

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

All out to make
circulation drive goals!

— PAGE 7

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Paris, London object to U.S. rulers' course toward Bosnia intervention

BY GEORGE FYSON

Objections by the governments of France and Britain have slowed down the implementation of Washington's course toward military intervention in the former Yugoslavia. U.S. forces, however, are stepping up military cargo flights to the Mediterranean area, with a stated goal of readiness for military action by June 1.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher toured European capitals in early May to seek support from the governments of Britain and France for Washington's war plan, which includes air strikes on military positions, as well as bridges and roads, controlled by Serb nationalist forces in Bosnia; supplying arms to the Bosnian government; and sending at least 18,000 troops as part of a NATO force of up to 65,000.

A May 10 meeting of foreign ministers of the European Community rejected Clinton's plan. It endorsed a French proposal that United States troops join those of France and Britain in stepped-up operations under the aegis of the UN seeking to establish "safe areas" around predominantly Muslim cities in eastern Bosnia.

"We cannot accept a division of labor where the United States can drop its bombs and look on as a spectator high in the sky while we and others do the dirty work on the ground down below," said France's foreign minister Alain Juppe. The UN Security Council voted May 6 to establish such "safe areas" around the cities of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, and Bihac.

Washington has stated it will send ground troops to Bosnia when the Serb nationalist

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Two thousand march to defend abortion rights in Florida

BY LAURA GARZA

PENSACOLA, Florida — Chanting "We won't back down" and "Choice Now," more than 2,000 people marched through Pensacola May 8 to support abortion rights and protest the murder of Dr. David Gunn, who was killed outside a clinic in this city March 10. Joining the large number of Pensacola residents and people from small towns in the surrounding area, were marchers from Tallahassee, Tampa, and Gainesville, Florida, and Atlanta, and Birmingham. A contingent of several dozen people wearing T-shirts that said Clinic Defender came from Melbourne, Florida, where Operation Rescue has recently focused its efforts to blockade clinics.

Signs at the march, called by the National Organization for Women, said "Pensacola is pro-choice," "Abortion is legal, shooting doctors is not," "We dare to defend our rights" and "Milton, Florida supports abortion rights and remembers Dr. Gunn."

Milton, a small town nearby is the site of "Our Father's House," home to John Burt. Burt is the regional director of Rescue America, a right-wing antiabortion group. He was leading the right-wing protest outside the

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Coal miners strike to win contract demands

BY DEBORAH LAZAR

BENTON, Illinois — About 2,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) went on strike May 10 at eight underground coal mines in Illinois and two in Indiana. This is the opening of round two of the miners' fight for a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the main coal industry bargaining group.

As day shift ended, workers left the mines and the next shift did not come in, immedi-

See editorial page 14

ately halting coal production.

Picket lines were quickly established at the Zeigler Coal Holding Co.'s five Old Ben and Zeigler mines in Illinois; two Old Ben mines in Indiana; the Arch Mineral Corp. Kathleen and Conant mines near Pinckneyville, Illinois; and the Amax Coal Industries, Inc. Wabash mine in Keenesburg, Illinois.

Zeigler is the third-largest U.S. coal producer, Amax is fourth, and Arch ranks thirteenth. Arch is owned by Ashland Oil and the Hunt family of Texas.

As some miners set up picket lines, others opened up 24-hour strike headquarters equipped with fax machines, phones, coffee makers, and crock pots. Family auxiliaries organized meetings to draw spouses and others into strike support activities. Local businesspeople and others stopped by to donate coolers and sandwiches to the strikers.

'No choice but to take action'

"The coal operators' refusal to bargain in good faith has left us no choice but to take this action," said Richard Trumka, president of the UMWA. He said the strike would spread to other mines unless the coal operators began serious negotiations.

The BCOA represents 12 of the largest



Militant/Deborah Lazar

UMWA miners on picket line at Old Ben no. 24 mine in Benton, Illinois, May 11.

coal companies in the United States. Many smaller coal companies are also expected to sign the 1993 contract.

Jerry Kenner works as a repairman at the Old Ben Number 24 mine in Benton, and is a picket captain for UMWA Local 1345. "This strike is not about wages or vacation days," he explained. "It's about coal mining communities and our futures. We're fighting for the lives of these communities, not just for ourselves." He explained that the major coal mining companies are increasingly shifting their production to nonunion operations.

The UMWA contract with the BCOA that was signed in 1988 expired February 1, 1993. The following day 7,000 UMWA miners at Peabody mines in West Virginia, Illinois, Indiana and western Kentucky

went on strike for one month. After the union expanded the strike to include an additional 1,700 union miners in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, the BCOA companies backed down and agreed to provide the union with the financial records of its coal land holdings and corporate structure. The union needed this information to enforce contract provisions that three out of five employees hired at newly opened mines of BCOA companies should be UMWA members. Once the companies had agreed to release the records, the union called off the strike and extended the contract to May 3.

UMWA international field representative Tony Kujawa, based in Illinois, explained that since the miners returned to work,

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Strikes expand in Germany; workers demand end to wage inequality in east

BY JOHN COX

EISENHÜTTENSTADT, Germany — The eastern German strike of steel, metal, and engineering workers has expanded to a total of 72 workplaces, involving 37,000 workers, as of May 10. The workers, members of IG Metall, are striking in response to a decision of the employers in these three industries to disregard a wage agreement reached in 1991 for eastern Germany.

Under the terms of the agreement the workers in the region would have received pay increases of between 21 and 26 percent last April 10. The employers' associations broke the contract in March, unilaterally declaring that they were willing to give wage hikes of only 9 percent, the current rate of inflation. At present, eastern German workers in these industries earn between 50 and 70 percent of western German wages, according to union and government statistics.

