions, such as a March 17 protest in Des Moines against Washington's war moves in Central America. Curtis addressed the Des Moines Human Rights Commission and other bodies. He went on a speaking tour, bringing his fight to unionists and political activists in other parts of the country and internationally.

A March 19 news conference, where Curtis explained his case, was built widely. In addition to the media, some 50 workers, students, antiwar and antiracist fighters, and women's rights activists attended. At the news conference, Curtis went over the details of his activities the day he was arrested. He also made public the files kept on him



Mark Curtis speaking to media March 12, 1988, at protest against INS raid at Swift.

by the FBI when he was an antiwar activist in Birmingham, Alabama.

By that time, messages of support were already starting to come into Des Moines. The president of the American Agricultural Movement in Iowa, Carroll Nearnmeyer, wrote, "As a citizen of the U.S. and a farmer who's very concerned about the common people of the world being pushed around by the governments of the world, the establishment, and police, we have to stand together and fight back."

One of the speakers at the news conference was Pat Kearns, a student at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. He expressed solidarity with Curtis on behalf of himself and 17 other students who had just been acquitted on criminal trespass charges stemming from an anti-CIA protest.

The May 4, 1988, *Des Moines Register* reported, "Des Moines police have received more than 400 letters from across the country demanding that charges be dropped against Mark Curtis, the Swift packing plant employee charged with an attempted sex crime. . . . Many of the letters contain petitions signed by dozens of Curtis supporters. Police say some letters even have foreign postmarks."

Des Moines mayor defends police

The response of the Des Moines cops, prosecutors, and city officials was to try to undercut the support Curtis was winning. People identifying themselves as representatives of the Des Moines police department and Polk County sheriff's office called some of the people who had sent messages to the police chief protesting Curtis's arrest and beating, asking if they had really written the letters.

Des Moines mayor John Dorian joined in defending the cops. Doug Womack, president of United Auto Workers Local 893 in Marshalltown, Iowa, had written the mayor March 28 regarding the Curtis case. "I have no idea if the charges of either party are true or not," Womack said, "but I'm not naive enough to think things of this nature don't happen either!"

Dorian wrote back attempting to rebut the defense campaign. The mayor's letter contained many of the major arguments that would be used by the forces supporting the frame-up.

Dorian began by assuming that since Curtis had been charged with sexual abuse and with assaulting two cops, he must be guilty, throwing aside the presumption of innocence. The mayor repeated the cops' story that while they were interrogating Curtis he "attacked and injured one of the officers. In the course of the restraint, Mr. Curtis suffered an injury to his right eyebrow." Actually, it was Curtis's left cheekbone that was smashed in, requiring 15 stitches.

Dorian also tried to discredit Curtis as a political activist. He said that while "Curtis is portraying himself as a major social activist who has had prominent roles in protest marches," in fact, "a spokesperson for the local National Council of Christians and Jews organization disclaims the fact that Mr. Curtis is a prominent leader in the community. In addition, Human Rights Commission members did not know of Mr. Curtis prior to his arrest. Hispanic leaders have been consulted and they recognize inconsistencies in his claim."

This has been a frequent argument of the pro-prosecution forces. A similar charge was raised in a letter to the *Des Moines Register* from an official in the postal workers' union. John Efferding wrote in August 1988 that Curtis "has never held an office or served as

a steward in [his union] local. The secretary of that local informed me that he never did anything for that local, or on behalf of that local, except pay his dues." According to Efferding, Curtis, therefore, cannot be described as a union activist.

Curtis replied to the mayor's letter, saying, "I do not claim to be a prominent leader. I have been an activist for more than 10 years in opposition to the war in Central America, against racism, in support of women's rights, in defense of immigrants, and in support of unions and farmers."

He went on to explain what kind of union activist he was. "My coworkers, and Swift management too, know I stand up for better safety and working conditions. I speak Spanish and actively defend the rights of immigrant workers."

Pro-prosecution campaign

The police and city hall weren't the only ones campaigning against Curtis. Other forces, in Des Moines and elsewhere, took the side of the cops and prosecutor's office.

Keith Morris, the father of the young woman who accused Curtis of rape, made repeated threats and attacks against Curtis and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

In the most serious attack, Morris smashed the storefront windows of the Pathfinder bookstore in Des Moines, where the defense committee rents its office, on July 15, 1988. Curtis was in the bookstore at the time, but was able to leave out a different door. Just prior to the attack, Morris had told two cops he was going to "kick ass," but the police did nothing to stop him. He had also made threats against Curtis in a court hearing three days earlier, which went unchallenged by the judge. The authorities refused to press charges against Morris, and the owner of the bookstore had to go to small-claims court to get Morris to pay the \$2,000 in damage done to the store.

The prosecution also found support in the Workers League. This outfit, which claims to be socialist, has earned the distrust and hatred of many workers through its disruptive actions toward strikes and other working-class struggles. Its paper, *The Bulletin*, has regularly run articles attacking Curtis and his defense campaign.

Members of the Workers League distributed a statement, titled "The Strange Case of Mark Curtis," promoting the prosecution's arguments during the months leading up to the trial.

Some forces, claiming to speak for the rights of women and Blacks in Des Moines, also campaigned to say that Curtis was guilty and should be jailed, emphasizing the fact that the woman he was accused of attacking was a Black 15-year-old.

Activists associated with the Polk County Victim Services, a county agency that provides counseling to "crime victims," including rape victims, actively worked to convince people not to support Curtis, accepting the cops' account of what happened as a proven fact. Opponents of the defense effort cited Victim Services director Marti Anderson and others as saying this "is a good rape case" and that "Curtis is guilty."

Four members of the Des Moines chapter of the National Black United Front picketed outside an international Curtis defense rally at the Des Moines Civic Center Sept. 4, 1988, days before the trial opened.

Many more people, however, decided to support the defense campaign, especially

Continued on Page 5



Mark Curtis with civil rights activist Edna Griffin (left); his wife, Kate Kaku; and Susan Mnumzana of the African National Congress (right), at Sept. 4, 1988, international defense rally in Des Moines, Iowa.

Gay rights marchers discuss Curtis defense case

Mark Curtis, a socialist and union activist, was the target of a police frame-up and beating in Des Moines, Iowa. He was convicted on false charges of sexual assault and burglary in September 1988 and is currently serving a 25-year sentence. Since his arrest, thousands of workers, farmers, students, and fighters for democratic rights around the world have joined in calling for justice for Curtis.

Beginning this week, we will regularly report in this column efforts around the world to win additional support for Curtis's fight against the police frame-up.

about the Curtis fight so their groups can discuss becoming supporters of the effort to win his freedom.

More than 40 individuals signed for more information at the demonstration; three became endorsers. More than \$40 was collected for the defense effort.

Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis's wife, gave an update on the defense campaign to about 20 students at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. Her April 17 visit

We say that this is a dangerous precedent for all of us and should not be allowed."

Some students mentioned that they had first heard about the Curtis case when Ann Russo spoke at the campus. Russo, a member of the Boston Area Rape Crisis Center, has been actively promoting the prosecution's case against Curtis and trying to convince people that he is guilty.

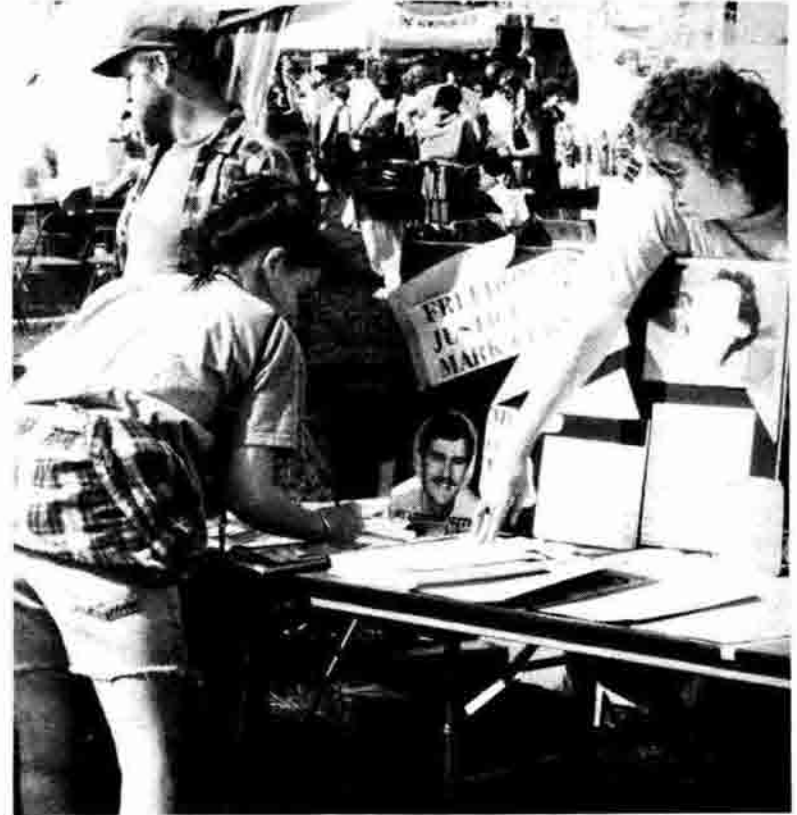
Most of the students were favorable to Curtis's defense campaign. One of the organizers of the event asked for videos on the case and plans to hold a follow-up discussion.

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee got a good response from delegates and international guests at the Sixth Congress of the Union of Young Communists of Spain (UJCE) in Madrid April 16-18. Many took literature on the case to study, and three leaders of the UJCE chapter in the Canary Islands endorsed the defense effort.

Vicente Serrano, secretary-general of the Young Communist Collectives of Spain wrote a letter on behalf of his organization supporting Curtis's fight for justice. "We are doubly proud," Serrano wrote, "that men and women like Mark exist, because he is not only a fighter, but is a fighter in the belly of the beast."

"From here in Spain," the letter continued, "the Young Communist Collectives add our voice and our cry of protest to demand freedom for someone who should have never been denied it."

At the Congress of the Movement of Young Communists of France (MJCF), earlier this year, more youth leaders joined the list of Curtis endorsers. Fabrice Savel signed up for the newly elected MJCF National Committee. Rapu Molekane, general secretary of the African National Congress Youth



Mark Curtis table at April 25 gay rights march in Washington, D.C. Militant/Sam Manuel

League of South Africa, became an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee as well.

Although the campaign by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to get statements from endorsers reaffirming their support and answering pro-prosecution forces formally ended April 9, letters continue to come in to the committee's office in Des Moines, Iowa. William Taylor, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-507 in Argo, Illinois, writes, "Keep up the good work in Mark's defense. I feel that Mark's imprisonment was not for just reasons."

"I further call upon the Parole Board to release Mark from this unjust punishment," Taylor contin-

ued. Then Mark can go back into the community and once again become a productive citizen. Mark is far more valuable to the community as a citizen free to move around and assist people than being locked up in jail. If he is guilty of a crime, it is trying to help disenfranchised workers and advise them of their rights."

Readers who would like more information can write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311, or call (515) 246-1695.

Kathy Mickells in Philadelphia, Roni McCann in Cleveland, and Mark Gilsdorf and Argiris Malapanis in New York, contributed to this column.

DEFENDING MARK CURTIS AROUND THE WORLD

We urge Militant readers to send in such reports every week.

Hundreds of participants in the April 25 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation stopped by a display set up by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

The table became a center for wide-ranging discussions on democratic rights, police assaults on political activists, and how to effectively fight against the violent crime of rape.

"It doesn't help any of us fighting for women's rights and gay rights for an innocent person to be convicted on rape charges," said one marcher when she heard about the campaign being waged against Curtis by pro-prosecution forces.

"He's a union member and I'm a member of the United Auto Workers," said another demonstrator. "I want to take as much information as I can and write up an article on his case for our union newsletter."

A number of people involved in counseling victims of antigay violence asked for more information

was sponsored by three Asian student organizations.

One professor at the meeting argued that Curtis's political views and activities were irrelevant to the case, that it was his word against the alleged victim's, and that the woman was probably telling the truth.

This provoked a lively discussion on the issue of rape, the history of political frame-ups, and the presumption of innocence.

"I tend to think that something did happen to the young woman," one student said, "but, after listening to the facts, I'm not at all convinced it was Mark."

The professor asked if Kaku "knew her husband's sexual inclinations," and why she was defending him.

"I support Mark's case because I was at the trial and I heard the facts presented. I've thought about this and I made up my mind," answered Kaku. "We do not speculate as to what happened to the young woman or why it happened—we simply argue the facts. And the facts are that Mark was convicted and jailed with no evidence presented.

Prisoners fight against police abuses in S. Africa

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

An important issue in dispute between the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party government is the continued deaths of individuals taken into detention in the South African prison system.

Last July, pathologist Dr. Jonathan Gluckman announced after an extensive study that 90 percent of the custody deaths he examined were the result of police abuse. A total of 184 South African prisoners died between July 1, 1991, and June 30, 1992, according to government figures. There were approximately 107,500 prisoners in South Africa as of the end of June 1992.

In the three months immediately following Gluckman's report another 32 people died in detention. At a recent inquest into the death of Bethuel Maphumulo, a Soweto man who died in 1990 after being taken to a police station, Gluckman concluded that the cause of death was stran-

gulation, not drowning as the cops had claimed.

In response to these revelations and news that in a single week another three prisoners had died while in police custody, the ANC released a statement in mid-March condemning the ongoing deaths in detention.

"The ANC is shocked and outraged that even after revelations regarding deaths in custody by a senior Johannesburg pathologist... More deaths are still being reported," said the statement. "Yet nothing is done to address the problem."

"The minister responsible must account for the lawlessness that prevails," the statement continued. "No police official can be above the law."

Recently, the South African government announced that they were considering ending their longstanding policy of using dietary and corporal punishment in the prisons. Under the disciplinary system currently in effect, inmates can be subjected to up to six lashes at

any one time by prison authorities.

An organization called the South African Prisoner Organisation for Human Rights (SAPOHR) has been formed to fight in defense of prisoners subjected to the brutality of apartheid's "justice" system. Inmates and detainees at the Modderbee Medium Prison founded the group in 1988. In early 1992 SAPOHR established an office outside the prisons as part of a stepped up campaign to publicize the atrocities taking place within the penal system.

SAPOHR calls for the formation of a Multiparty Commission of Inquiry to investigate all deaths and abuses of human rights in police and prison custody and that these findings be made public. They also demand: the immediate and unconditional release of all remaining political prisoners; the dismissal of Adriaan Vlok, the minister of correctional services, and Hennis Kriel, the minister of law and order; and the formation of a National Release Forum Committee to investigate individual prisoners' sentences, rehabilitation, and release.

In early February, SAPOHR urged prisoners throughout the country to participate in a hunger strike to press for these demands. According to reports compiled by SAPOHR, inmates from at least seven prisons, including those in Pretoria, Boksburg, Pietermaritzburg, and Capetown, participated.

The Johannesburg *Star* reported that 500 prisoners went on a hunger strike in February at Maritzburg prison in Natal. The hunger strike was officially suspended after about two weeks.

SAPOHR has also taken a stand in defense of imprisoned union and political activist Mark Curtis. In mid-March, Golden Miles Bhudu, SAPOHR's chief executive officer, sent a letter to the Iowa State Board

of Parole in Des Moines, Iowa. He wrote, "Given the political nature of his [Curtis's] case and the controversy surrounding the original conditions of his sentence... We call for your immediate decision to release Mark Curtis so that he can come into society with a good and prosperous vision for the future."

BOOKS on the fight against FBI harassment



FBI on Trial
Edited by Margaret Jayko
The victory in the Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying and disruption.
260 pp. \$16.95

Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

By Larry Seigle
In *New Internationalist* no. 6.
272 pp. \$10.00

COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom

By Nelson Blackstock
190 pp. \$14.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 shipping, \$.50 each additional title.