The strike is spreading rapidly as workers in three eastern states voted overwhelmingly May 12 to join the walkout. The same day more than 300,000 IG Metall members

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Militant/Dag Tirsén

Strikers at Werft shipyard in eastern Germany. Strike has expanded to include 37,000 metalworkers as of May 10.

Canadian workers protest cuts in social wage — page 11



IN BRIEF

New attacks by Khmer Rouge

On May 5 Khmer Rouge troopers pounded Chinese and Polish military units stationed in central Cambodia as part of a UN force of 22,000. This assault was the latest in a series by Khmer Rouge forces aimed at disrupting a UN-supervised election scheduled for May 23-27.

Two days earlier they attacked the key provincial capital of Siem Reap, rampaging through city streets and briefly seizing the local airport. The Phnom Penh government put the death toll at 17, including 13 Khmer Rouge guerrillas. Since July, 12 UN personnel in the country have been killed and 44 wounded. The recent killing of a Japanese policeman has led to a debate in Japan on whether Tokyo should withdraw its troops from Cambodia.

The attack on Chinese troops marked the first time the Khmer Rouge had used military force against its former ally. China had supplied arms to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in its war against the Phnom Penh government from 1979 until a UN-sponsored peace accord was signed in 1991.

Hundreds die in Thai factory fire

More than 200 people were killed and 500 injured as fire swept through a doll factory in Thailand May 10. The blaze appears to be the deadliest factory fire in history, surpassing the 146 garment workers burned at the Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in New York in 1911. Most of the victims were young women who labor long hours in unsafe conditions for about \$150 per month.

The four-story factory buildings were a deathtrap for the 4,000 workers employed there. They had no fire escapes, fire alarms, sprinkler systems or other safety features. Workers said there had been at least three other small fires at the same location. Factory owner executives defended their safety policies, saying they complied with government regulations.

Strikes in Poland, Romania

More than 300,000 Polish teachers went on strike in early May for higher wages and more government funding for education. The walkout, led by the Solidarity union, was part of an action by state workers against cuts in health-care, culture, and science funding.



Militant/Dan Fein

Two hundred Haitians and their supporters demonstrated in Miami May 7 to condemn Washington's policy of forcibly incarcerating Haitian refugees, who have supposedly tested positive for the HIV virus, at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. "Clinton murderer," chanted the protesters as they marched behind a black hearse with the body of Joel Saintil inside. Saintil, 26, who was detained at Guantánamo for more than a year, died April 27 in Homestead, Florida. He had AIDS. Saintil and 50 other Haitians were finally permitted to enter the United States April 8 after a federal judge finally ruled that refugees with a low T-cell count must be given adequate medical care.

In Romania, thousands of train and truck drivers as well as health-care workers staged a one-day strike to protest price hikes. Recently, food-staple prices quadrupled, while electricity rates shot up 500 percent after the government ended subsidies.

Ukraine weighs nuclear future

The Ukrainian Parliament is considering whether to claim ownership of the nuclear arsenal left on its territory when the former Soviet Union disintegrated. Washington and Moscow have been pressuring the regime in Ukraine to give it up. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that when Ukrainian parliamentary chairman Ivan Pliusch visited Washington last September, a National Security Council official told him, "You have to give up your nuclear weapons or else U.S.-Ukrainian relations will be endangered." Pliusch retorted, "What relations?"

Israeli troops kill seven in Gaza

Israeli troops killed seven Arabs during two days in the occupied Gaza Strip in early May. Clashes erupted May 4 throughout Gaza after the Israeli army killed four Arabs the night before. Three Palestinians were shot dead and at least 24 wounded by the occupying troops during the protests. In one incident, Israeli soldiers in the Shati refugee camp opened fire on demonstrators after troops broke up wakes for victims of the previous day's attacks.

Paraguay army threatens coup

As Paraguayans prepared to vote May 9 in the first general election in almost 50 years, Gen. Lino Oviedo, the second-highest-ranking figure in the country's military, declared April 28 that the army was ready to prevent the opposition from winning whether "that raises squeals or not."

The army is backing the Colorado Party, which has been running the country for the past 46 years. Oviedo stated that the army "is not prepared to accept [the victory] of another party." For 30 years Paraguay was under the dictatorial rule of Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, who stepped down from the government in 1989.

Army gave radioactive drugs to Eskimos in secret test in 1950s

The U.S. government subjected more than 100 Alaskan villagers to radioactive drugs in the 1950s as part of a medical experiment to find out whether soldiers could better survive in Arctic conditions, reported Cable News Network.

Washington treated the Eskimos as human guinea pigs. Doctors hired by the U.S. mili-

tary gave pills containing small doses of radioactive iodine-131 to 102 Eskimos and Indians. The doctors did not explain to the Alaskans what they were doing. "I don't remember them telling me anything about what they were doing," said Bob Ahgook, one of the people subjected to the experiment.

"I wouldn't call it radiation," stated Kaare Rodahl, the Norwegian doctor who led the project. "This was a small amount." The military did not do any follow-up visits to deal with any possible medical ailments resulting from this test.

Clinton drops free child vaccines

The Clinton administration has backed off from its recently announced proposal to have the federal government provide vaccines to all children free of charge. Currently only 40-60 percent of preschool children get shots for protection against diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, polio, measles, mumps, rubella, and hepatitis B.

Under the new compromise plan only children from poor families — those uninsured or covered under Medicaid — will be eligible for free vaccines. Last year a full battery of these shots cost \$244 when bought from private doctors.

Just two weeks earlier Donna Shalala, U.S. secretary of health and human services, told Congress that the administration was opposed to setting up "means testing" for the vaccination program for children.