Unionist appealed for broad support

Continued from Page 4

people who had been through struggles of their own. The breadth of solidarity with Curtis going into the trial was reflected at the September 1988 rally. More than 400 people turned out to hear a wide array of fighters discuss the Curtis case and how it related to their own experiences.

Speaking at that meeting, for instance, was Des Moines veteran civil rights and political activist Edna Griffin, who was then 78 years old. She told the crowd that when she read in the papers that the authorities were going after a white man accused of raping a young Black woman she had wondered, "What's this new arrange-

ment? When has there been such concern about sexual abuse, never mind rape, of our young Black women?" The international speakers panel also included Susan Mnumzana, at the time secretary for women's affairs at the United Nations observer mission of the African National Congress of South Africa; author and poet Piri Thomas; and Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Griffin was one of the many supporters of Curtis, as well as people who were dubious about the charges against him, who attended his three-day trial later that month.

(To be continued)

1993 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND

| City | Goal | Pledged | Paid |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Albany | \$200 | | |
| Albuquerque | \$200 | | |
| Atlanta | \$2,500 | \$2,305 | |
| Baltimore | \$2,500 | \$675 | |
| Birmingham | \$1,500 | \$1,500 | \$400 |
| Boston | \$3,000 | | |
| Chicago | \$3,000 | \$2,075 | \$150 |
| Cincinnati | \$300 | | |
| Cleveland | \$2,000 | \$600 | |
| Denver | \$200 | | |
| Des Moines | \$1,500 | \$1,300 | \$20 |
| Detroit | \$3,000 | \$3,140 | \$25 |
| Greensboro | \$1,250 | \$1,675 | \$125 |
| Houston | \$3,500 | | |
| Los Angeles | \$6,500 | | |
| Miami | \$1,500 | | |
| Morgantown | \$1,500 | \$830 | |
| New Haven | \$500 | | |
| New York | \$8,000 | \$150 | |
| Newark | \$4,000 | \$75 | |
| Philadelphia | \$2,500 | | |
| Pittsburgh | \$2,000 | \$919 | |
| Portland | \$200 | | |
| St. Louis | \$3,350 | \$1,175 | \$55 |
| Salt Lake City | \$3,000 | | \$405 |
| San Diego | \$500 | | |
| San Francisco | \$6,500 | \$5,955 | |
| Seattle | \$2,500 | | |
| Twin Cities | \$5,000 | \$3,360 | |
| Washington, D.C. | \$2,800 | \$1,505 | |
| Other | | \$90 | \$30 |
| TOTALS | \$75,000 | \$27,329 | \$1,210 |

\$75,000

\$1,210

Fund drive gets off to a good start in San Francisco and Twin Cities

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Sixty-one people attended an April 30 meeting to kick off the 1993 Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund in San Francisco.

Sam Manuel, a Washington, D.C., railworker who was part of a *Militant* reporting team to South Africa in March, reported on the revolution unfolding in South Africa today.

The \$75,000 fund will help make possible the publication of two *New International* magazines and will finance *Militant* reporting teams to Cuba this summer. It will also make possible another South Africa reporting team in the coming months.

Cathy Gutekanst, coordinator of the fund in San Francisco, reports that contributions and pledges from participants at the meeting pushed pledges in San Francisco from \$3,000 to \$5,955. More than \$700 was collected at the meeting after an appeal given by fund drive supporter Sherry Finer. Marc Kinzel, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a student at the University of California at Santa Cruz, chaired the meeting.

To date, 43 people have made pledges to the fund in the San Francisco Bay Area. Gutekanst says plans are in the works to approach more than 50 others for contributions.

Socialists in the United Transportation Union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and the International Association of Machinists, have already begun asking coworkers to be part of the

fund campaign.

Gutekanst reported that two more events are planned in the Bay Area before the June 15 deadline for the fund. A benefit barbecue on Memorial Day weekend at the home of a supporter and a June meeting on the *New International* magazines will help San Francisco supporters make their \$6,500 goal.

Twin Cities Party-Building Fund coordinator Marea Himelgrin reports that a fund appeal letter is going out to every Militant Labor Forum supporter with a mailing announcing upcoming forums.

The Party-Building Fund officially began May 1. Several meetings held in April gave the fund a headstart. In order to raise the \$75,000 by June 15, however, consistent efforts will be necessary to reach out broadly to those who find the *New Internationals* and the *Militant* coverage valuable.

Special Militant Labor Forums like the one held last week in San Francisco are being planned in a number of cities. Francisco Picado, who reported for the *Militant* on his recent trip to Cuba, will speak in

Salt Lake City and Denver the weekend of May 22. Meetings are also being planned in Atlanta, Georgia; Newark, New Jersey; Twin Cities, Minnesota; and Miami, Florida.

Socialists active in the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union from Miami to Boston will be meeting in Morgantown, West Virginia, May 8-9. The Party-Building Fund will be one of the points they discuss. Socialist Workers Party leader Paul Mailhot will be the featured speaker at the Morgantown Militant Labor Forum that weekend, which will raise money for the fund. Mailhot is scheduled to speak on "Clinton's Holocaust in Waco, Texas." He will also discuss the ongoing fight of coal miners against the union-busting tactics of the bosses and Clinton's drive to war in Bosnia.

Keeping the scoreboard up-to-date is one of the keys to success. Pledges and funds collected must be received every Tuesday by 12:00 noon E.S.T. in order to be reported on the weekly chart.

I pledge ☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$other

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____ COUNTRY _____

PHONE _____

Send to Socialist Workers Party, 406 West Street, New York, NY 10014

Anti-Defamation League spied on anti-Zionist groups

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Ongoing revelations confirm that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has been conducting an extensive political spy operation, with input from police files. One of the principal targets of its surveillance and infiltration has been the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

It was disclosed that a secret data bank compiled by an ADL hireling includes the names of 4,500 of the 30,000 members of the ADC.

Based in the various U.S. Arab communities, the ADC works to curb the widespread discrimination encountered by Arabs in this country.

Much of the ADL information, including on attendance at meetings, car registrations, and license numbers, was apparently obtained through police sources. Why the police compiled this information was not explained.

Responding to the revelations, national ADC officials demanded a federal probe of the ADL's spy network.

A San Francisco police probe put the spotlight on the ADL's espionage operation.

For 40 years, the ADL has secretly employed its self-admitted "spymaster," Roy Bullock of San Francisco.

His computerized dossiers are said to include more than 950 organizations and some

12,000 individuals. Among them are anti-apartheid activists, civil liberties and civil rights groups, and a broad range of organizations and individuals deemed to be liberal or left-wing and apparently bracketed under the general category of "pinkos."

According to press accounts here and in San Francisco, the story of the ADL spy operation unfolded following an FBI decision to run a check on Bullock.

In addition to his gumshoe work for the ADL, Bullock was, for a period, an FBI informer.

But, for whatever reason, the FBI became concerned when it learned that Bullock was also spying for the South African government. Along with a partner in the San Francisco police department, he was repackaging information accumulated on anti-apartheid activists on behalf of the ADL and selling it to the South African regime.

Much of Bullock's data on individuals and organizations were the fruits of his working relationship with Tom Gerard, a former CIA agent and a San Francisco police inspector who had headed the department's red squad — now assertedly defunct — which spied on political groups, now assertedly defunct.

When Gerard, under scrutiny for his ties with Bullock, faced possible prosecution for illegal disclosure of confidential police information, he took early retirement and left

for the Philippines, which has no extradition treaty with Washington.

Meanwhile, the ongoing probe of Gerard and Bullock led to the doorstep of the ADL.

On April 8, armed with search warrants, San Francisco cops seized voluminous files in the Los Angeles and San Francisco ADL offices.

The Los Angeles Police Dept., which had earlier refused to cooperate in the investigation, was not invited to participate in the Los Angeles search. Press reports said the San Francisco cops suspect that some of the confidential information in the ADL files came from Los Angeles cops.

San Francisco officials said an earlier seizure of data at Gerard's home showed that his dossiers were broken down into five categories — "Arabs," "Pinkos," "Right," "Skins [Skinheads]," and "ANC [African National Congress]."

They said Bullock's files closely matched Gerard's.

Commenting on the dossiers, Bullock observed "It's not a threat to anyone's civil liberties that a name may appear in my files under, say, 'Pinko.'"

Presumably among the "pinkos," his files included information on the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild, NAACP, Greenpeace, and the board of directors of San Francisco's public television station.

Perhaps for balance, Bullock had files on a much smaller number of right-wing and racist outfits. Among his sources, he obtained information by going through the trash at people's homes and the offices of organizations.

Bullock's preoccupation with "pinkos" is not at variance with the politics of the ADL leadership.

The March 12 *Los Angeles Times* carried an article by the ADL's Los Angeles regional director David Lehrer, responding to the disclosures.

He asserted that the ADL sought only to "educate the public about the threat posed by extremist groups... on the right and on the left — that are a potential source of danger to our democracy and its fragile fabric."

He added: "For the past decade and a half... civil libertarian groups have succeeded in limiting the ability of law enforcement agencies to collect information on individuals."

"The recent attacks against the ADL im-

plies that private organizations should also be restricted from keeping information. The ADL's efforts to monitor extremists is deemed 'spying' by some civil libertarians."

Arm of Israeli regime

The ADL's stated purpose is to expose and counter defamation of Jews. That may have been its founding aim, but for years this has been a cover for the ADL's real purpose — to function as a political arm of the Israeli government.

Its particular aim has been to muffle the voices of critics of the Israeli regime, with a focus on those who are, or may be, partisans of the Palestinian liberation struggle, as evidenced by the massive spying on the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee.

This is not something new. More than two decades ago, the ADL made a smear attack on the Socialist Workers Party. The ADL charged that the SWP, particularly in its 1972 presidential campaign, had "crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism."

The proof? None, beyond the SWP's declared opposition to the reactionary Zionist regime, and its avowed support to the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Despite protests from public figures, the ADL refused to retract this slander based on the fraud of putting an equal sign between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

On April 15, attorney Pete McCloskey, a former Republican member of Congress, filed a class action suit against the ADL and its spymaster on behalf of 19 people included in the ADL's dossiers. McCloskey said the suit is open to any of the 12,000 people whose names appear in the computer files seized by the police.

Among the plaintiffs in the suit to date are Carol El-Shaieb, of the Arab American Democratic Club; Yigal Arens, son of former Israeli defense minister Moshe Arens; and former British radio reporter Colin Edwards.

El-Shaieb, who is on the steering committee for the plaintiffs, said in an interview, "I think I speak for a lot of the people who are in those files when I say that we're glad for a chance to get at the ADL for all those years of trying to silence us. They have circulated blacklists to deny us platforms and shouted us down when we spoke up."

Anne Morrow and Kathleen Denny in San Francisco contributed to this article.

ADL connection with gov't effort to deport Palestinians

LOS ANGELES — Revelations about ADL spying have cast a new political cloud over government efforts to deport two Palestinians. The U.S. immigration judge who will decide the fate of Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh is an official of the Los Angeles area ADL.

Since the disclosures, Judge Bruce Einhorn has twice rejected defense motions that he remove himself from the case as biased.

Hamide and Shehadeh are charged with giving support to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which the government has asked Einhorn to officially label

as "terrorist." For a number of years, ADL spymaster Roy Bullock received a weekly wage of \$550 from the ADL, with the money secretly funneled through attorney Bruce Hochman, former Los Angeles regional director of the ADL.

A former U.S. prosecutor, Hochman was until 1990 a member of a panel which made secret recommendations to then-U.S. senator Pete Wilson on new federal judges in California.

Fellow ADL member Einhorn was appointed to the immigration bench in 1990.

Was he one of Hochman's last nominees? — H.R.

Big push needed to meet goals

BY NAOMI CRAINE

As we go to press, supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* face a serious challenge in the campaign to win thousands of new readers to these socialist publications. With just two and a half weeks left in the international circulation drive, sales results are significantly behind schedule.

It will take an all-out effort by *Militant* supporters in every area in the remaining weeks to successfully complete all of the sales goals by the May 22 deadline. It is possible to make the goals, especially when *Militant* supporters make a point of introducing the paper to young people and workers involved in struggle.

From Twin Cities, Minnesota, for example, Jon Hillson writes that three supporters of abortion rights purchased *Militant* subscriptions while defending a clinic in nearby Robbinsdale from Operation Rescue April 24. Several other clinic defenders bought single issues of the paper.

Coal miners buy 'Militant'

Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) who are fighting for a decent contract, their supporters, and non-union miners trying to bring in the UMWA continue to snatch up the *Militant* from sales and reporting teams that pass through their areas. *Militant* supporters sold a subscription and 44 single copies of the paper in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky May 3-4—more than half of them at mine entrances.

Team member Matilde Zimmermann said one UMWA member who bought the paper was a retiree staffing an informational picket shack at Blair Mountain in West Virginia, the site of an important union battle in 1921. The union wants to see the place named a historical site, but the state government has refused, claiming it would be too controversial.

Steve Craine reports that unionists at a May 1 UMWA support rally in Pittsburgh bought 64 single issues and 3 *Militant* subscriptions. Two more subs and an issue of *New International* were sold at a Jobs with Justice conference the



Militant/Mark Gilsdorf
Pathfinder table at congress of Union of Young Communists in Spain

same weekend, also in Pittsburgh.

Selling 'New International'

Hot off the fax from Canada is a report from Ned Dmytryshyn on a successful sales team to Vancouver Island. "In one and a half days we sold five *Militant* subs and three *New Internationals*," Dmytryshyn writes. "We contacted students and professors who had participated in meetings for Cuban economist Carlos Tablada or who were up for subscription renewals."

"A leader of the antiracist committee at the University of Victoria, bought *New International* no. 5, featuring 'The Coming Revolution in South Africa.' The Victoria Public Research Interest Group, a student organization that led a protest against the bombing of Iraq in February, renewed its *Militant* subscription and bought *New International* no. 7 with the article 'The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq' and a professor at Malaspina College in Nanaimo bought a subscription to the *Militant* and a copy of *New International* no. 6 with the article 'Land, Labor, and the Canadian Socialist Revolution' by Michel Dugré."

Seattle moves up in chart

Militant supporters in Seattle just completed their best week yet,

selling 15 subscriptions. "The main thing was participation—having bigger sales teams and staying out longer," said Scott Breen. "We got out to several campuses in the area with three- or four-person teams. We also went door-to-door in the Black community here, which we hadn't done in a while, and *Militant* supporters have been selling a lot of subscriptions to their coworkers."

On Sunday, May 2, *Militant* distributors from both Seattle and Vancouver sold three subscriptions and a copy of *Nueva Internacional* at a march of about 500 farmworkers in Mt. Vernon, Washington. The day before, one subscription was sold at a rally against the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Sales team in eastern Germany

John Cox, who is participating in a *Militant* sales and reporting team in Germany, phoned in to say that they are getting a very good response to the paper, despite the language barrier. They are visiting campuses and picket lines set up by striking metalworkers in the eastern part of the country, introducing many workers and youth to the *Militant* and other socialist publications. Cox reported that the team sold 22 single copies and 1 subscription in just one morning at Humboldt College in Berlin.

Young Communists meet in Spain

BY MARK GILSDORF

MADRID, Spain—The Union of Young Communists of Spain (UJCE) held its 6th Congress here April 16-18 amid charges of corruption against the ruling social democrats. New elections are planned for June in which the Socialist Party government is expected to lose a large percentage of votes to the right-wing Popular Party.

This is taking place within the context of the worldwide economic crisis, which has hit Spain hard. Official unemployment in Madrid alone is 20 percent, and conference participants reported increasing attacks directed against foreign-born workers. There was some discussion on the floor of the congress on these issues, but the meeting mainly focused on the participation of the UJCE in the upcoming presidential elections as part of the United Left.