Gag rule lifted in bombing case

A federal appeals court ruled April 30 that a sweeping gag order imposed on the World Trade Center bombing case by a U.S. district court judge should be lifted on the grounds that it was overly broad and a violation of free speech.

The order, which was originally put in place by Judge Kevin Duffy, prevented the defendants from getting a hearing in the media for their point of view. Duffy threatened fines into the billions of dollars and a grand jury investigation for those who violated his order.

The attorney for Mahmud Abouhalima, who was arrested in Egypt as a suspect in the World Trade Center bombing and turned over to U.S. authorities, told the media that a doctor has confirmed that his client was tortured in Egypt in an unsuccessful effort to force a confession out of him.

New York budget cutbacks

New York mayor David Dinkins's newly proposed city budget includes nearly \$100 million in new social service cutbacks, according to city officials. If some \$530 million in state and federal aid does not come through, more cuts will be implemented. While specifics have not yet been announced, contingency plans incorporated into the mayor's January budget proposal might foreshadow what to expect. These included: elimination of summer school programs, closing of public swimming pools, cutting of day-care programs, and elimination of one ferry to Staten Island during rush hour.

— BRIAN WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

The truth about the Cuban revolution and the fight against the U.S. embargo

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Parties at South Africa talks agree to elections 'not later than April 1994'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Multiparty talks to end white minority rule took a significant step forward May 7 when representatives of 24 of the 26 groups participating in the negotiations agreed to schedule the country's first democratic non-racial election "not later than the end of April 1994," and to set the exact date within the next four weeks.

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC), termed this decision, "a monumental and gigantic step for millions of people looking for a signal of success in the negotiations process." Only the Conservative Party and the Ciskei Bantustan government objected to setting an election date, but even their representatives did not vote against it.

The gains registered at the multiparty talks are the fruit of the ground won by the democratic movement since the assassination of ANC leader Chris Hani. The May 7 agreement came after the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions called a national campaign of mass actions for the month of May to press for setting the date for elections and installing a Transitional Executive Council to preside over this process.

During the first week in May, the Congress for South African Students (COSAS)

organized a series of protest actions demanding free and equal education and an end to final-year examination fees.

Earlier this year, COSAS had called on students to boycott the payment of examination fees after the Department of Education and Training increased the fee to 86 rand (US\$28). The fee was subsequently reduced to 48 rand as a result of a nationwide boycott of classes. The South African government currently spends at least three times more on each white pupil than it does on Black students.

Thousands of youths took to the streets May 4 in the Black townships near Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. The same day, a number of rallies were held in the Johannesburg area.

Thousands of teachers representing hundreds of schools in the western Cape region marched on the parliament building in Cape Town May 3 to protest layoffs, inadequate pay, and a shortage of textbooks.

Cops halt student protest

As a culmination of the week of protests, COSAS called for a May 7 mass demonstration through Johannesburg. Organizers expected some 50,000 students to take part. The police, however, prevented the Black schoolchildren from entering the city. Only about 100 students got through the check-

points and they were quickly dispersed by the cops.

The United Nations, Organization of African Unity, and the European Community condemned the halting of this peaceful protest in a joint statement.

After a week of actions, the ANC and the National Education Coordinating Committee urged students to return to school. "We are happy that most students have respected that call," ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus told Reuters.

Mandela addresses British parliament

Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela paid a two-day visit to Britain. At a packed news conference May 4, Mandela explained that the greatest threat to South Africa's peace process comes not from "Black surrogate groups" but from the right-wing. "We can only address this when there is a democratic government," said Mandela, to replace the present one, which is "corrupt and has lost credibility."

Mandela went on to point out that "as soon as the election date is announced, we will invite foreign businesses to invest in our country."

In a speech before 300 members of the British Parliament the following day, Mandela tactfully reminded the legislators about Britain's colonial history. "Your right to de-

termine your own destiny was used to deny us [the right] to determine our own," he said.

The ANC president also pointed to "a false perception of what South Africa is. This has to do with our classification as a middle income country," said Mandela. "This impacts on the issue whether we can receive overseas development assistance or not."

"In reality," continued Mandela, "we face a situation of the coexistence within one country of a first world and a third world economy. The aggregate statistics disguise the reality of structural poverty and endemic underdevelopment to which the majority of the population is condemned. This is possible because so rich are the few that are rich that it becomes impossible to see that the poor exist at all."

Ultrarightist rally

Facing the prospect of democratic, non-racial elections in the near future, ultrarightist forces have stepped up their efforts demanding a "white homeland." Several thousand white farmers rallied May 6 in the town of Potchestroom in the western Transvaal. Gen. Constand Viljoen, one of a newly formed five-man group calling itself the Committee of Generals, told the crowd that the "first step is to stop the negotiations process."

The other announced members of the Committee of Generals include Tienie Groenewald, former head of military intelligence; Koos Bischoff, former army chief of operations; and Lothar Neethling, ex-deputy commissioner of police.

A contingent from the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) waved placards saying, "The White race, The Master Race."

Rightist politicians are planning to hold protests, strikes, and boycotts in the coming months. However, as the May 7 *Financial Times* pointed out, "With the right-wing split into some 200-odd fringe groups, unity is likely to remain elusive."

Responding to demands by rightist forces for a "white homeland," the ANC said in a statement, "The people of South Africa will not... be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

The ANC has also condemned the increased number of armed attacks that have occurred against farmers during the past month. "These are cowardly criminal actions against citizens and we condemn them in the strongest possible terms," said a press statement released by the ANC April 27. "Those responsible for these attacks must be apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of the law." At least six farmers or their wives have been killed since the April 10 assassination of Chris Hani.

Meanwhile, prominent Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, are being charged by the South African police with murder in the killing of Hani. They join Janusz Walus, a member of the AWB, who had earlier been arrested as a suspect in the assassination.

Florida rally defends abortion rights

Continued from front page

clinic when Michael Griffin shot Gunn.

Griffin had volunteered at the right-wing center and was a dinner guest of Burt's on several occasions in the months preceding the murder.

Gunn's daughter: 'We won't go back'

Among those speaking at the rally was Gunn's daughter, Wendy, a high school senior. The lack of action by the government in response to violence at clinics, she said, had made "the atmosphere prime for this violent atrocity."

"The government has put women's rights on a blacklist," she said. "When my father was killed, President Clinton said a mere three sentences." She pointed out that local law enforcement was often lackluster and could not be depended on to defend a woman's right to choose, and also blasted right-wing groups for trying to pervert the concept of free speech and first amendment rights to include stalking, violent threats, and physical harassment.

Noting the false claim some right-wing leaders make to be following in the footsteps of the civil rights movement with their tactics, she stated, "the only rights they're interested in is their right to tell women what to do with our bodies. But we won't go back."

Theresa Dawkins is one of the people who came out for the protest. Like many in the area, Dawkins is in the Navy. She switched watch duty to attend, saying that after all the actions by the right wing, it was important to show there were people on the other side. Natasha Martinez, 20, a student at the University of West Florida, said, "They have no right to take away my right to do what I want to with my body." She said she thought more people had courage to speak out in defense of women's rights since the shooting, and added she hoped the right wing and Clinton got the message.

Jessie Lowery, a single mother of two, came from Milton. She said that after Gunn's murder, she decided voting wasn't enough. She wanted to send the message that "everyone in Santa Rosa County is not like John Burt," noting her 70-year-old mother is pro-choice. Her mother was a health department nurse before abortion was legal and knew the horror of what women went through then, she explained.

Speaking at the rally in addition to Wendy Gunn, were NOW president Patricia Ireland; Anita Davis, vice-president of the Florida State Conference of NAACP branches; Linda Taggart from the Ladies Center clinic; and Patty Dombrowski of



Militant/Denise McInerney

Abortion rights activists march in Pensacola, Florida, May 8.

the Pensacola Women's Medical Services Clinic, where Gunn was killed.

The demonstration was the first such action held in defense of abortion rights, though Pensacola has long been the target of right-wing attacks on abortion. On Christmas Day in 1984 three clinics were bombed. Then in 1986, Burt succeeded in storming the Ladies Center clinic, damaging equipment and assaulting clinic director Taggart. Two years later a man from Kentucky drove into town with a carload of explosive material and met with Burt, who drove him around the Ladies Center clinic. The would-be bomber was arrested before he could place the bomb. No one was caught in the 1984 bombings and Burt has never been sentenced to more than house arrest.

In the weeks leading up to the May 8 rally, Pensacola mayor Jerry Maygarden and County Commission chairperson Steve Del Gallo issued a joint statement urging area residents to boycott the demonstration, ostensibly because it would be bad publicity. Theresa Hunter, president of the local NOW chapter, pointed out that Del Gallo has been involved in bailing out of prison some of those arrested for violence at the clinics. He is a well-known opponent of abortion rights. Burt had initially issued a call for a counter rally, but subsequently backed down.

Hunter noted that in the course of organizing the abortion rights protest, the right wing had been pushed back. More people were being encouraged to speak out in defense of abortion rights and against the rightist attacks since Gunn's murder, she said. The *Pensacola News Journal* ran a poll the week before the march which showed that although there was an even split between those favoring and opposing legal abortion, 84 percent were opposed to attempts to block access to clinics.

Dozens of women attended NOW meetings for the first time to plan the march. Many new people have stepped forward to defend the clinics in the area as was evidenced by some of those who came May 7 to escort women at the Ladies Center clinic. Ginger, a hotel worker, participated in clinic defense the day before the march. It was the murder of Gunn, she said, that convinced her to take on defending the clinic and answering the attacks.

Abortion rights activists note that John Burt has kept a low profile in recent days. His one public action has been to erect a billboard in support of the ban on gays in the military. Many felt the right wing was on the defensive and saw the march as part of mobilizing more people for an ongoing battle.

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Union wins vote at Colorado packinghouse

BY MIKE GALATI
AND RUTH NEBBIA

GREELEY, Colorado — By a vote of 814 to 732 Monfort workers here scored an important victory on April 29 when they voted to be represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 7. Monfort is one of the three largest meat-packing chains in the United States and the Greeley beef plant is its flagship with some 1,800 production workers. Monfort is owned by the food industry giant ConAgra. Union officials estimate that more than 85 percent of the workers in the plant are immigrants from Mexico.

The workers had a victory," said Ron Kazel, UFCW spokesman for the Greeley organizing drive. "We expected the results. The workers were fed up with Monfort."

The day after the vote, many workers coming out of the plant spoke to *Militant* reporters. "The company is telling people that the election doesn't count," said Rosa, who had a union sticker on her hard hat. Monfort had just informed workers it will appeal the vote.

Manuel who has worked on the kill floor for one year is for the union. "I thought the union would lose," Manuel explained. "Many workers are for the union but they are afraid."

A woman waiting for her husband who works in the pens said that if the union gets in the plant there may be a strike. "If you're on strike you don't get a check, you can't get food stamps or unemployment. If you need to go to work to feed your children," she explained, "the union can fine you."

Jesus was fired the day before the vote after a leadman tried to get him to remove some of the many union stickers from his hard hat. He had over nine years seniority. He told us that union organizers had gone door to door talking to workers about the union. Jesus has a union sign in his front yard. "One supervisor told workers that the union would just take our money. I told him don't worry, it's my money." On the hardest knife jobs in the fabrication department, boning chucks and pulling tender loins, "everyone is for the union," Jesus explained.