Delegates heard greetings from representatives of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front Youth and Communist Youth of El Salvador, and the Pal-

estine Liberation Organization. Some 250 UJCE delegates from throughout Spain participated in the gathering, as well as 22 international guests from 17 countries. Representatives from the Communist Youth Collectives of Spain, the Socialist Youth League of Norway, and the Young Communists of Portugal were among those present.

During each break in the proceedings, a steady stream of people gathered around a literature table set up by representatives of the Young Socialist Alliance from the United States. The display featured books from Pathfinder Press, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Many congress participants who stopped by the table were eager to discuss the class struggle in the United States and the rest of the world. Some of the most common questions included: Are these books illegal in the United States? Can communists function openly there? What did you think of the Malcolm X film?

Many people were interested in discussing what's happening in Russia in the wake of the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy there.

One of the top selling Pathfinder titles was the Spanish-language edition of *The Revolution Betrayed* by Leon Trotsky, which explains the origins and character of Stalinism. There was also particular interest in the Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara. Eight copies of the pamphlet *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today* and seven copies of *Nueva Internacional* No. 2, which focuses on Guevara's economic ideas, were sold. In all, young people at the meeting bought almost \$400 worth of Pathfinder literature, including 12 copies of *Nueva Internacional*, along with 12 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and two subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Interest in the case of framed-up unionist Mark Curtis was also great. Three leaders of the UJCE from the Canary Islands endorsed his defense case, as did the leadership of the Communist Youth Collectives.

The new secretary-general of the UJCE took a copy of a video about Curtis's fight for justice produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle to distribute to the other branches of the UJCE throughout Spain.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 51% 1,423

SHOULD BE: 63% 1,750

END OF WEEK FIVE

| | The MILITANT | | PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL | | NEW INTERNATIONAL | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------|---------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| | SOLD / GOAL | | SOLD / GOAL | | SOLD / GOAL | |
| UNITED STATES | | | | | | |
| Denver | 5 | 5 | 100% | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Cleveland | 47 | 65 | 72% | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| Salt Lake City | 53 | 75 | 71% | 6 | 15 | 14 |
| Cincinnati | 7 | 10 | 70% | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Atlanta | 45 | 75 | 60% | 3 | 10 | 5 |
| Miami | 59 | 100 | 59% | 21 | 35 | 27 |
| Washington DC | 44 | 75 | 59% | 9 | 25 | 20 |
| Chicago | 62 | 110 | 56% | 9 | 25 | 5 |
| San Francisco | 61 | 110 | 55% | 11 | 30 | 36 |
| Morgantown, WV | 36 | 65 | 55% | 2 | 5 | 8 |
| Portland | 8 | 15 | 53% | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Baltimore | 38 | 75 | 51% | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| New Haven, CT | 5 | 10 | 50% | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Santa Cruz | 4 | 8 | 50% | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| Twin Cities, MN | 60 | 120 | 50% | 15 | 15 | 28 |
| New York | 111 | 225 | 49% | 44 | 75 | 20 |
| Greensboro, NC | 32 | 65 | 49% | 4 | 7 | 7 |
| Detroit | 39 | 80 | 49% | 2 | 10 | 6 |
| Birmingham, AL | 35 | 75 | 47% | 4 | 10 | 2 |
| Newark, NJ | 63 | 135 | 47% | 16 | 45 | 14 |
| Philadelphia | 39 | 85 | 46% | 10 | 20 | 14 |
| Seattle | 36 | 80 | 45% | 6 | 30 | 7 |
| Los Angeles | 75 | 170 | 44% | 58 | 85 | 25 |
| Houston | 33 | 75 | 44% | 13 | 20 | 11 |
| Boston | 47 | 110 | 43% | 14 | 30 | 26 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | 35 | 85 | 41% | 22 | 30 | 12 |
| St. Louis | 30 | 90 | 33% | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| Pittsburgh | 26 | 80 | 33% | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| U.S. Total | 1,135 | 2,273 | 50% | 280 | 564 | 311 |
| AUSTRALIA | | | | | | |
| | 19 | 30 | 63% | 2 | 10 | 5 |
| BELGIUM | | | | | | |
| | 0 | 8 | 0% | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| BRITAIN | | | | | | |
| London | 33 | 60 | 55% | 3 | 5 | 12 |
| Sheffield | 16 | 35 | 46% | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| Manchester | 14 | 35 | 40% | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Britain Total | 63 | 130 | 48% | 4 | 9 | 22 |
| CANADA | | | | | | |
| Toronto | 37 | 75 | 49% | 6 | 15 | 12 |
| Vancouver | 28 | 70 | 40% | 5 | 10 | 10 |
| Montreal | 25 | 65 | 38% | 6 | 12 | 10 |
| Quebec City | 0 | 5 | 0% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Canada Total | 90 | 215 | 42% | 17 | 37 | 32 |
| FRANCE | | | | | | |
| | 2 | 10 | 20% | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| GERMANY | | | | | | |
| | 9 | 15 | 60% | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| GREECE | | | | | | |
| | 0 | 2 | 0% | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| ICELAND | | | | | | |
| | 5 | 10 | 50% | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| NEW ZEALAND | | | | | | |
| Wellington | 33 | 40 | 83% | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Auckland | 28 | 45 | 62% | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Christchurch | 15 | 25 | 60% | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| New Zealand Total | 76 | 110 | 69% | 3 | 3 | 15 |
| PUERTO RICO | | | | | | |
| | 2 | 1 | 200% | 2 | 10 | 2 |
| SWEDEN | | | | | | |
| | 31 | 65 | 48% | 16 | 20 | 10 |
| TOTAL | 1,423 | 2,854 | 51% | 325 | 661 | 400 |
| SHOULD BE | 1,750 | | 63% | 375 | | 750 |

IN THE UNIONS

| | The MILITANT | | PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL | | | NEW INTERNATIONAL | |
|--------------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|------------|
| | SOLD / GOAL | | SOLD / GOAL | | | SOLD / GOAL | |
| UNITED STATES | | | | | | | |
| UMWA | 29 | 15 | 193% | 1 | — | 0 | — |
| UTU | 55 | 80 | 69% | 1 | 4 | 7 | 27 |
| OCAW | 33 | 50 | 66% | 2 | 4 | 7 | 18 |
| UAW | 51 | 85 | 60% | 1 | — | 4 | 25 |
| USWA | 42 | 85 | 49% | 2 | — | 1 | 25 |
| IAM | 44 | 90 | 49% | 1 | 25 | 9 | 35 |
| ACTWU | 13 | 28 | 46% | 7 | 12 | 0 | 20 |
| UFCW | 14 | 56 | 25% | 19 | 35 | 5 | 26 |
| ILGWU | 4 | 20 | 20% | 16 | 20 | 4 | 15 |
| U.S. Total | 285 | 489 | 58% | 50 | 80 | 37 | 176 |
| AUSTRALIA | | | | | | | |
| NUW | 2 | 3 | 67% | 0 | — | 0 | — |
| AMEU | 0 | 3 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| FPU | 0 | 3 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| Australia Total | 2 | 9 | 22% | 0 | — | 0 | 2 |
| BRITAIN | | | | | | | |
| TGWU | 5 | 6 | 83% | 0 | — | 0 | 3 |
| RMT | 6 | 12 | 50% | 0 | — | 0 | 6 |
| AEEU | 2 | 6 | 33% | 0 | — | 0 | 6 |
| NUM | 0 | 2 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | 2 |
| Britain Total | 13 | 26 | 50% | 0 | — | 0 | 17 |
| CANADA | | | | | | | |
| CAW | 6 | 9 | 67% | 1 | — | 3 | 4 |
| USWA | 7 | 11 | 64% | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| IAM | 1 | 6 | 17% | 0 | — | 0 | 2 |
| ACTWU | 0 | 2 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| Canada Total | 14 | 28 | 50% | 1 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| NEW ZEALAND | | | | | | | |
| EU | 3 | 5 | 60% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| UFBGWU | 2 | 8 | 25% | 0 | — | 1 | 1 |
| MWU | 0 | 2 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| New Zealand Total | 5 | 15 | 33% | 0 | — | 1 | 3 |
| SWEDEN | | | | | | | |
| Food workers | 3 | 6 | 50% | 0 | — | 0 | 2 |
| Metal workers | 2 | 5 | 40% | 0 | — | 0 | 1 |
| Transport workers | 0 | 2 | 0% | 0 | — | 0 | — |

ACTWU—Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU—Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMEU—Automotive, Metal and Engineering Union; CAW—Canadian Auto Workers; EU—Engineers Union; FPU—Food Preservers Union; IAM—International Association of Machinists; ILGWU—International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NUM—National Union of Mineworkers; NUW—National Union of Workers; OCAW—Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT—Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU—Transport and General Workers Union; UAW—United Auto Workers; UFBGWU—United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; USWA—United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union

Cuban author tours United States

Juan Antonio Blanco discusses challenges and opportunities facing revolution

BY LUIS MADRID

CHICAGO — "In Cuba we want our people to participate on an ongoing basis in the political process, not to limit themselves to participating in elections every so many years," said Juan Antonio Blanco before 125 people gathered at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) April 16.

The meeting at UIC was part of the Chicago leg of the U.S. speaking tour organized for Blanco by Global Exchange. During his tour in this area, sponsored by the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Cuba, Blanco spoke to more than 300 people in events that included meetings organized by members of faculty at DePaul University, University of Chicago, and Loyola University. Also, a meeting at UIC, sponsored by the Progressive Student Network, Mujeres Activas por Cambio Social (Women Active for Social Change), Estudiantes Latinos de Aztlan, and UIC's departments of history, political science, and Latin American studies, drew a crowd of 75, mostly youth, to hear Blanco. Another meeting was sponsored by El Yunque bookstore.

Blanco added that while Cubans "are conscious that our system has objective limitations" in regards to democracy, "we reject the idea that it is illegitimate simply because it is different" from others around the world.

"The myth is that the U.S. political system is democracy itself, and that elections in and of themselves are democracy."

On the other hand, Blanco pointed to "the bureaucratization that developed over the last decade" that had undermined the efforts to build socialism in Cuba. He said that at the root of this problem was Cuba's reliance on the methods of planning and management employed by the regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which "rather than solving our problems," were creating more and deeper ones.

During Blanco's visit supporters of Cuba's right to self-determination pointed to the need to get the truth out about the revolution, as well as Washington's efforts to undermine it. Pablo Medina, local chair of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, who moderated the meeting, urged the audience to support the upcoming Second U.S./Cuba Friendshipment. Sponsored by Pastors for Peace, this effort will provide material aid to the people of Cuba and at the same time will again challenge the 31-year-old embargo imposed by Washing-

ton against Cuba.

Medina also called for defense of a group of activists who held a rally against the embargo in Miami and were attacked by a group of right-wing Cuban-Americans. The local authorities, however, pressed charges against some of the rally organizers, and a campaign is now under way to demand that they be dropped and the individuals actually responsible for the attack be prosecuted. The local coalition will be carrying out both these campaigns as part of its overall work on Cuba.

Luis Madrid is a member of United Transportation Union Local 577 and the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Cuba.

BY HARVEY MCARTHUR

SEATTLE — Socialism, capitalism, the collapse of the Soviet Union, life in Cuba today, the future of U.S.-Cuba relations: these were some of the questions discussed by Cuban scholar Juan Antonio Blanco during a busy tour of Oregon and Washington April 21-23.

Blanco is coordinator of the Felix Varela Institute in Havana, an author, and former official of the Cuban foreign ministry. Some 600 people attended his meetings at seven universities and citywide gatherings.

"Young people today are looking for change," Blanco told students at Clackamas Community College near Portland. "Why should we allow blind market forces to determine if we have a job, education, and health care? Young people will fight to change society and will find a way forward."

Blanco's tour was sponsored by Global Exchange, a San Francisco-based group that organizes speaking tours and development projects around the world. He was interviewed by major news media here, including the Portland daily *The Oregonian*, and KUOW radio in Seattle.

Blanco sketched key points in the history of the Cuban revolution, noting that U.S. hostility began as soon as the revolutionary



Juan Antonio Blanco speaking at Oregon State University April 22

government began to distribute land to poor peasants in 1959. "In order to create a society based on social justice, we had to affect those with vested interests," he explained.

This led Cuba to a socialist revolution, "not a dogmatic socialism brought by Soviet tanks, but a genuine development of our national revolution."

Cuban leader Che Guevara "foresaw the general crisis of the Soviet bloc — a society based on material selfishness and western ideology. It failed to meet the basic premise of Karl Marx: the goal is not just greater production of material goods but a more humane way of organizing society," he continued.

"Last year more than 100,000 people from Havana volunteered to do agricultural work in the countryside," Blanco said. "This could not be done by material incentives, but only because the Cuban people have been educated in a moral commitment to the people as a whole."

The collapse of the Soviet bloc regimes led to the disappearance of 85 percent of Cuba's foreign trade, Blanco added. Cuba now has to purchase vital imports on the capitalist world market at terms much less equitable than before.

In response, Cuba has promoted tourism and encouraged foreign companies to invest in hotels and other enterprises to bring in needed foreign exchange. "How is it possible to maintain socialist ideals while promoting such tourism?" one listener asked.

"Tourism is like chemotherapy," Blanco answered. "It is necessary now because we have no other quick way to get the income needed to maintain the social programs we have. However, too much can kill the patient, and we have seen a sharp rise in inequality, prostitution, and other problems."

A person in Seattle questioned Blanco's criticisms of the Soviet Union, stating that an emphasis on material production was extremely important for the many millions of hungry and poor people in the world. Other

changes in society's standards and values would take generations, he said.

Producing more goods needed for human life and society is important, Blanco replied. "But you also have to start building a new society based on alternative ethical standards," he went on. "Society will be based either on solidarity or greed."

Blanco described the devastating impact of the tropical storm that swept Cuba last March. Much of the spring harvest of food and some 40,000 houses were destroyed. For the first time, the Cuban government had to appeal for emergency international aid. Blanco and tour organizers urged those at the meetings to raise money for medical aid that could be shipped to Cuba quickly.

"Even if the amount sent is relatively small," Blanco noted, "it has tremendous importance since it shows Cuba is not alone and has friends in the United States."

Harvey McArthur is a rail worker and member of United Transportation Union Local 845 in Seattle.

BY JEFF HAMILL

SAN FRANCISCO — Juan Antonio Blanco toured northern California during the last week of April. He attended a reception at Ristorante Venezia in Berkeley, and addressed meetings at California State University and the Senior Citizens Center in Sacramento, and Thunderbird Bookstore in Carmel. Blanco also spoke to 100 people at New College in San Francisco and to about 200 at the University of California at Berkeley.

After his talk at New College, Blanco was asked about the U. S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. He responded, "I would like the California people to demand that no base be closed until Guantánamo is closed."

"Militarily," he continued, "Guantánamo is totally obsolete. The United States has prepared another base in Boca Chica, Florida, for confrontation with Cuba. The United States carries out military maneuvers against Cuba, including flying warplanes to within 12 miles of Havana, only 15 seconds away, and then turning back."

At Berkeley, Blanco also discussed the prospects for new Cuba-U.S. relations under the Clinton administration. There may be a new U.S. policy toward Cuba, not with new aims but perhaps with new methods, said Blanco. One possibility is the "friendly subversion" policy, where the United States may attempt co-optation of the Cuban revolution. "Cuba wants to reestablish relations in any case," said Blanco. "Such a development will be a major challenge to the Cuban revolution. But when you make a revolution, you don't get a life insurance policy in the bank!"

Jeff Hamill is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1732. Jim Altenberg, Elizabeth Whittaker, and Omari Musa also contributed to this article.