Ten-year organizing effort

This victory caps a 10-year drive by the UFCW to reorganize the Greeley plant, which was unionized prior to 1980. Monfort had closed the plant after a bitter strike that year and reopened it in 1982 as a nonunion

operation. The company refused to rehire most of the former workers.

One year later the UFCW lost a certification election there. The union contested the election, charging Monfort with unfair labor practices. This led to a 10-year legal battle, which culminated in a federal court decision in late 1992 mandating a new union certification election to be supervised by the National Labor Relations Board.

The federal appeals court also ruled that Monfort must pay back wages for 10 years to the workers it refused to rehire in 1982. Union officials estimate this could cost the company \$30-50 million.

This is the largest packing plant to be organized by the UFCW since the 1991 victory in a union election at National Beef in Liberal, Kansas.

It also comes seven months after the massive Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raid at the Monfort plant in Grand

Island, Nebraska, about 340 miles east of Greeley. More than 200 armed federal, state and local cops raided the plant. They detained and questioned workers for seven hours, and then arrested and deported 307. The Grand Island plant has also been the target of a long-term effort by the UFCW to win union representation there. Many of the workers the INS deported had signed union cards.

Like at Greeley, the majority of workers at Grand Island are Mexican immigrants. Prior to the raid, union officials were preparing to ask for a certification election.

Reaction to the union victory in Greeley was mixed among workers at the Monfort plant in Grand Island.

During a visit at the Nebraska plant, José, who had worked at a union plant in Los Angeles making baseball bats, told the *Militant* he was for the union. "When there is a union the bosses can't fire you indiscriminately," he said.

nately," he said

One worker who is Black said he is afraid the company will shut down the plant if the union wins. Before Monfort, he explained, Swift owned the plant, which was then unionized. The company shut it down and Monfort reopened it later nonunion without rehiring all the former Swift employees.

A worker from Mexico said union organizers had passed out a flyer at the Monfort plant gate the day after the certification vote at the Greeley plant, informing everyone of the union victory there.

UFCW organizers are attempting to use the momentum of the victory at Greeley to push for another vote at Grand Island as well.

Mike Galati is a member of UFCW Local 1149 and works at Monfort in Marshalltown, Iowa. Ruth Nebbia is a member of UFCW Local 431 and works at Monfort in Des Moines, Iowa.

United Airlines workers protest job cuts

BY EMILY FITZSIMMONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hundreds of International Association of Machinists (IAM) members, their families, and other unionists participated in coordinated rallies at airport terminals across the country May 8 to protest the announced sale by United Airlines of its 17 flight kitchens. This sale will affect the jobs of more than 7,000 IAM members who work in the kitchens. Many are women and immigrant workers.

The protests were organized by the United Airlines Union Coalition, which includes the IAM, the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA), and the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA).

The proposed sale of the kitchens is tied to concession demands by United against unionized and nonunion workers in recent months. In February the Machinists union, which organizes mechanics, baggage handlers, cleaners, and food service workers rejected a company demand to open the contract and accept significant cuts in wages and benefits. Flight attendants also rejected give-backs.

Company cites huge losses

Citing huge losses and the need for all employee groups to make sacrifices for the company, United then fired all Sky Caps, who take luggage at curb side, and replaced them with workers making half their pay. The company has imposed cuts in hours and wages among nonunion reservations and ticket agents.

United is also threatening to contract out work done by other IAM members including engine overhauls and cleaning.

At the rally in front of the United terminal at Dulles Airport near Washington, D.C., 75 members of IAM Local 1759 carried signs and distributed fliers to passengers that explained the protest.

In Los Angeles, hundreds demonstrated outside the United flight kitchen.

At Kennedy Airport in New York, nearly 100 member of IAM Local 1322 rallied in front of the United terminal.

In Boston, about 60 unionists picketed the terminal and participated in a car caravan through the airport. State police there gave out \$50 tickets to several IAM members in the caravan for obstructing traffic. The union plans to contest these in court. In Seattle 125 IAM members from United, Northwest, and Alaska airlines, as well as several pilots picketed the entrance to the Seattle-Tacoma airport. "[United chairman Stephen] Wolf is bullying employees playing hard ball," said Phil Stewart, a mechanic at United. "Wolf says the company is losing money and is coming to the employees, looking for a handout. The union has to get the story out — this is just the start."

For weeks, workers have been discussing on the job, at union meetings, and at these rallies how to fight to defend the union and save jobs.

Some workers say that little can be done to prevent the company from restructuring to become more profitable. Others say that workers shouldn't have to pay when a company cries financial hardship. Moves against the kitchen workers are recognized as an assault against the whole union. Many IAM members in Washington, D.C., say that United will continue to try to elim-



Militant/Janice Lynn

United workers protest company sale of flight kitchens in Washington, D.C., May 8.

inate the union in other job classifications if we don't fight to defend coworkers in the kitchen.

Keep jobs union, no matter who is boss

"Selling the kitchen is a form of union busting," said Robert Gilchrist, an aircraft cleaner at Dulles who is a shop steward for IAM Local 1759. "Wolf is another Lorenzo," he added, referring to the former chairman of Eastern Airlines which went bankrupt after forcing Machinists out on a 22-month-long strike. Other workers said that while we may not be able to prevent the company from selling the kitchens, we should fight to keep the jobs union, no matter who the boss is.

In Los Angeles, food truck driver Ron Robinson said, "If the union's going to do more in putting this in the public eye, I'm willing to march."

Workers are discussing Wolf's argument that United cannot afford to pay workers

more than what airline food contractors such as Sky Chefs, Dobbs, and Caterair pay. In 1991 Caterair workers in Los Angeles went on strike. At that time most workers at United were not even aware of the strike. The power of the large IAM local there was not brought to bear to support these workers.

Now it is clearer to more workers that there is no separation between our fight against company attacks at United and the fights by other workers such as at Caterair.

Emily Fitzsimmons is a member of IAM Local Lodge 1759 at Dulles Airport in Washington; Eva Braiman, a member of IAM Local Lodge 1322 at LaGuardia Airport in New York; Rodney Holt, a flight kitchen worker at United and a member of IAM Local Lodge 1932 in Los Angeles; and Sarah Ullman, a member of IAM Local Lodge 1726 in Boston, also contributed to this article.

Immigration cops raid Maryland poultry plants

BY MICHELLE SMITH

BALTIMORE — Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raided the Allen Co. chicken-processing plant on Maryland's Eastern Shore March 31 and arrested 52 workers. INS agents and state police swept through the plant, examined company records on employees, and interviewed and fingerprinted 56 workers from Mexico and Guatemala. The agents took 52 of these workers into custody.

Two days later a similar raid took place at Conagra Broiler Co., also on the Eastern Shore. Company officials for Conagra had ordered 40 immigrant workers to stay home if they could not provide sufficient proof of legal status. These workers were singled out and compelled to provide proof. Walt Casey, a spokesperson for Conagra, stated, "We've given workers 15 days to produce the documents. . . . If they don't, they will be dismissed, of course."

Don Crocetti, acting director for the INS in the Baltimore district, explained that other planned raids at Eastern Shore plants had been suspended because as word of the Allen raid spread, many workers had decided to stay home, the INS official said. He described that raid as "one of our most productive hits."

An article in the *Baltimore Sun* pointed out that meat-packing plants on Maryland's Eastern Shore actively recruit immigrant workers.

Arthur Brewer, an attorney for Allen, said the company is cooperating with the INS investigation.

Poultry plant workers earn about 25 percent less than the average pay of other industrial workers in the region.

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Meat-packers plan hog roast to raise funds for framed-up unionist

Mark Curtis, a unionist and political 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

in Des Moines supporting Curtis's fight for justice, said, "We need to reach out to as many people as possible to win support for Mark Curtis."

A local farmer is donating a 150-pound hog for the cost of feed to the fund-raiser.

The tickets for the June 5 event are printed in English and Spanish. The meat-packers plan to sell them

By the end of the April 17-18 conference, three people had become endorsers of the defense committee; a professor at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga had invited Curtis supporters to address her classes later in May; and nearly 20 activists had signed up to write a letter to the parole board urging Curtis's release.

* * *

Curtis supporters also carried out a spirited campaign at the seventh Labor Notes conference in Dearborn, Michigan, which drew over 1,000 unionists and others.

Kate Kaku, a leading activist in the defense effort and Curtis's wife, attended the conference, held April 23-25. She spoke to some of the international participants, including a group of Japanese attorneys. After carefully reading literature explaining the stakes in the unionist's struggle to break the cop frame-up against him, one of these lawyers, Nagako Shida, signed a coupon supporting Curtis's fight and gave Kaku a \$30 contribution toward his defense effort.

Wolfgang Schaumburg, active in the metalworkers' union in Germany, was anxious to discuss the case with Kaku. Opponents of Curtis's defense effort from Boston had contacted Schaumburg in Hamburg and put pressure on him to withdraw his support for the defense committee. After discussing the issues with Kaku, Schaumburg was convinced that this pressure campaign is nothing more than an attempt to push the prosecution's line of branding Curtis as a criminal and turn support in the labor movement against him.

An activist in the 11-month strike



Militant/Marla Puziss

Curtis supporter Lorenzo Ervin speaking to a reporter at Tennessee conference against police brutality April 17.

DEFENDING MARK CURTIS AROUND THE WORLD

democratic rights around the world have joined in calling for justice for Curtis.

We will regularly report in this column efforts around the world to win additional support for Curtis's fight against the police frame-up. We urge *Militant* readers to send in such reports every week.

Several meat-packers in Marshalltown, Iowa, are planning a hog roast to raise funds to help the campaign to win parole for Mark Curtis. The workers, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union at the Monfort packinghouse in Marshalltown, met during a lunch break to discuss the idea and are already busy selling tickets for the event to their coworkers.

Mike Thomas, one of the unionists organizing the hog roast, explained, "There can never be too many fund-raisers. I think Curtis got a bad deal. This could happen to anybody, so he should get some support."

Andre Sledge, another Monfort worker who spoke at an April 9 rally

in their communities as well as on the job.

* * *

Supporters of Curtis's fight for justice have participated in several recent conferences where they have been able to win new endorsements for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee (MCDC) and update long-time supporters on recent developments in the case.

A literature table on the Curtis case attracted attention throughout a conference on police brutality in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The meeting was organized by Lorenzo Ervin, president of Concerned Citizens for Justice, a local civil rights organization. Ervin is an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Maurice Williams, a leader of the MCDC in Des Moines, Iowa, was interviewed on a local television news program during the gathering. He announced that the defense committee will soon launch an international campaign to flood the Iowa State Board of Parole with letters demanding Curtis be released.

by drywallers in San Diego said he would take the campaign for Curtis's freedom back to his fellow union fighters. Federico Castañeda described how the drywallers' picket lines are regularly attacked by the cops, with various criminal charges used in an attempt to divide labor support, discourage the strikers, and exhaust the union's funds on legal costs. Castañeda played a video at the drywallers' table showing the police writing tickets and arresting strikers.

Participants in the Labor Notes conference readily gave contributions to help defray the cost of reproduction of literature. Curtis supporters collected \$100 at the meeting. Many reaffirmed their support for Curtis and agreed to write letters to the parole board.