Cuba May Day rally denounces U.S. embargo

BY ROSA GARMENDÍA AND ERNIE MAILHOT

HAVANA, Cuba — "Down with the Toricelli Bill"; "On our knees, never." These were two of the prominent slogans along with many different signs denouncing Washington's economic blockade of Cuba in the several-hundred-thousand-strong May Day march here.

The Toricelli bill, recently approved by U.S. Congress, tightened aspects of Washington's trade embargo against Cuba.

The solid mass of chanting Cuban people filled the six lanes of the roadway as they marched through Revolution Square. At the same time hundreds of thousands more celebrated May Day in each of the 14 provinces of Cuba and the Isle of Youth.

The Havana march was led off by Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Communist Party and Cuban government, followed by various international delegations, including groups from Argentina, Italy, Mexico, Spain, the United States, and many other countries. The ANC Youth League of South Africa had representatives at the march.

Leading the international delegations were contingents of Cuban-Americans from the Miami-based Antonio Maceo Brigade and the Alliance of Cuban Workers in the Community (ATC), as well as representatives of another 20 U.S. groups that organize solidarity work with Cuba. These included the Venceremos Brigade, Casa de las Americas and the Cuba Information Project from New York, the Hands off Cuba Coalition from several cities, the National Lawyers Guild, the Socialist Workers Party, the Cuban American Committee of New

Jersey, and others.

The solidarity group representatives had been invited to Cuba for May Day and subsequent discussions on solidarity work with Cuba in the United States.

ATC contingent

Of special importance for Cuba and the U.S. solidarity movement were the 211 Cuban-American members of the ATC who marched here May 1. This is the largest Cuban-American group in the United States that actively opposes Washington's embargo. The ATC delegation is in Havana on a 13-day trip that included visiting family members on the island as well as hospitals, construction projects, and other facilities.

ATC secretary Santiago Rodríguez said that the group's contingent in May Day was of particular significance. It was the first time since 1980 that a large number of Cubans who left the island during the Mariel boatlift were invited to return to Cuba. Virtually all the ATC members came from Miami.

One man who left in 1980 said that he always participated in the May 1 celebrations when he lived in Cuba. This time was special, he added, because he really felt a part of the resistance to the U.S. embargo.

Another ATC member, a teacher who left Cuba in 1980, said her political views changed after leaving the island. She now strongly supports the revolution and is among the most active ATC members. The Cuban-American group, whose membership exceeds 1,500, has been central in organizing, along with the Antonio Maceo

Brigade, recent protests against the U.S. embargo in Washington, D.C., and Miami.

Pedro Ross addressed rally

After the leadership of the Cuban government and the international guests marched through Revolution Square, Pedro Ross, head of the Federation of Cuban Workers, addressed the gathering.

Ross described the economic difficulties facing the Cuban revolution. He explained that shortages of food and other basic necessities stem from the collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union since 1989 and the 33-year-old U.S. trade embargo, which Ross denounced as criminal. The trade union leader said these problems were seriously exacerbated by a storm in March. Hurricane-strong winds devastated Cuba's agriculture. Banana and vegetable crops were wiped out in large areas of the country. Fifty percent of the exportable tobacco crop was destroyed. The storm also destroyed or damaged 40,000 housing units, affecting 250,000 people. Damage amounted to more than \$1 billion of the Cuban economy.

But despite these difficulties, Ross said, Cuba's working people are stronger and will continue to resist imperialist aggression and move forward.

As Ross ended his presentation, the Havana march stepped off again with several hundred members of the Blas Roca voluntary work brigade. They were followed by 40,000 workers from sugar cane fields, steel mills, cigar factories, and other workplaces. The dockworkers had a large contingent with a

Continued on Page 9

U.S. attorney in Miami seeks drug-running charges to slander Cuban gov't officials

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

MIAMI — For years charges have been repeatedly raised that top Cuban officials are involved with drug trafficking. These allegations recently resurfaced when the April 8, 1993, *Miami Herald* reported that the Miami U.S. attorney's office has drafted a proposed drug indictment stemming from a year-long federal grand jury investigation.

The document was prepared by U.S. Attorney Roberto Martínez and Michael Patrick Sullivan, the U.S. prosecutor in the trial of Panamanian chief of armed forces Manuel Noriega. It alleges that Defense Minister Raúl Castro and 14 other Cuban officials ran a 10-year smuggling and racketeering enterprise in collaboration with Colombia's Medellín drug cartel. The Cuban Defense Ministry rejected the charges, pointing out that both the U.S. International Narcotics Bureau and the UN International Narcotics Central Board have recognized in the past that Cuba is not involved in drug trafficking, and have in fact collaborated with Cuba, on occasion, to combat drug rings.

Officials in Washington indicated that they weren't aware of the indictment before it was reported. "This is something that has been bubbling in those offices down there for quite some time," a Clinton administration source said. "But it has not been discussed at any time by high-level administration officials."

Among those testifying before the secret grand jury were convicted drug traffickers, Cuban defectors, and jailed Medellín drug lord Carlos Lehder Rivas. Lehder was convicted in 1988 and sentenced to life plus 135 years. Later the U.S. government agreed to move him from the nation's highest-security prison in Marion, Illinois, and fly his family out of Colombia in exchange for his testimony at the 1991 trial of Noriega.

During the trial, Lehder claimed that the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments were smuggling cocaine from Colombia to the United States. No documentary evidence was ever presented to back his charges.

Washington has often used charges of drug production and smuggling as a pretext to further its political and military goals in Latin America.

The U.S. grand jury indictment of Noriega in 1988, his capture during the bloody U.S. invasion of Panama a year later, and his subsequent imprisonment, trial, and conviction under U.S. law set a dangerous new precedent.

Manipulating the widespread working-class concern over the destructive impact of illegal drugs, Washington's real aim in Panama was to put in power a government willing to cooperate with U.S. military operations in Central America and to abrogate the 1977 treaty calling for full Panamanian control over the Panama Canal and dismantling of all U.S. military bases in the country by 1999.

Those who prepared the draft indictment against the Cuban leaders hope to pressure

Washington into replaying the Noriega scenario or at least to use the charges to justify further economic pressure, or even military aggression, against Cuba. But they face a much different situation than at the time of the operation against Panama.

Cuba: a well-documented record

The Cuban government has a more than 30-year record of active opposition to the international drug trade. Prior to 1959, Cuba was dominated by capitalist drug lords and the local dictators who worked with them. The 1959 revolution stopped this illicit and immoral business, and many who profited from it fled to the United States. Cuba is one of the few countries in the world that is not involved in the growth or manufacture of illegal drugs.

In 1989 Cuba's opposition to the multi-million dollar drug trade was put to the test. A gang of corrupt and cynical military officials, led by Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa, was caught collaborating with the Medellín cartel to use Cuba as a transshipment point for cocaine headed to the U.S. market. Ochoa, a longtime leader of the revolution, had held central responsibilities for thousands of Cuban troops then stationed in Angola. While the Cubans, alongside forces from the Angolan army and the South West African People's Organization, were defeating the South African army at the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale, Ochoa and his gang were closing deals with the Medellín cartel.

Ochoa and three other officers were found guilty of high treason and drug trafficking, sentenced to death, and executed on July 13, 1989. Ten other army officers and officials of

the Interior Ministry were sentenced to prison terms of from 10-30 years for their roles in the drug shipments. Seven of these officials are named in the current draft indictment.

At the time Cuban president Fidel Castro explained that what was at stake was the integrity and security of the revolution itself.

In his report to the Council of State defending the application of the death penalty, Castro pointed out that the United States government had been aware that at least two of the Cuban officers were involved in the drug trade. Washington, Castro explained, had not had even the common courtesy to report this confidentially to the Cuban government. Instead, they chose to keep this information secret, hoping to use the charges against Cuba when they would do the most damage.

Following the Ochoa incident, Cuba made a public offer to cooperate with the United States to fight drug trafficking in the region.

The U.S. government refused, responding that such collaboration was impossible unless Cuba severed relations with the Soviet Union and liberation movements in Latin America, and adopted a "human rights" policy to Washington's liking.

At the same time, Washington used the pretext of fighting drugs to step up its slander and aggression against Cuba, to invade Panama, and to increase its military presence in Colombia, Peru, and other Latin American countries.

Support for dialogue with Cuba grows

Debate on the draft indictment is taking place in the context of a deepening discussion of Cuba policy, growing support for dialogue with Cuba, increasing calls for and sending of

humanitarian aid to the island, and broader backing for lifting the U.S. trade embargo.

Hoping to curtail these developments, Miami's ultraright Cuban-American radio and TV stations, politicians, and organizations like the Cuban American National Foundation applauded news of the drug charges.

A U.S. representative from Florida, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, said, "This will contribute to the realizations . . . that the regime in Havana is really in every way contrary to the national interests of the United States."

An April 8 *Miami Herald* editorial also backed the proposal, urging Attorney General Janet Reno to convince President Clinton to issue the indictment prepared by "her friend," U.S. Attorney Martínez.

But not everyone gave unconditional support to the indictment. *Miami Herald* staff writer Andres Oppenheimer claimed that the Cuba investigation began like the Noriega case: as "an apolitical, nuts-and-bolts law enforcement case." He then explained that after charges are issued, "law enforcement takes a back seat to politics," and predicted that Latin American nations may rally behind Cuba, seeing the indictment as a political weapon and prelude to military aggression.

Liberal Cuban-Americans here also expressed their reservations. Florida International University professor Antonio Jorge told the *Herald* that "... this will definitely scrap any possibility of improving diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba."

Ramon Cernuda, a publisher who favors normalizing relations as a way to oust Castro, said, "This could have in it the seed of foreign intervention. . . ."

Washington will send troops to Bosnia

Continued from front page

tered plan, said that rapid action was a key part of it, both to show "resolve" to warring groups in Bosnia, and to "demonstrate the usefulness of NATO forces in the post-Cold war era," the *Washington Post* reported. Getting the forces into the former Yugoslavia, officials explained, would include marine landings at two Croatian ports and a landing by

Note to our readers

In last week's *Militant* a draft of the introduction to the forthcoming Pathfinder book "The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention" was printed in error, prior to final editing. The completed introduction will be printed in next week's issue.

paratroopers at Sarajevo airport, followed up by the arrival of 12,000 troops from the 1st Armored Division, currently based in Germany. These forces would be equipped with

tanks and other armored vehicles. An officer also noted that the U.S. military was resisting having its forces wear blue UN helmets. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, seeking to reconcile some of the anxieties expressed by Paris and others, asserted however that all troops involved would wear blue headgear.

London and Paris have also stuck to their objections to Washington's proposal to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia, an embargo that favors the already heavily-armed Serb forces. These European powers fear that lifting the embargo could result in escalated

fighting on the ground, which might endanger their troops there. They are also concerned that supplying a section of the forces in combat with new weaponry will upset the existing balance of forces, making it harder to nail down the Vance-Owen plan.

Discussing Clinton's stated intention to rely mainly on air power to pressure the Serb-based forces, French foreign minister Alain Juppe pointedly stated that he found "unacceptable" a division of labor that had some countries "flying in planes and dropping bombs and others, the Europeans — especially the French — on the ground."

May Day celebrated in Cuba

Continued from Page 8

float as did other unionists. Several contingents of workers in the tourist industry participated, such as from the Hotel Copacabana. Others represented their neighborhoods from Municipio Plaza to Municipio Cotorro.

One of the most spirited contingents was a group of at least 4,000 secondary school students all dressed in their blue school uniforms.

These students waved enthusiastically and shouted greetings to the international delegates who had taken seats in the stands set up across the square. At one point a group of young people climbed on a platform being carried on the shoulders of about 10 students. They then formed a human pyramid that was four people high as those around them clapped and cheered. The young woman at the top, more than 20 feet in the air, then unfurled a banner reading "Marianao will resist." This referred to the people of the neighborhood of Marianao and their determination to stand up to imperialist attacks.

The march had stepped off at 9:40 a.m. At about 11:00 a.m. a massive contingent of bicycles followed the solid wall of marchers.

Some of these bicycles carried families of

three, four, and even five people. Many carried signs denouncing the U.S. blockade and supporting the revolution. Due to the oil shortage caused by the cut off in trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, many Cubans now rely on bicycles for transportation.

After tens of thousands of bicycles passed the square, the contingent of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) marched forward. UJC members waved thousands of Cuban flags and signs supporting the revolutionary government and denouncing the Toricelli bill.

After two hours the march ended with contingents of Cuban military and of the Territorial Troop Militias.

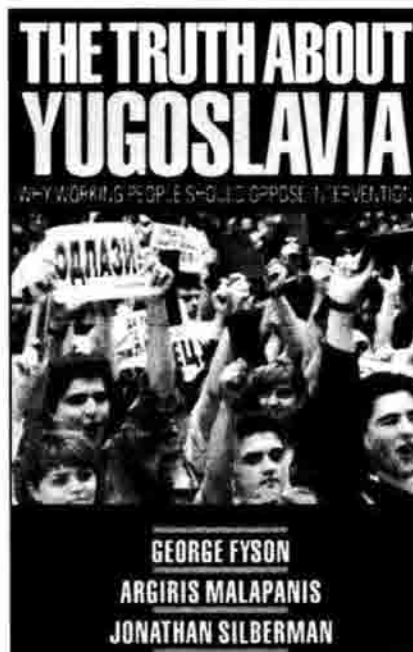
Lourdes Oñe, a young physical education teacher from Havana, said she was very excited about the turnout that day. "The spirit and numbers of people show the strength of our revolution," she said.

Some of the participants commented that the march would have been even bigger if it wasn't for the oil shortages. Many workers weren't able to come to because there was no gas for many buses to bring people from outlying areas who wanted to participate.

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Is opposing NAFTA in workers' interests?

A discussion on free trade, protectionism, and crisis facing working farmers

The following article was submitted to the *Militant* as a response to an exchange of views between Jenness and Brown on free trade, protectionism, and the crisis facing working farmers, which appeared in the April 5 issue.

BY HOWARD BROWN

ROSETOWN, Saskatchewan — In considering Doug Jenness's discussion of the Canada-U.S. and North American Free Trade Agreements in *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s* (see pp. 28-29), readers can judge for themselves whether he presents these accords "too narrowly" in the sense I suggested in my review of his pamphlet (*Militant*, April 5).

Jenness affirms in response, however, that "... capitalists use their trade policies, including 'free' trade agreements, to attack working people." That point deserves elaboration, not only in Jenness's pamphlet, but in the *Militant's* treatment of these capitalist accords more generally.

Decisive factions of the United States and Canadian ruling classes have chosen these



May 1 demonstration in New York to protest the North American Free Trade Agreement. The labor movement "should propose demands that can unify working people," Jenness argues.

Socialists should have no hesitation in opposing capitalist trade accords...

"free" trade deals as a means of restructuring the North American capitalist economies, to their mutual advantage. A main aim of the agreements is configuring leaner, meaner, more concentrated imperialist economies, with the overall effect of deepening the rate of exploitation throughout the North American market.

The anti-working-class consequences of these capitalist deals contribute to broad opposition to them among workers and farmers. The trade union bureaucracy and minority capitalist interests are attempting to channel that opposition into support for national-protectionist "alternatives." Socialists are required to combat this protectionist course, which leads to collaboration with national capitalists at the expense of international working class solidarity.

How to fight protectionism

To best fight the national protectionists, we first should acknowledge the negative consequences of these trade deals for workers and farmers. Working people are correct to fear the effects of these accords on our rights and living standards, for they are instruments in the generalized capitalist offensive against us.

Recognition of the anti-working-class repercussions of the trade agreements amounts, in effect, I would argue, to a stance

of opposition to the deals. Socialists should have no hesitation in expressing opposition to these capitalist accords from a working-class standpoint. By helping us to gain a hearing among working people for our socialist alternative, opposition to the trade deals can allow us more effectively to fight the protectionists (including, by the way, the protectionist proponents of "free" trade).