* * *

A week later, the Curtis defense effort got a good hearing at the National Alliance Against Racist

and Political Repression 20th anniversary conference in Detroit. Supporters of the MCDC were able to meet with many of the activists there, including several involved in fighting other police frame-ups.

Several of those at the conference attended a May 1 Militant Labor Forum on the Curtis case. The forum featured Kate Kaku and anti-police-brutality activist Lorenzo Ervin.

* * *

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

Maurice Williams, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa; Marla Puziss in Atlanta; Toni Jackson, member of UFCW Local 26 in Detroit; and Priscilla Schenk and Chris Remple in Des Moines, Iowa, contributed to this column.

Iowa prison authorities deny Curtis a gate pass

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis, a union and political activist serving a 25-year sentence on fabricated charges of attempted rape and burglary, was informed April 24 by authorities at the John Bennett Correctional Center in Fort Madison, Iowa, that his request for a gate pass was rejected. Inmates with gate passes are assigned to work details outside the prison's walls. Such passes are generally considered a step toward advancement to a minimum security facility.

Curtis's effort to win a gate pass is part of a wider fight to gain his freedom on parole. The prison's refusal to grant Curtis a gate pass was a topic of debate at his last parole hearing in November 1992.

Up to then, both parole officials and prison authorities had refused to consider any advancement for Curtis, arguing that he would serve out his full sentence unless he admitted his "guilt" and entered the state Sexual Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP).

At the hearing, Curtis's prison counselor argued that authorities were waiting for the parole board to move before considering whether to approve a gate pass for the activist. Board member Joanne Lorence responded that such a decision was in the hands of prison authorities. In addition, she expressed her own opinion, stating, "I'm seriously supportive of that [gate pass]."

"The parole board gave me some encouragement that I could get a gate pass after finishing the vocational program I was enrolled in," Curtis told the *Militant*. "I applied as soon as I graduated from the graphic arts school. The prison staff turned me down. So I was quite surprised when a friend told me two months later that I was on a classification list for a gate pass posted in the hallway."

"Next day," Curtis continued, "I went to a meeting with the classification committee and was pleased to hear the committee members say they were recommending me for a gate pass. A week later, however, I was let

down when the other guys who had been recommended started their new jobs — but not me," Curtis said.

Curtis was told the decision to reject his application had been made by the acting warden. He requested a written copy of the ruling.

"You were scheduled for SOTP at MtP [Mount Pleasant Correctional Center]. Apparently you have refused. I would not consider you for gate pass without you cooperating in recommended programs," the acting warden wrote to Curtis.

Some inmates who had been incarcerated in the Bennett Center for some time told Curtis they thought it was highly unusual to be rejected for a gate pass after receiving a recommendation from the classification committee. Another inmate, who was convicted on the same charge as Curtis — third-degree sexual abuse — received a gate pass without being forced to participate in the SOTP program. He has served 3 years of a 10-year sentence.

After a trial in September 1988, Curtis received a 10-year sentence for third-degree sexual abuse and an additional 25-year sentence for first-degree burglary. Prosecutors added the burglary charge two months after Curtis's arrest and arraignment.

Curtis was framed-up by the police while he was involved in a campaign to defend 17 immigrant coworkers at the Swift meat-packing plant where he worked. These workers were seized in an immigration raid at the plant.

Curtis was arrested, beaten by police, and framed after speaking out in Spanish at a public protest meeting urging deeper union involvement in their defense.

With time off earned for his conduct in prison, Curtis will have served out his sentence on the sexual abuse conviction in June — one month from now. The discharge date for the burglary conviction, however, is in the year 2000.

"For the last four years the parole board has told me I will not even be given consid-

eration for parole — even though, by their standards, I am eligible to be released," said Curtis, "unless I renounce my efforts to defend myself and enter the SOTP program. Now, with the parole board having set the tone, prison authorities are punishing me for maintaining my innocence and fighting this frame-up," he said.

"They have made it clear they will try to resist any positive movement for me until the parole board makes the first move," Curtis added. "That's why I think opening up a public campaign to urge my parole this year is the best opportunity to get some action."

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, es-

tablished to raise funds for Curtis's legal defense and to campaign for his freedom, is urging supporters to write to the parole board and ask that he be granted a hearing as soon as possible and set free. Letters supporting his release should be addressed to the Iowa State Board of Parole, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, IA 50319, and sent to the defense committee for delivery. The defense committee's address is Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311.

Maurice Williams is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 1149. He works at the Monfort meat-packing plant in Marshalltown, Iowa.

Literature available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis by Margaret Jayko. This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$4.95. Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Please include \$3 for postage and handling.)

Why Working People Should Join the Fight to Free Mark Curtis by Harvey McArthur. Presents clear and convincing answers to the campaign of slanders that aim to justify the frame-up of Mark Curtis. 24 pp. \$2.

State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis. Transcript of September 1988 trial that found Curtis guilty of sexual assault and burglary. 446 pp. \$35.

The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis by John Gaige. A pamphlet that explains the political background to Curtis's case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp. \$2.

Freedom and Justice for Mark Curtis — An Answer to a Slander Campaign against Jailed Unionist and Political Activist Mark Curtis, by Andrea Morell and Geoff Mirelowitz. \$2.

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis, a VHS video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis's fight for justice; scenes from the trial; and interviews with Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and others. This video is available for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$20 Beta or PAL; \$15 VHS.

For these and other materials (including in Spanish) write or call the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. Phone (515) 246-1695. Bulk quantities are available. Payments should accompany orders and checks can be made out to Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Please allow 2 weeks for delivery.