Opposition to the "free" trade deals, Jenness writes, "can lead to giving critical support to nationalist campaigns against these pacts and sometimes even to favoring protectionist measures." Given the current relation of political forces in the labor and farm movements, unfortunately, it not only "can" but most often does, just as opposition to layoffs frequently gives rise to other concessions to the bosses. The challenge before socialists is linking working people's opposition to the trade deals to a class-struggle program.

In one or another variation, the nationalist opponents of free trade present the trade agreements as though they were at the root of the capitalist offensive against working people. They attempt to focus workers' energies in fighting the accords as such. Slogans like "Stop NAFTA now" and the campaigns they promote imply support for protectionism and set working people on the dead-end course of capitalist reform and class-collaboration.

NAFTA's anti-working-class effects

Socialists understand that the capitalist offensive is rooted in the crisis of the profit system itself. The trade deals reinforce the capitalist drive against us, but they are not the heart of it. By explaining that reality in concrete terms, with *due recognition of the trade deals' anti-working-class effects*, socialists can enhance our credibility among

working people.

As a tactic of the ruling classes, the "free" trade deals are subordinate to the overall capitalist objective of stepping up the exploitation of working people in an attempt to moderate the crisis of their system. In response, socialists' opposition to the trade deals is subordinate to our internationalist action program that advances working people's independent interests in the face of the capitalist offensive.

But that should make us no less assertive in expressing opposition to the "free" trade deals, the better to fight the prevailing protectionist trend in the workers' and farmers' movements.

Below is a reply by Doug Jenness, author of the pamphlet *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*, to the article by Howard Brown appearing on this page.

BY DOUG JENNESS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — I'm pleased that Howard Brown is continuing the discussion on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Confusion is widespread on this issue and *Militant* readers will appreciate the effort to achieve clarity on it.

Brown makes two major errors. First, he isolates and elevates capitalist trade policy to an unwarranted status as a source of the worsening economic difficulties bearing down on working people. Second, he urges that socialists join the opposition to NAFTA and similar "free trade" deals in order to better get a hearing for socialist alternatives. This essentially amounts to becoming the socialist wing of the anti-NAFTA campaign. Even though Brown states that "trade deals reinforce the capitalist offensive" against workers "but are not the heart of it," he, in fact, tends to focus on them as the main evil.

Trade, that is the buying and selling of commodities, is part of the overall system of capitalist exploitation of wage workers and debt-burdened working farmers. This includes capitalist production, trade, banking, and the rents and mortgages system.

The source of the international economic slump is that the capitalist system is plagued with overproduction of commodities and excess industrial capacity. Output is greater on the whole than the employers can sell at a high enough profit to expand their productive plant and equipment. The bosses have made working people pay the price through mounting work reorganization, speed-up, plant shutdowns, layoffs, wage and benefit cuts, and adding so-called labor-saving machinery.

Overproduction and excess capacity also is reflected in the stagnation of trade on the world market. This has sharpened price competition among capitalists both at home and abroad. Where employers have a competitive advantage they press the government to force other countries to lower tariffs and other trade barriers to their products in order to obtain access to markets in as many countries as possible. Where they lack a competitive edge they demand their government impose a wide variety of hurdles to make the products of their competitors more expensive.

This is how the capitalist profit system works and there's no way working people can make it more fair or stable or serve our interests. Attempting to intervene in capitalist

trade disputes can't end layoffs and plant closings or advance our interests any more than backing or opposing the employers' investment decisions (including automation), mergers, or corporate restructuring can.

Brown stresses, however, that the threat of the "anti-working-class consequences" of NAFTA and similar trade agreements is contributing to "broad opposition to them among workers and farmers." Socialists, he argues, should join the opposition in order "to help gain a hearing among working people" to "allow us more effectively to fight the protectionists."

A campaign to oppose protectionism?

But couldn't just as good a case be made for supporting a campaign to oppose tariffs, quotas, export subsidies, and numerous other protectionist measures? Isn't it true that in the past decade Washington has erected an unprecedented structure of protectionist measures, yet the conditions of working people (and of the environment) have continued to get worse? Perhaps a coalition could be or-

Attempting to intervene in capitalist trade disputes can't end layoffs, nor advance our interests...

ganized called the League Against Protectionist Trade Barriers.

Undoubtedly, the reason Brown doesn't propose this is that a movement against "free trade" already exists, in which, he argues, socialists can tactically intervene. Let's take a look at this "movement." Its main driving force is trade union officials and leaders of some farm and environmental groups.

The union officials support protectionist capitalist trade barriers because they are oriented to helping keep employers in their plants, industries, states or provinces, and countries profitable. Their jobs program is: make wage and work-rule concessions to prevent the employers from imposing layoffs and closing down or moving operations and campaign for trade protection to help give the employers in their countries a competitive edge. This perspective of hitching the fate of workers to the employers' profit goals is lethal for working people because it undermines our ability to act collectively and self-confidently and saps our solidarity by pitting workers of one industry, region, or country against another.

Some workers are drawn to the officials' anti-NAFTA campaign as a result of the mistaken view that it will help protect jobs. Jobs is their main concern, however, not trade policy or the profit rates of their employers.

Demands to unify working class

Rather than becoming part of the pro-capitalist, anti-working-class campaign against NAFTA, even critically as Brown suggests, the most far-sighted sections of the working class should propose demands that can unify working people in a fight for jobs, including across the U.S. borders with Mexico and Canada. This program should include the following components:

- a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work;
- a massive public works program that could put hundreds of thousands to work building schools, hospitals, low-income housing, parks, child care centers, and so on;
- enforce affirmative action in hiring and upgrading of Blacks and women in order to combat the inequalities that the bosses use to divide and weaken the working class;
- reach out to workers in Mexico and other Third World countries by proposing united action to cancel the massive debts owed to bankers in New York, Toronto, and other capitalist financial centers.

By fighting for these demands for immediate protection against the ravages of the worsening capitalist crisis, we do not count on help from the employers. To the contrary we will begin to recognize our strength as part of a united movement of working people and get a clearer view of the much bigger battles that will confront us with the onset of the economic catastrophe capitalism is bringing us.

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Metalworkers strike in eastern Germany

Continued from front page

crease wages of metalworkers in the eastern part of the country from around 70 percent to around 80 percent of those in the west. IGM organizes workers who work with metal, including those in the steel, auto, machining, and electronic assembly industries.

"The cost of living is the same as in the west, but wages are only around half," reported Dieter Stark, an assembly line worker at Benteler, which builds front axles for the VW Golf. Stark explained that his monthly rent had increased from 40 to 260 marks in the three years since the unification of Germany. Another striker had a similar experience — his rent went up from 99 to 590 marks. The cost of house water has increased 1,300 percent, they reported.

Although metalworkers in the east now receive about 70 percent of the pay scale of their western counterparts, the actual labor cost is only half, as these workers get no vacation pay and less of other benefits.

"This is the first workers' struggle in Saxony in 60 years," explained Helmut Stachel, head of IGM for the Zwickau area. "Hitler occupied all the union halls 60 years ago" this week, he added. Strikes were banned from 1933 to 1990 — first by the Nazis, then by the Stalinist government of the former East Germany.

Brigit Werler, a machinist at GKN Gelenkwellenwerk in Mosel, was one of the few women on the picket lines. Unemployment in the east is estimated by the union at over 16 percent — two-thirds of whom are women. Sieglinde Stiegler, IGM secretary in Zwickau, reported that layoffs in Germany are not by seniority, and that women are generally laid off first.

Metalworkers have been hard hit by the economic crisis. At a May 1 rally in the west German city of Frankfurt/Main, IGM official Heinz Bierbaum said "In the last three years 10,000 jobs in the metal industry have been abolished in and around Frankfurt." An additional 7,500 layoffs in the Ruhr area were announced by Krupp steel company days before the strike.

Spirits are high

"Spirits on the picket line were high. We — and they — are surprised at how solid the strike has been," said Christoph Ehlscheid, an IGM union official at the GKN picket line, pointing to the company offices. Down the road at the big VW plant, IGM official Wolfgang Windisch reported that about 100 strike-breakers out of over 2,000 workers went over the fence into the plant that morning. Newspaper reports indicate that this was the exception — virtually no scabs were reported in any of the other worksites. Several hundred workers now maintain a 24-hour picket line at VW. Steaming sausages were being served from an army field mess parked next to the circus-size tent set up by pickets in the parking lot. At GKN, pickets set up a large tent over picnic tables — right in front of the main gate. An 18-wheeler pulled up to the front gate with supplies, but was convinced to turn around and leave. One thousand of the 1,100 workers at the VEM Sachsenwerk in Dresden showed up for picket duty the first morning of the strike. Attempts to get into the Siemens

plant in Leipzig ended when pickets welded the gate shut.

Preparations for the strike — including training in strike tactics and explanation of logistical and legal questions — began several weeks ago, Ehlscheid reported. "Last week we voted in the 51 workplaces in Zwickau." Metalworkers in Saxony voted nearly 85 percent in favor of striking. In addition, two short warning strikes were conducted in early April, including one of more than 90,000, and some 200,000 workers from east and west demonstrated March 26 against the contract breach and against attacks on social benefits. The March 26 protest was the first unified protest of workers from both eastern and western Germany. Some 60 VW workers traveled by bus from the Wolfsburg plant in the western part of the country to join the picket line in support at the plant here the first morning of the strike.

This is the first time since World War II that a major labor contract has been unilaterally abrogated. "This fight concerns us all," said Bierbaum at the Frankfurt rally. "Those who abrogate wage agreements in the east will do so in the west."

"The real reason for the strike is not wages," said Josef Brunner, IGM official at the Benteler picket line. "That's just the pretext. They're trying to break the union. This is a test." The union newspaper quoted Ernst Krauss, president of the metal industry association for southwest Germany, saying that "a unilateral cancellation of the wage agreement is not excluded" in the west, as well.

If the bosses do not come to terms, the union plans to further extend the strike to an additional 24 plants in Saxony next week and the entire steel industry in eastern Germany May 6. (Steel mills are organized separately from the rest of the metal industry.) A strike vote is scheduled in the three remaining east German states May 10. IGM's call for demonstrations and protests throughout the country May 12 is supported by the national union federation, Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund. "And we hope that not a single wheel will turn on that day," said IGM president Franz Steinkühler.

BY JOHN COX
AND CARL-ERIC ISACSSON

ROSTOCK, Germany — Here in the northeastern port city of Rostock, 6,000 metalworkers walked out on strike May 4.

In front of Neptune Industries, a shipyard where 1,400 metalworkers normally work, a sign proclaimed, "They rip up the contract, we fight to defend our rights." "We simply cannot tolerate the current wage structure," Michael, a worker in the yard, explained.

At the main entrance to the Kveamar-Warnow-Werft shipyard, the 100 workers on picket duty were unimpressed with signs the company had posted that scolded, "He who strikes, strikes against himself." That shipyard employs 2,700 workers who produce container ships.

Bosses across the country have joined the German government in advising workers to "tighten their belts" in order to facilitate the integration of the east German economy with that of capitalist west Germany. "They should start with themselves," Uwe, a 40-year old shipyard worker, responded, expressing the sentiments of many workers on the picket line.

The employers' association, which cancelled its contract with I.G. Metall, says that the recession in western Germany, the severe economic slump and low productivity in eastern Germany, make it impossible for most companies to meet the terms of the contract, which would have brought the pay levels of metalworkers in the east up to those in the west by 1994. Productivity in eastern Germany is 30 percent that in the western part of the country.

"People here work damned hard on equipment that belongs in an industrial museum," Bernd Thiele, a 35-year-old deputy strike leader from the Stahl und Walzwerk Brandenburg steel mill in Brandenburg, Germany, said. "That hurts productivity." Thiel pointed out that workers in eastern Germany still work a 40-hour week, while those in western Germany work 36 hours. In spite of this, workers at the Brandenburg mill only make \$822 a month, compared to the \$1,772 that their counterparts in the west earn.



Metal workers demonstrate in eastern Germany in February for the 26 percent pay raise that will give them equal wages with their counterparts in the west.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

PAT SMITH

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Off the press this week with an attractive new cover is *America's Revolutionary Heritage*. Edited by George Novack, an active socialist for six decades, the book contains Marxist essays on Native Americans, the first American revolution, the Civil War, the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States, and the first wave of the fight for women's rights. Priced at \$21.95, the book can be purchased at your nearest Pathfinder Bookstore (see page 12) or by writing to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

The Toronto Pathfinder Readers Club now has 58 members, more than half of whom joined the club in the last three months. More than a dozen joined in late January and February during the Canadian tour of Cuban economist Carlos Tablada.

The Toronto Pathfinder Bookstore has a dozen Readers Club members in Ontario regions outside of Toronto, and in Manitoba, reports bookstore staffer Sylvie Charbin. To better serve this growing club, the bookstore has begun a Readers Club newsletter. A few days after receiving the first newsletter, a new club member visited the bookstore and bought a set of *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Another club member has used his card to purchase at least one book each week for the last seven months.

Charbin says volunteers who help staff the bookstore and take out Pathfinder book tables have gotten into the habit of explaining the advantages of club membership to anyone who buys a book or pamphlet.

The London International Bookfair, held March 21-23 attracted a record-breaking 10,678 visitors and 867 publishing companies this year, one of which was Pathfinder Press.

"There was definitely more interest in Pathfinder than last year," and the booth had a steady stream of visitors, reported

Alan Harris, the manager of Pathfinder's London distribution office.

A big photograph of the Pathfinder Mural and enlarged color blow-ups of some of Pathfinder's titles decorated the booth. Pathfinder's recently reissued titles on women's liberation attracted extra attention, Harris said. The booth also featured a special display promoting books about communism and the former Soviet Union.

"We made sure people knew that we publish material in Spanish and French by having the enlarged covers for *El manifesto comunista* [The Communist Manifesto] and *Che Guevara: l'economie et la politique dans la transition au socialisme* [Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism] up front," Harris added.

Pathfinder supporters in Chicago took advantage of Black History Month events in February to expand sales of Pathfinder books.

More than 500 librarians from the Chicago library system attended the Afro-American Book Bazaar held at the Harold Washington Library, the main public library. The Pathfinder exhibit was one of the most popular displays at the event, reports Cappy Kidd. At least 70 librarians visited the Pathfinder table and one filled out a purchase order on the spot selecting 35 Pathfinder titles.

Another highlight of the month was a Pathfinder table at the monthly delegates meeting of the Chicago Teachers Union. More than 700 delegates from the Chicago school system attended.

A member of the union arranged for the table. He also helped staff the table and introduced fellow teachers to Pathfinder books, explaining that many titles are suitable for classroom courses. Sixty teacher delegates visited the table and bought \$60 worth of literature.

Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism, Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s, The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis, Malcolm X Talks to Young People, and Nelson Mandela Speeches 1990 were among the broad range of Pathfinder titles sold from the Pathfinder table at the recent annual Latin American Festival held at the University of Pittsburgh. Pathfinder supporters sold more than \$100 worth of books and pamphlets.

Funds needed for Germany reporting trip

This week's issue of the *Militant* brings readers two first-hand accounts of the historic metalworkers strike in eastern Germany. The international team of reporters covering the strike and introducing German workers to the *Militant* includes John Cox and Robert Dees from the United States, Carl-Erik Isacsson and other volunteers from Sweden, as well as reporters from Britain and Germany.

These reporting trips, which provide news and analysis of world political events that can be found nowhere else, are expensive. They are only possible through the generous contributions of our readers and supporters. Please send us a contribution to help cover some of our costs. Donations can be sent to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

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 are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

U.S. and UN Threats to North Korea. Speaker: Dan Dickson, Socialist Workers Party, member, ILGWU Local 44. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

South African People Advance Toward Democratic Elections. Speakers: Gillian Grable, Atlantans for Democracy in South Africa; Faye McDonald-Smith, Chairperson, Atlanta-Braklaagte Sister Community Project (AFSC); and Miguel Zárate, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 882. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Meet the 1993 Minnesota Socialist Workers Candidates. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Clinton's Holocaust in Waco: The Stakes for Working People. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose U.S. Intervention. Speaker: Jay Ressler, Socialist Workers Party.

Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention. Speaker: Tony Dutrow, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., May 16, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

Swedish "Socialism": The Crisis of the Capitalist Welfare State. Speaker: John Cox, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from trip to

Sweden and Germany. Sun., May 23, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

CANADA

Vancouver

IMF Tightens Its Grip on Kenya: Resistance to Imperialism Grows. Speaker: John Munoru, former student leader and political activist in Kenya, currently a member of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Canada. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd

and 24 Ave). Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

South Africa: The Fight for Democratic Rights. Sat., May 15, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

The Fight for Social Security: Yesterday and Today. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Pittsburgh: 2,000 rally to support miners' fight

BY STEVE CRAINE

PITTSBURGH — The weekend before the May 3 expiration of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) contract extension about 2,000 union members and supporters, almost half from the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), rallied and marched to the corporate headquarters of Consol Energy, the second-largest member of the BCOA.

"If they decide to take us on," UMWA president Richard Trumka told the rally, "they're picking a fight not just with the mine workers. They're also picking a fight with the Teamsters, the steelworkers, the autoworkers, and every man and woman proud enough to carry a union card."

Buses, vans, and car pools brought miners and their families from throughout a broad area of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. They were joined by members of other unions, including Teamsters, active and retired steelworkers, postal workers, garment workers, service employees, public employees, and printing trades workers.

The rally coincided with a national con-

ference of Jobs With Justice, which brought together some 250 union officials and activists from around the country.

Several union officials addressed the rally, including Pennsylvania AFL-CIO president William George; Gerald McEntee, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; International Brotherhood of Teamsters vice-president Johnny Morris; and United Steelworkers of America vice-president George Becker.

Most of the miners and their families wore camouflage-patterned clothing, many with UMWA slogans and demands from past miners' struggles, especially from the 1989-90 strike against Pittston. Other unionists came in their union jackets and with union banners. Teamsters and Steelworkers had specially printed placards expressing their support for the UMWA in this year's contract fight.

After rallying in the parking lot of the Sheraton Hotel, the demonstrators marched about a quarter mile to Consol headquarters, a new building discreetly settled behind a gentle, grassy hill.

The demonstrators carried with them

hundreds of small white wooden crosses, on which they had inscribed the names of miners they knew who had been killed, maimed, or laid off by the coal operators.

When planted in the grass surrounding the Consol corporate marquee, they temporarily transformed the carefully landscaped hillside into a memorial to the sacrifices of working people.

Within an hour after the miners left, management came out to supervise workers on their hands and knees removing the crosses.

Discussions among miners

A large contingent of miners, filling three buses and three vans, came from the Consol-owned Robinson Run mine in West Virginia. Robinson Run miner Lawrence Griffith, who has worked in the mines for 17 years, said he felt that in the last two national contracts the union had lost ground slightly. "Now, I hear, the companies are trying to take back even more," he explained. "There has to be a stopping point somewhere. Why should they keep taking back when they are getting fat and we are getting lean?"

The UMWA local at Lucerne No. 6 mine east of Pittsburgh organized a breakfast at the union hall for the three van-loads of members who made the trip for the rally. The day before, as preparations were underway, one of the members told a *Militant* sales team, "I wanted to go after them in the last two contracts and, by God, we're ready now."

Forty miners from Lucerne No. 9, just a few miles up the road, also drove down to the rally, according to Richard, a member of the local there. The Lucerne mines are owned by Rochester and Pittsburgh, another member of the BCOA.

In addition to sending a message to the bosses and the general public, the rally provided an opportunity for miners to discuss among themselves the issues of the fight and the extent of the attacks that are coming down on them. UMWA members employed by Consol at Robinson Run were interested to meet miners laid off by Consol in Ohio. The laid off unionists explained how Consol is now selling coal from its nonunion Bailey/Enlow Fork complex in Pennsylvania to fulfill the contracts that had been covered by the Ohio mine.

Miners stand firm in contract fight

Continued from front page

Since the Peabody strike most union miners have been wearing camouflage T-shirts to work one day a week. Now, many miners are wearing the T-shirts every day.

Miners are also gathering at roadside meetings outside the mines, and driving to work in caravans.

Local 2412 President Ty Becker from the Peabody Marissa mine told Zins, "The most important thing now is that we all stay solid and united. The company tells us they want to negotiate a contract. But we've been waiting five years and another 90 days for that to happen. They're not bargaining in good faith. A lot of workers are finding themselves in the same boat. The Caterpillar workers have worked without a contract for a year now. Some of the big auto contracts expire later this year. We intend to do whatever is necessary. We'll keep fighting until we get a contract."

Other fights are unfolding in the coal fields as well.

UMWA members at the Buck Creek mine in Sullivan, Indiana, are now in their second month on strike. Striker Terry Simmons told

the *Militant* that the company has been advertising for replacement workers but they're not getting many takers. Management plus 19 miners are trying to mine coal, but the 70 strikers are keeping up their picket line and continuing to get help from UMWA members, and other people in the area.

At the Zeigler Coal Wolf Creek mine in eastern Kentucky, the 250 nonunion coal miners finally had enough of company takebacks. Most Zeigler mines are organized by the UMWA. The company bought the Wolf Creek mine in Kentucky, Marrowbone in West Virginia, and Turris in Illinois, from Shell and is trying to keep operating them nonunion. Zeigler has been steadily cutting the health benefits of miners and retirees. They forced a 10-day strike at the Marrowbone mine March 24. The Wolf Creek miners went out May 3 when the company cut the medical benefits for retirees.

At both mines the UMWA immediately

offered assistance. At Marrowbone miners succeeded in setting a union representation election, which will take place on May 27.

Many Wolf Creek miners are now signing up with the UMWA also. They are fighting to stop company cut backs and get an election for union representation quickly.

On April 24 members of a number of different unions participated in an AFL-CIO-sponsored rally to support the miners near the Beverly Hills, California, mansion of Gordon White, one of the founders of the British multinational corporation Hanson PLC, which owns Peabody.

In an interview with the British newspaper *Hull Daily Mail* last year, White had stated his admiration for Nazi leader Adolph Hitler. "The two great providers of work and developers of self-respect are two very different people — Franklin Roosevelt and Adolph Hitler," White said. "Hitler created a workforce to build the autobahns."

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CALENDAR

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Memorial Service for ANC Leader Oliver Tambo. Sun., May 16, 2:00 p.m., Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 1047 Amsterdam Ave. (at 112th St.) Sponsors: African National Congress and Coalition for a Democratic South Africa.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Homeland, Revolution, Socialism. A Report and Slideshow on Cuba Today. A reportback from a just-returned delegation to deliver humanitarian aid, and gather news in Cuba. Tues., May 25, 7:30 p.m. Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave., NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: D.C. "Hands Off Cuba!" Coalition. For more information: (202) 234-2000.

CANADA

Montreal

The Framing of Mark Curtis: The Stakes for Working People in His Fight for Justice and Freedom. Sun., May 16, 2 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Campaign. For more information: (514) 273-2503.

Think you've heard everything? — To mark the 80th anniversary of the 16th amendment, which authorized the income tax, an outfit is offering a "gold-finish" miniature replica of the 1913 tax form designed to serve as an Xmas tree ornament. Only \$11.



Harry Ring

Are you with it, Jesus? — The latest in camcorders, wireless mikes, and digital switching equipment. It was all available at Canada's Inspiration '93, the world's first hi-tech religious trade show. The organizer said that churches are learning that "you can't get kids to Sunday school with just coloring books any more."

The big picture — A TV preacher agreed that not all churches could snap up the pricey items at Inspiration '93. "There's always been a disparity among churches," he explained. "St. Peter's could afford to hire Michaelangelo, while others couldn't."

Justice, USA — In Florida in 1991, Leroy Lord got six years after cops found he had a \$1 bill tainted with a tenth of a gram of cocaine

Love those insurance folks — Allstate Insurance plans to drop 30,000 Florida policyholders. However, it assures, it doesn't plan to cut off people in the area battered by last summer's hurricane. But it will seek approval of a rate hike of up to 40 percent for the storm victims.

Crime, Inc. — More than 100 insurance agents filed a racketeering suit against Sears, owner of All-

state. Sears had conned directly employed agents into accepting "independent" status with the unfulfilled promise that the company would pay office rents and various operating expenses. Plaintiffs add that older agents were swindled out of retirement benefits.

Disfunction's function — In Stalinist Romania, tortured bureaucratic lingo became known as the "wooden tongue." Like, crime was an "infractional phenomena." A Bucharest columnist writes that the habit of drowning truth in a flood of words continues. "In these transitional times," he explains, "nothing is more dangerous than clear decisions and discussions. The 'wooden tongue' allows politicians

extraordinary ambiguity ..."

Role model — The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, set up to help East European countries toward a market economy, reportedly has spent more on offices, parties, and private jets than on loans and investments. Furnishing its new London offices took \$85 million. The bank is funded by Washington and 52 other governments.

If nothing else, the rich can figure — Responding to a California requirement that each community provide some minimal low-cost housing, three tiny, wealthy towns decided that servants quarters and stablehands living areas will count as low-income housing.

Pro-choice activists confront Operation Rescue at Minnesota abortion clinic despite injunction

BY JON HILLSON

ROBBINSDALE, Minnesota — Amidst much publicity here, Operation Rescue (OR), the antiabortion rights outfit, launched a national campaign against abortion facilities in the Twin Cities as some 80 people, many of them with infants and small children, answered the rightists' call to action outside a clinic in this northern suburb of Minneapolis.

The April 24 event at the Robbinsdale Clinic, which provides abortions to largely working-class women, was led by Keith Tucci, OR's national director. The clinic was the site of four months of face-to-face picket lines last year between opponents and defenders of abortion.

Despite an injunction restricting the presence of abortion rights supporters as well as opponents and efforts to rely solely on the police to defend the clinic, dozens of pro-choice activists showed up to counter the action by the rightist group.

Operation Rescue recently targeted Twin Cities clinics and the residences of clinic doctors and staffs for a 12-week national training session for teams of antiabortion activists, set to begin June 14.

Randall Terry, Operation Rescue's founder, has termed such teams "the Green Berets" of the antiabortion movement. The teams have blocked clinics; trailed and harassed doctors, staff members, and their families; and invaded the private lives of women seeking abortions in efforts to "dissuade" them from undergoing the procedure.

Tucci also announced Operation Rescue's "Cities of Refuge" plans for a "summer offensive" against abortion rights projecting actions for July 9-18 in Minneapolis; Philadelphia; Cleveland; Dallas/Fort-Worth; San Jose, California; Jackson, Mississippi; and central Florida.

The major newspapers in the area have editorially condemned Operation Rescue's summer plans. Displeasure in ruling circles with the Operation Rescue campaign has also been indicated by recent statements from prominent opponents of reproductive freedom.

At the April 24 event in Robbinsdale, Operation Rescue's would-be soldiers and their generals encountered a large police presence at the clinic, including officers from several adjacent suburban precincts and back-up from the city of Minneapolis. Many journalists and television reporters were on the scene.

Tucci and his partisans gathered in the parking lot of a computer service business, which abuts the Robbinsdale Clinic and is owned by one of their supporters, supposedly to challenge the court injunction that was imposed in January to restrict antiabortion actions at the clinic. Their forces were somewhat smaller than rightist mobilizations at the clinic last year. About 20 picketed the clinic, leaving after a couple of hours.

Abortion rights supporters show up

More than 100 abortion rights fighters turned out to oppose Operation Rescue, many of them participants of clinic defense escort teams at Robbinsdale and abortion rights battles elsewhere.

In response to Operation Rescue's latest plans to appear at the medical facility, clinic administrators appealed to a local judge to stiffen court orders governing conduct on and near its property.

The injunction, in addition to prohibiting physical interference with patients and staff entering the clinic, also restricts the size and conduct of both antiabortion and pro-choice demonstrations on public property bordering the building.

Clinic staff, along with those of Planned Parenthood, the National Abortion Rights Action League, and the Abortion Resources Council, told callers who wanted to confront Operation Rescue in Robbinsdale not to come out. Staying away, they explained, would facilitate police enforcement of the injunction.

Despite this stance, scores of activists refused to take no for an answer and showed up, some with signs and placards. Many came out simply as a result of widespread news coverage.

It was the first time for many people at the clinic. The ranks included high school and college students, workers, and neighborhood residents fed up with the rightists. "Enough is enough," one woman told a local television station.

Robbinsdale police sergeant George Smith, who supervised the event, informed the spontaneous pro-choice turnout that "anyone shouting" would be arrested.

The character of the injunction and the absence of any organized protest or public preparation for Operation Rescue's stated aim of clinic disruption and staff and patient harassment, spurred extensive discussion among pro-choice partisans.

"This issue," said one activist who'd been urged to stay away by one of the pro-choice organizations, "is more important than what some group tells you what not to do." The spontaneous pro-choice presence shows, one young woman said, "just how much anger there is out there. People are just itching to do something."

As he retreated from the clinic, Tucci put on a game face for reporters, vowing a different outcome this summer. "Payday is coming," he said.

"We've got to be much more organized," one young abortion rights fighter said, "so the next time they come we'll be prepared to hand them a real defeat."

Jon Hillson is a switchman on the Burlington Northern railroad and a member of United Transportation Union Local 1000.



Militant/Jon Hillson

One hundred pro-choice activists showed up to confront Operation Rescue at Robbinsdale Clinic even though staff told them to stay away and let cops handle it.

25 AND 50 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
May 17, 1968
Price 10c

There was a large and militant response in Japan to the appeal by the Student Mobilization Committee in the U.S. for an International Student Strike against the Vietnam war April 26. The April 27 Japan Times reported that classes were boycotted at 16 universities. According to the Times, universities participating in the strike included Hokkaido, Kyoto, Kyushu, and a number of private schools.

Police estimated those participating in rallies at 15,000. Police arrested 129 students during the demonstrations.

In Tokyo more than 1,000 students assembled at Hibiya Park at 4 p.m. and marched to the U.S. embassy where they staged a sit-in that lasted until 6 p.m. when they were driven out by police.

A group of 90 Americans living in Japan also demonstrated against U.S. intervention in Vietnam April 26. About half of them were women, coming from International Christian University, Sophia University, and Waseda University.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS
May 15, 1943

In winding up a lively and spirited campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, V.R. Dunne, at a final election rally today challenged "the other candidates who ask for the support of the working people" to state their position

on the miners' fight.

Speaking before an enthusiastic working-class audience in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on the subject, "The Fighting Miners Show the Way," Comrade Dunne charged that, "The people's democratic rights are being violated every day. Witness the vicious campaign launched against the hard-pressed men in the coal mines who fight for nothing more than the right to a living wage. The miners' families are 'ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed.' The coal bosses live in wasteful luxury."

Applause greeted his forceful declaration: "I stand with the miners' union and its leadership against the greedy coal operators and the people in high places who do their bidding."

In his radio speech addressed to working men and women, V.R. Dunne declared that "the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States will mean the beginning of the end of world capitalism and along with it the end of imperialist war and fascism."

The necessity for independent working class political action was strongly stressed by Comrade Dunne. "It is high time that labor challenged the Republicans and Democratic machines with its own political party. The election of representatives by a nationwide Labor Party would open up the possibilities for the workers locally and nationally to legislate in their own interests," he stated.

He said: "I stand for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. I stand for increased benefits to the families of men in the armed forces, for higher pensions for the aged and the mothers of dependent children, for free day nurseries for the children of working mothers, for an increase in the appropriations of the Education and Health Departments. I stand for equal pay for equal work for women, for the lowering of the voting age to 18, for trade union wages and the right of the ballot for the members of the armed forces, for militant industrial unions, for democracy in the labor movement, for an Independent Labor Party."

FROM **PATHFINDER**

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by Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed.
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COSMETICS FASHIONS AND THE EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN

Hands off Yugoslavia!

Continued from front page

intervention as something that will protect Bosnia's Muslims. But this is sheer hypocrisy, most glaring in the imperialist governments' callous stance for months toward the millions of refugees who have fled the carnage.

The ruling families of the United States, Britain, and France are not taking these steps toward military intervention in Bosnia to stop mass rapes of women or the continued bombardment of Sarajevo, Srebrenica, and other cities. They have no more concern for human life in Bosnia than they did when they bombed thousands of fleeing Iraqis on the road to Basra during the Persian Gulf war, or during Clinton's recent holocaust in Waco, Texas.

Washington is directly intervening to prevent its imperialist rivals in Europe from getting a firmer economic foothold in Yugoslavia. The French and British rulers have already sent troops there — under the UN flag — to protect their interests in the region. The German capitalists likewise are maintaining a military presence outside their national borders, with ships in the Adriatic and by manning reconnaissance AWACS planes over Bosnia, for the first time since the end of World War II.

Last year, the U.S. government sought to avert the break up of Yugoslavia to avoid instability that it feared would work to the advantage of its rivals. That having failed, the U.S. rulers for months saw no interest in direct intervention. Now Washington has decided that the time is ripe for it to make a military move.

The actions by the White House are designed to maintain an edge over Washington's rivals in the conditions of a world market system in a depression. This is reflected in the conflicts taking place over the structure and character of a UN "peacekeeping" force. Washington insists that it must call the shots.

The gang warfare that has powered the Bosnia conflict is

itself rooted in the worldwide crisis of the capitalist system. The ruling factions that emerged from the breakup of Yugoslavia have dropped any pretense to communism and are trying to set themselves up as capitalist regimes, grabbing for territory and resources and seeking to integrate themselves as best they can into the world capitalist market.

The disastrous results of this effort clearly demonstrate the bankruptcy for working people of this course.

Through the social revolution workers and farmers in Yugoslavia carried out in the 1940s they overcame divisions along ethnic and religious lines. Since then, Serbs, Croats, and people of the Muslim faith and of different Christian denominations have lived together and intermarried for decades. Since the war began, hundreds of thousands of working people have demonstrated and spoken out to the extent they could against "ethnic cleansing" and other atrocities.

The current strike by metalworkers in eastern Germany is a concrete example of the way forward for working people everywhere, including Yugoslavia. These workers, together with fellow unionists in western Germany, are refusing to bow down to the demands of the bosses, who say that capitalism is in such crisis that their promises of wage equality have to be postponed to a dim and distant future.

The Vance-Owen plan, dividing up Bosnia into 10 ethnically based regions, is — like the war organized by Belgrade and its collaborators in Bosnia — an artificial imposition on the people who live and work there. Seeking to enforce it with bombs and an army of ground troops, as Washington is moving to do, will add to the disaster for the workers and farmers in the region.

The best solidarity with our sisters and brothers in Yugoslavia that working people can offer is to demand: no warplanes or troops to Yugoslavia! Stop the economic embargo now!

All out to make sales drive

Continued from front page

continues to march forward.

Thousands of workers, farmers, students, and others are going through these fights. Hundreds of thousands more are discussing what's happening in the world and trying to figure out how to struggle against the wars and economic devastation that capitalism is imposing on working people the world over.

As the world capitalist disorder accelerates, the economic and political rivalries between imperialist powers prepare the way for more trade and shooting wars. Washington and its European allies and rivals are getting ready to intervene in Yugoslavia. The *Militant* explains why military intervention in Bosnia won't bring peace.

From Clinton's holocaust in Waco, Texas, to the "cultural wars" and political demagoguery of political currents represented by Ross Perot, Patrick Buchanan and other rightist forces, the *Militant* provides the working-class answers.

Working people need the facts, analysis, and perspective offered each week in the *Militant*, and each month in *Perspectiva Mundial*. These socialist periodicals provide an invaluable resource for workers and youth to find out about each other's struggles, understand the world we live in, and learn how to effectively fight in our own interests.

The same holds true for *New International*. Many workers and farmers in both the United States and Canada are trying to decide what position to take on free trade and protectionist moves by the rulers of those countries (see articles on page 10). Two articles in issue no. 4 of *New International* are relevant to this debate: "The Crisis Facing

Working Farmers," by Doug Jenness, and "The Fight for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States," by Jack Barnes.

Students and workers who turned out to hear Cuban author Juan Antonio Blanco during his U.S. speaking tour will be eager to read "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism" in *New International* no. 8. Studying "Opening Guns of World War III" in issue no. 7 is important for anyone who wants to understand what is happening in the former Yugoslavia, why Washington may intervene, and what position working people need to take on the slaughter there.

There's no special secret of how to sell the subscriptions and *New Internationals*. What it takes is getting out to wherever workers, farmers, or young people are discussing politics and acting to defend their interests, and joining in the discussion and action, whether it's on the job or at a union rally, factory gate, campus, demonstration, or abortion clinic defense line.

By maximizing the hours spent meeting and talking about world politics with working-class fighters and young people who want to struggle for justice, and showing them what's in the pages of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International*, readers and supporters of the socialist publications can go over the top on the circulation goals.

We invite all our readers to join in this effort. You can do so by contacting the *Militant* supporters listed on page 12 nearest you.

All out to complete the circulation drive, in full and on time!

Drop drug charges against Cuba

The charges drummed up by the U.S. attorney's office in Miami, claiming that Cuban defense minister Raúl Castro and 14 other Cuban officials ran a 10-year smuggling and racketeering enterprise in collaboration with Colombia's Medellín drug cartel, are a shameless fabrication. They should be dropped immediately.

The charges are based on the secret testimony of convicted drug traffickers and Cuban defectors. They are concocted by the U.S. government and other opponents of the Cuban revolution to try to discredit and isolate revolutionary Cuba.

This is not the first time that Washington has used charges of drug production or smuggling to further its political and military goals in Latin America. In 1988 a U.S. grand jury indicted Panamanian general Manuel Noriega on charges of drug trafficking. A year later U.S. marines invaded Panama and kidnapped Noriega. The Panamanian head of state was tried, convicted, and imprisoned in the United States, and the marines installed a government in Panama that was more to Wall Street's liking.

After the invasion of Panama, Washington announced it would send 8,000 U.S. troops and warships to Colombia in order to blockade that Caribbean country's coast, again under the pretext of combating international drug trafficking. Washington was forced to call off its plans when the Colombian government strongly objected to the military

force.

The United States government and the big-business media have repeatedly tried to slander the Cuban government with drug-trafficking charges. Their allegations have never been documented and have no basis whatever.

In reality, the international drug trade is a major capitalist business, and the big-business government in Washington is not about to uproot it. In fact, the functioning of the U.S. police and military forces—from its antidrug agents in Latin America to the local cops in the United States—is completely intertwined with the operations of the drug business. The international "war on drugs" is used as a political campaign to go after governments that have refused to adequately bow to Washington's dictates, just as it is used as a pretext to undercut the rights of working people in the United States.

But the U.S. rulers are having a hard time making the charges against Cuba stick. The Cuban revolution has a more than 30-year record of active opposition to the drug trade. This includes the 1989 decision by the Cuban Council of State to execute four former officers of the Cuban army who had been convicted of working with Colombian drug dealers.

Working people in the United States and around the world should demand that Washington drop these slanders and groundless accusations against Cuba.

Coal miners fight black lung disease

BY GEORGE WILLIAMS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — In April, on a visit to several coal mining communities in Virginia, a *Militant* sales and reporting team found increased concern about black lung disease or pneumoconiosis. This disease is caused by breathing coal dust. It strikes almost all underground miners. Proper ventilation, dust monitoring, and medical care, drastically reduce the incidence and suffering caused by black lung.

In the late 1960s, working and retired miners and their supporters organized demonstrations and strikes to force first the West Virginia state government and finally the federal government to recognize black lung disease as an occupational risk, set dust levels, and provide benefits to victims. President Richard Nixon was forced to sign the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 and an improvement in the law in 1972.

The miners who fought for black lung benefits confronted the coal bosses and their politicians. But they also ran up against the corrupt, pro-company leadership that sat on top of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) union at that time. The fight against black lung and for safety rights became an important factor in the miners' victory in overthrowing then UMWA president Tony Boyle in 1972.

Erosion of mine safety standards

The coal companies and their politicians never gave up the fight against black lung benefits. In 1981 the UMWA organized a mass demonstration in Washington to protest attempts to chip away at provisions of the law. Since then, however, the legislation has been watered down both formally and in practice.

According to Marilyn Carroll, who is on the staff of the Virginia Black Lung Association, nearly 75 percent of all the miners who applied for black lung benefits qualified for them between the years 1970 and 1976. However, from 1976 to 1981, just 34 percent of those that applied were said to be entitled to compensation.

From 1981 to the present only 4 percent of the coal miners who applied, qualified for benefits. Many widows have had benefits permanently ended because their husbands' deaths were said to be caused by other ailments such as cancer, heart failure, or pneumonia.

After a miner acknowledged to have black lung dies, an autopsy must be performed and the doctor must clearly state that black lung was the cause of death in order for the widow to continue to receive benefits.

Thousands of miners suffer and die from black lung and never receive benefits, or see their benefits cut off as the result of new regulations.

Going door-to-door in coal towns brought this reporter face-to-face with the devastation of black lung. A disabled miner, Gilmer Martin, said, "People don't understand what we face daily fighting for our rights against these coal companies. I was cut off from receiving black lung benefits due to being hospitalized for another ailment. That ailment is gone, but I'm still denied black lung benefits."

At a meeting of the Dickenson County chapter of the Virginia Black Lung Association we met black lung victims and widows of miners who died from black lung. One of these women was quite angry but asked that her last name not be used because of ongoing litigation. "My husband worked 34 years underground eating coal dust, since he was 16. When he was 48, black lung wouldn't let him walk to the toilet without my help. For every two doctors that diagnosed he had black lung, the mine company would pay six to say he had emphysema or heart impairments. We never received a cent. After he died the autopsy results proved he had black lung. Yet the company is still delaying compensation."

Calvin Dunford, president of the Black Lung Association chapter and a black lung victim, said, "Four doctors documented me having pneumoconiosis, but seven doctors the mine company had me go to documented otherwise. It's criminal, what they send us through. I've appealed to the review board many times and been denied over and over. Now I'm waiting for a ruling from the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals."

According to the 1969 federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, miners hired after that period shouldn't develop black lung and dust controls should stop the disease from getting worse in miners who already had it. But in talking to miners, their wives, and supporters, the law isn't working.

Under the law, coal companies are required to control dust by regularly sampling mine air to insure that coal dust levels remain below two milligrams per cubic meter of air. Mine operators violating the two milligram standard are supposed to be fined until they comply with the law. But because the act left companies in full control of dust sampling, they can easily tamper with the process.

"As it is, the companies control everything. It's like putting the fox in charge of the hen house," said Bob Tampa, a disabled miner. Marilyn Carroll said, "The companies say coal dust has been eliminated from the mine. But the dust sample fraud cases over the past several years involving four of the nation's largest coal producers proves this isn't true." All four — Peabody, Pittston, Westmoreland, and Consol — have been convicted of dust sampling fraud.

A second stumbling block to dust control is the failure of the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) to effectively enforce the law.

Workers force Alaska Airlines to rehire unionist

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

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 about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, other readers would like to hear about that too.

On March 22, Chris Monagle, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 2202 shop steward in Seattle, was fired by

by supervisors against Monagle. This helped expose the vindictive nature of the firing.

Shortly after the firing, Bill Johnson, president of IAM District 751 at Boeing, and Rich Bender, head of the Washington State AFL-CIO sent protest letters to Alaska Airlines. The King County Labor Council arranged for a food bank to be made available to the Monagle family. IAM Local 2202, which organizes workers at Alaska Airlines, published a bulletin explaining the stakes in the case. Funds were collected to help out the family.

Letters of support were faxed to the Bremerton, Washington, state employment office urging them to grant Monagle unemployment benefits. In the past Alaska Airlines has attempted to block these funds

west to Seattle and Portland on BN's northern lines.

The voting, by mail ballot, began with the conclusion of special UTU meetings where union general chairmen urged ratification of the deal. The balloting process ends on May 14, with results expected shortly thereafter.

The main feature of the pact is a drastic reduction of crew size (consist) on rail freight and yard switching jobs, which could eliminate as many as 1,600 workers the company considers "surplus."

To reach this job slashing figure, the proposal offers an unspecified number of rail workers severance bonuses of \$80,000 for those with 13 or more years of seniority and \$30,000 for those with less service.

Top UTU officials were met with numerous questions from un-receptive, sometimes angry rail workers at sizable contract meetings in Minneapolis, Seattle, and Superior, Wisconsin, according to workers who attended them.

"It got a little radical," Jack Hulter, a switchman with 21 years seniority in Superior told the *Militant*.

Hulter said the job elimination would "tear apart seniority, which is about all we have left. People fought in the 1930s and '40s for what we have now, and it's going down the tubes with a stroke of the pen."

Under local terms of the agreement, ore trains moved by BN to the Lake Superior harbor will function with a crew consisting of an engineer and a conductor, increasing the chance of serious injury and accidents, while making the carrier "more competitive" with rivals, all of which have gotten crew reductions.

"Of 30 brakeman forced [by BN] to [yard switching jobs] in Chicago, 17 are out on injury," one brakeman said.

In the proposed accord, workers can be forced to move to other BN yards to fill job needs, under penalty of severance.

Many workers voting against the agreement also cite the more favorable position BN will be in when negotiations begin in less than two years for the 1995 contract. □

Canadian unions call May 15 march

The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) and its affiliated unions are organizing a demonstration for May 15 in Ottawa against the Conservative government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The demonstration, which will take place on Parliament Hill starting at 1 p.m., will be an opportunity for working people to protest the effects of capitalist depression, unemployment, and the social crisis.

March organizers are mixing demands for jobs and better social services with opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The CLC-set themes of the rally are "Jobs, not Unemployment and Attacks on the Unemployed; Good Public Services, not Attacks on Public Sector Workers; Fair Trade, not Free Trade and NAFTA; Childcare, not Child Poverty; and Equity and Equality, not Discrimination."

"Fed Up? Show Up May 15" is the title of the main leaflet. There are significant organizing efforts going on in union locals across Ontario and Quebec. Many of the larger Canadian Autoworkers Union locals in the Toronto region have reserved several buses each. Antipoverty coalitions and women's rights organizations are mobilizing alongside the unions. John Baglow, a coordinator of the May 15 action for the CLC, told the *Militant* that organizers expect demonstrators to number "in the tens of thousands." □

Nestlé locks out workers in Ontario

On March 28, management of the Swiss-based Nestlé company locked out 220 members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) in Chesterville, Ontario.

Prior to the lockout, workers received a letter from Michael Rosicki, president of Nestlé Foods, warning that the Chesterville plant could be closed. With two plants in the United States and one in Mexico that produce the same product, the letter says, "Who wins and who loses will be decided on the basis of which fac-

tories are the most competitive."

The main issue in dispute is the company's attempt to impose weekend work as compulsory and paid at straight time. It is currently voluntary and paid at overtime rates.

Carl MacDonald, with 21 years in the plant, said, "The company is trying to take away things you've had for years. This when they made a profit of \$54 million last year. They just want to take more. That's not right."

Workers produce instant coffee, "Quick" beverage powders, and a variety of other products, 70 percent of which are exported to the United States.

The day before the lockout, Dwayne Hall, a 33-year veteran in the plant and the union president, returned from a meeting in Washington of the North American Nestlé Labor Council. The council groups together different unions representing thousands of Nestlé workers in plants throughout the United States and Canada. "Before we operated individually," Hall explained, "but now companies are pitting plant against plant. We need to get together to counter this."

Hall and several other workers will be meeting with representatives of the RWDSU local that organizes a Nestlé plant in Fulton, New York. The Fulton local is currently in negotiations with the company and workers in both plants want to coordinate their efforts to counter the company's attempt to play them off against each other. On April 7, a rally of nearly 400 people was held at the plant gate, followed by a march through town.

The Nestlé workers will be participating in the May 15 demonstration in Ottawa called by the Canadian Labour Congress and the Quebec Federation of Labour. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Mark Severs, member of International Association of Machinists Local 2202 in Seattle; Jo Rothenberg and Jon Hillson, members of United Transportation Union Local 1000 at Burlington Northern in Minneapolis; Robert Simms in Toronto; and Jim Upton, member of International Association of Machinists Local 869 in Montreal.

ON THE PICKET LINE

Alaska Airlines. The company charged that he deprived them of revenue by shipping a few parcels to his parents in Juneau, Alaska.

Hundreds of workers at Alaska Airlines in Seattle, Juneau, Anchorage, and other cities, however, agreed with Monagle when he said, "My firing was directly related to my union activities, especially in our contract fight last fall. I spent six weeks traveling up and down the West Coast from Anchorage to Portland helping organize rallies and labor outreach in an attempt to fight back against the concessions contract."

The angry response to the firing took the company by surprise. Within hours, a petition was signed by hundreds of workers in Seattle and Anchorage demanding immediate reinstatement. Many thought if the company was successful, additional firings of union activists would follow. Ramp worker Arnie Farstad said, "It would be just one after another until the point where they felt they had the union tamed."

Many workers who signed petitions also came forward to testify on Monagle's behalf. Workers told the union about experiences with management shipping objects as large as canoes with no penalty. Workers also came forward with details of a slander campaign led

for workers whom they fired.

On April 19, the company reinstated Monagle with full pay for three of the four weeks he was out. Monagle said, "This is a real victory for all workers at Alaska Airlines."

Guy Blue, an IAM member at Alaska said, "Since the signing of the contract last fall, which included many concessions, the company had been on a campaign to intimidate and get rid of union activists. Just in my shop our shop steward, John Wilson, was suspended and threatened with a firing for simply reporting what he felt was a safety violation to the Federal Aviation Administration. We fought for John and won and now the victory with Chris encourages us more and shows that we won't let the company victimize anyone without a fight." □

BN rail workers vote on contract

Some 3,800 workers on the Burlington Northern railroad began voting April 21 on a proposed agreement reached in March between the carrier and officials of the United Transportation Union.

The offer, covering switchmen, brakemen, and hostlers (engine movers in rail yards), applies to rail workers from Minneapolis

LETTERS

Limbaugh phenomenon

The growth of the Rush Limbaugh phenomenon should be analyzed soon by the *Militant*. I see it similar to Perot but with significant ideological differences. The *Militant* should take this up.

Jonathan Flanders
Troy, NY

Keep it up

Keep up excellent and rounded coverage of working people in struggle, in particular events in South Africa and the Balkans. Thanks for better reporting on fight for gay civil rights.

More analytical articles on crisis of former Soviet Union would be appreciated.

George E. Kontanis
Bronx, NY

Racism and baseball

Atlanta, the home of the Braves and the Tomahawk Chop, provided the setting for the Third National Summit on Racism, held April 8-10. The conference was organized by the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media.

The 100-plus participants heard presentations by American Indian Movement leaders Dennis Banks, Vernon Bellecourt, and Michael Haney. These activists explained

that even though this was the third annual conference of this type, the fight against racist team mascots and media coverage went back decades and had registered many victories. As Haney commented, "Racism is like a disease; it can be cured."

Students from as far away as Bradley University in Illinois and Florida State University in Tallahassee described their efforts to raise awareness on their campuses about racist team mascots. An awards luncheon featured a talk by Anita Hill, who became the first recipient of the National in the Spirit of Crazy Horse Award for combating racism. [Hill is the Oklahoma University law professor who accused now-Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment.]

Talks were given by local leaders from Hispanic and Jewish groups. Members of the Student Environmental Action Coalition from Emory University and other groups helped distribute schedules, staff the information table, hang banners, and so on.

There was a press conference at the State Capitol. Short statements were made by Banks and Bellecourt, and greetings were given by representatives of other organizations, including the Atlanta Supporters of Mark Curtis. The 50 or so participants then marched a short distance to the baseball stadium for

a spirited rally prior to the Braves' home opener, featuring the beating of a ceremonial drum, and the construction of a highly visible teepee.

Jeff Rogers
Atlanta, Georgia

Discussion on Cuba

The breakdown of Stalinism in the former Soviet Union has had a profound impact on the Cuban Revolution both in negative and in positive terms. The loss of more than 70 percent of imports has been devastating for the Cuban economy. On the other hand, it has forced Cuban workers to re-evaluate the Russian experience, to examine their own role in the Cuban society, and to take the lead in solving some of the acute problems that are due, not only to the U.S. blockade, but are also the result of copying the Russian economic model which masqueraded as socialist solutions, but which created inequalities and reinforced bureaucracy.

Thinking about this reminded me of an incident which occurred last year when I was in Cuba. On my first visit in 1961, I went nightly with a contingent of volunteer workers from our hotel to scrape advertising off buses. I was surprised at the totally uncritical admiration they had for the Rus-



sian system, and I explained what I knew of the history of Stalinism and of the character of the Russian bureaucracy.

Last year, 30 years later, I inadvertently wandered onto a military installation. I was stopped and taken to the commanding officer who, on seeing me, said: "Weren't you here in '61 helping to paint buses? You were the first person who tried to tell me the truth about the Soviet Union. I have often thought about those discussions lately."

George Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario, Canada

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

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

Western coal miners give their full support to contract struggle in east

BY EDY RUGER
AND DICK McBRIDE

KAYENTA, Navajo Reservation, Arizona — United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1924 president Eugene Bodonie told the *Militant* April 18 that the local's membership voted unanimously to give eastern coal miners "full support in the BCOA [Bituminous Coal Operators Association] negotiations, even if it means going on strike."

The February 9 vote took place in three local shift meetings attended by more than 300 members, some 80 percent of the union, Bodonie said.

A rally to show support for the eastern miners is tentatively planned for the second week in June.

"Whatever they'll do back east they'll try to do to us in the future," Bodonie explained. "This is the first year of our five-year contract. We are protecting ourselves from what Peabody will do four years down the road."

Peabody mines east of the Mississippi River were the target of the February strike. Peabody's western mines are under different contracts with the mine workers' union.

UMWA Local 1924 has a rich history of struggle. This stems both from its fights with the coal operators and the fact that its membership is overwhelmingly Navajo.

The massive Kayenta strip mine is located on the Navajo Reservation in northern Arizona and is Peabody's largest mine in the West.

It opened in 1967 and was organized by the UMWA in 1969. Major battles here included the 111-day nationwide coal strike in 1977-78, another strike in 1981, and the 1986-87 western coalfield strikes.

Through these strike struggles, the miners beat back company demands for piecework pay and attacks on health and safety.

Bodonie noted two major battles that the majority Navajo miners have engaged in. One was repealing the Navajo Tribal Council's "right-to-work" clause. This reservation law prohibited the union shop.

This fight took place from 1990 to 1991. Miners attended meetings of all 89 chapters of the Tribal Council and worked to convince other Navajos of the need for strong unions to defend their rights. They convinced enough other workers, unemployed, shepherders, and others to win the vote by a small margin.

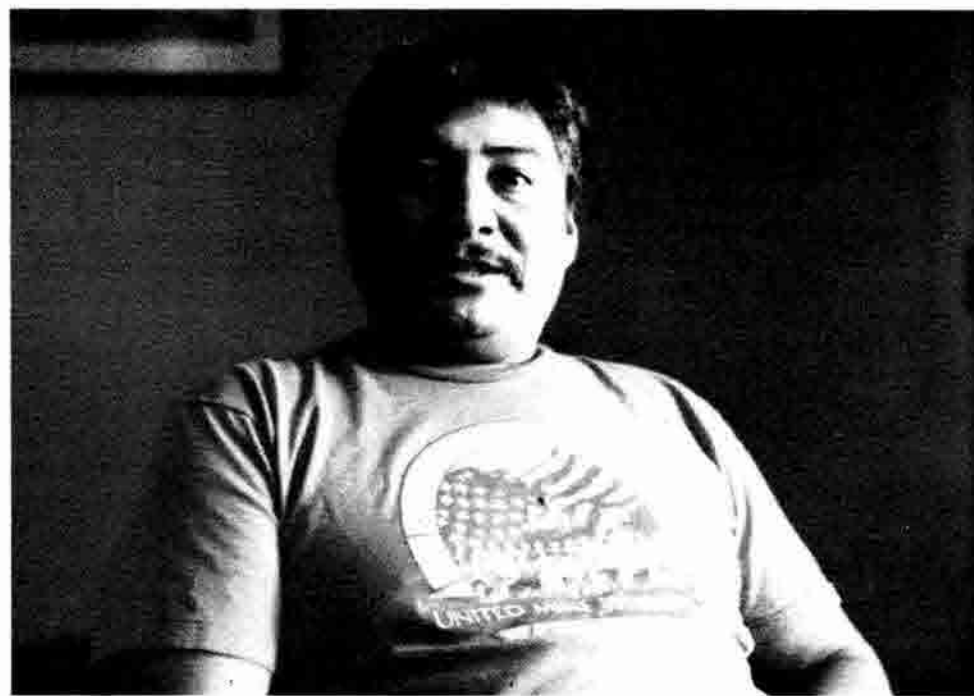
In the Navajo Nation, 43 percent are unemployed, and 25 percent are illiterate.

The Kayenta coal miners were also successful as part of the fight to gain compensation for victims of radiation exposure from abandoned uranium mines. These mines, about 100 of which were located in the Navajo Nation, were operational from the 1930s to the 1950s.

After Kerr-McGee, the mine owner, stopped production, they left the shafts open. Children played in the exposed area. Radiation affected cattle grazing areas for the next three decades.

This led to increased deaths and birth defects among newborn babies in the 1970s and '80s. It wasn't until the Navajo fought to have the mines sealed and to gain passage of the Uranium Exposure Act that victims were compensated.

Thus far, 10 members of the UMWA have died from radiation exposure. Bodonie said the "fight for compensation and to close up these mines was similar to the fight over black lung," the respiratory disease that cripples coal miners.



Militant/Steve Marshall
Eugene Bodonie, President of UMWA Local 1924 in Kayenta, Arizona.

Forty thousand attend California funeral to honor life of farm workers' union leader

BY SANDRA PUCCI

DELANO, California — On April 29 more than 40,000 people attended the funeral march of United Farm Workers (UFW) president Cesar Chavez.

Chavez died in his sleep on April 23, in his hometown of Yuma, Arizona.

The funeral march was held in this town, in the San Joaquin Valley, site of historic labor battles between farm workers and grape companies in the 1960s and 70s.

Workers, young people, and others began gathering at Memorial Park in Delano at 7:00 in the morning. Many carried United Farm Workers signs and banners. At 10:00 a.m. the march, which went from Memorial Park to Forty Acres, began its three-mile course.

The Forty Acres site has a special meaning for the farm workers' movement. It was here that the bosses signed their first contract with the UFW in 1970. It is also the place where the first offices of the union were located.

Chavez was well known as a central leader of *la causa*, a social movement of workers with very low living standards and poor working conditions. He was a co-founder of the UFW, and a central leader of the union for more than 30 years.

During the struggles of the 1960s and 70s farm workers made substantial gains. Notably, they won the right to toilets, drinking water, lunch breaks, unemployment insurance, and retirement benefits. They also won the right to collective bargaining.

At its highest point in membership, during the early 1970s, the UFW reported that about 70,000 workers were covered by its collective bargaining agreements. The union's membership has since declined.

Among those who participated in the march were a great number of retired and working farm workers, industrial and other workers, public employees, and students. The crowd was predominantly Latino/Chicano, although many workers and students of other nationalities were also present.

In addition to UFW members, there were also workers representing other unions. Participating in the march were Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; International Association of Machinists; Canadian Auto Workers; United Auto Workers; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; United Food and Commercial Workers Union; International

Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; National Association of Letter Carriers; the Southern California Drywall Workers; Justice for Janitors from Los Angeles; and others. Although many who came with these contingents were union staff people, there was also a substantial number of rank-and-file workers. Union buses arrived from throughout California, as well as from other states such as Washington and Arizona.

Many in the crowd spoke of the legacy of the farm workers' movement. Loreto Lopez, a young farm worker from Durango, Mexico, said he came to honor both Chavez and the farm workers' struggle. "I would have come whether they fired me or not. This is too important to miss. I have been a farm worker in Mexico too and I know we are in the same struggle."

Workers from UFW-organized Montebello Rose in McFarland, California, were also among those who marched. "They gave us two days unpaid leave, but we would have come regardless. We know the few things we

have are the result of the fight which Chavez led," commented one woman.

Petra Rodriguez, a retired farm worker from Dinuba, California, said that participation in the movement helped her and fellow fighters "to lose our fear and realize our value as human beings."

She added, "Chavez fought with us for our rights as workers. In this sense he fought for our dignity and our humanity. We won't forget that."

Student groups represented included several chapters of the Mexican-American Student Organization from universities in California and Arizona. Teachers from the Cesar Chavez Elementary School in Coachella, California, also participated.

The march was followed by a funeral service given by Cardinal Roger Mahony. After the mass several people spoke, including UFW vice president Dolores Huerta.

It was later announced that Chavez will be succeeded by Arturo Rodriguez, who will serve as the new president of the UFW.

Pathfinder Press at Tehran Book Fair

BY RICH STUART

The 6th Tehran International Book Fair opened May 4 in Tehran, Iran. Pathfinder Press of New York is among the 700 foreign publishers from 30 countries and 520 Iranian publishers exhibiting at the fair.

The Pathfinder booth at the bookfair, measuring three meters by six meters and carrying a broad range of Pathfinder titles, is staffed by a three-person sales team from the United States and Britain.

Marcella Fitzgerald of Pathfinder's London office reports that on the first day of the bookfair the Pathfinder booth was popular, with a constant flow of visitors. Fitzgerald estimates that 500 students, workers, soldiers, and professors visited the booth.

The centerpiece of the display is a large full-color blowup of the Pathfinder Mural on the Pathfinder building in New York. The exhibit also features titles by Mal-

colm X, Nelson Mandela, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, and Leon Trotsky, and U.S. revolutionary leaders James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, all available for sale at the fair.

Two of Pathfinder's representatives at the book fair were interviewed by television. The interviews were broadcast at 5:45 p.m. on an English-language national television program in Iran.

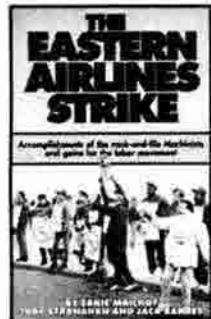
This year's fair is oriented especially to Iranian youth. The fair, which runs through May 14, is a major annual event in the country. Last year, more than 500,000 people attended the event. This is the first time Pathfinder has its own booth at the Tehran International Book Fair.

Participation at this bookfair is very expensive. To help defray the costs send contributions earmarked for the Pathfinder booth at the Tehran Book Fair. Make checks payable to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

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\$13

The Eastern Airlines Strike and 12 weeks of the 'Militant'
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This book tells the story of the 22-month fight of Machinists at Eastern Airlines against union busting, and explains the valuable links that were forged between the striking airline workers and coal miners during the 1989-90 strike against Pittston Coal. 91 pp.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 handling for the first book and \$.50 for each additional copy.