1993 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND

\$75,000

City	Goal	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$3,140	\$930	30%
Birmingham	\$1,500	\$400	27%
Greensboro	\$1,950	\$385	20%
Salt Lake City	\$3,000	\$450	15%
Twin Cities	\$5,000	\$665	13%
Newark	\$4,000	\$415	10%
Cleveland	\$2,000	\$190	10%
Boston	\$3,000	\$170	6%
Chicago	\$3,000	\$150	5%
New York	\$8,000	\$300	4%
St. Louis	\$3,350	\$55	2%
Des Moines	\$1,500	\$20	1%
Albany	\$200	\$0	0%
Albuquerque	\$200	\$0	0%
Atlanta	\$2,500	\$0	0%
Baltimore	\$2,500	\$0	0%
Cincinnati	\$300	\$0	0%
Denver	\$200	\$0	0%
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San Francisco	\$6,500	\$0	0%
Seattle	\$2,500	\$0	0%
Washington, D.C.	\$2,800	\$0	0%
Other		\$30	
TOTALS	\$76,430	\$4,160	5%
Should be	\$75,000	\$12,500	17%

\$4,160

Fund Drive supporters plan special forums to meet goals

BY MAGGIE TROWE

As the U.S. rulers head toward intervention in Yugoslavia and United Mine Workers of America members set up picket lines in the coalfields, supporters of the 1993 Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund are reaching out to youth and working people — who look to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* for political direction in the fight against war and the effects of the capitalist economic depression — to help meet the \$75,000 goal.

The more than \$4,000 already received is being put to good use to cover *New International* magazine production costs and to help send *Militant* reporters to Cuba. SWP leader Ernie Mailhot traveled to Havana last week and reported on the May Day march, which had as its theme protesting the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba. Mailhot was part of a contingent of representatives of U.S. solidarity organizations which took part in the march and later met to discuss how to further solidarity work with the Cuban revolution in the United States.

Special meetings planned

The list of cities that have set dates for special *Militant* Labor Forums to build the fund is growing. In the Twin Cities, Minnesota, a meeting May 23 will feature a panel of workers and young people who find the *Militant's* coverage on the revolutions in Cuba and South Africa and other working-

class struggles valuable.

Sara Lobman, whose *Militant* articles covered the Cuban Women's Federation conference in March, will speak on "Cuba Today: Challenges and Opportunities Facing the Working Class" at a program in Newark, New Jersey. Meetings in Philadelphia and Miami will take up the U.S. war drive against Yugoslavia.

After the first week of the six-week drive, pledges have reached the halfway mark. Funds received to date total \$4,160. To be on schedule, we should have had \$12,500 on hand.

Bob Stanton, coordinator of the fund in Philadelphia, writes that supporters there have raised their goal from \$2,500 to \$3,000. Boston fund supporters are also optimistic. Valerie Johnson writes, "We have initial plans to send out a broad mailing outlining the fund drive and its purpose. We believe we can not only reach our goal, but with a broad appeal, surpass it." And in the Twin Cities a leaflet inviting people

to "Come to a celebration of the working-class press" includes a coupon that says, "Yes! I want to make a contribution." Fund supporters in the United Transportation Union, the United Auto Workers, and other industrial unions in the Twin Cities area are handing out the flier and inviting coworkers to the event.

Step up the efforts

If fund supporters around the country step up efforts to organize well-publicized meetings and to collect pledges in a timely way, we can place the drive on target in the next few weeks. Reaching out to fellow fighters at meetings on the war in Yugoslavia, at picket lines at mine portals, and at actions to defend abortion clinics will be an important part of this campaign.

Militant readers can fill out the coupon below to make a pledge or contribution. You can also join others in organizing efforts to raise the \$75,000 by June 15 (see list of fund supporters on page 12).

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

NAME _____

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

Brazil's landless rural workers seek solidarity

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — "The movement of the landless in Brazil is in need of international solidarity," said Dulcinea Pavan, speaking at a *Militant* Labor Forum here at the end of April. Pavan, a member of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) of Brazil, spoke on a panel with Zeze Weiss, U.S. representative of the Workers Party (PT) of Brazil.

The MST, which was formed in 1985, is an organization of rural workers and peasants fighting for land and agrarian reform. It is presently organized in 19 states throughout the country and includes 100,000 families who have won titles to their land and another 30,000 currently occupying land, waiting for it to be legalized.

Brazil has the largest land mass of any country in Latin America, explained Pavan. Nevertheless, some 23 million people out of a total population of 146 million are without land. One percent of the population owns 44 percent of the land. Fifty-three percent own only 3 percent of the land.

Brazil has the ninth largest Gross Na-

tional Product in the world, yet 53 percent of the population live under the poverty line, making less than \$150 a month. Approximately 18 million people are unemployed.

On top of this, the country is saddled with a \$142 billion foreign debt, said Pavan, requiring interest payments of about \$12 billion a year. This leads to a massive transfer of wealth out of the country.

Under the slogan of "Occupy, Resist, and Produce," the Movement of the Landless Rural Workers fights for land in order to be able to work it. "We don't want to just conquer the land," she said, "but produce efficiently and sell products on the market."

The MST defines itself as an autonomous mass movement. It has no formal links with political or religious organizations. But many of its members belong to or are supporters of the Workers Party.

Pavan said the MST is fighting for a society without exploitation of workers and peasants by a tiny minority of capitalists and landlords. The organization encourages participation of the workers in trade unions and

strives to establish links between rural and urban workers and with workers and peasants throughout Latin America.

Confronting land-lord violence

A big problem the MST has had to confront is violence by the rich landowners and the government. Thugs, paid by landlords, and government forces have killed more than 1,000 rural workers in the last few years.

"The violence is carried out by landowners with their gunmen and militias," stated Pavan. Federal and military police are also used to evict rural workers. "Judges side with the landowners very often without taking into account the lives of the rural workers."

Many MST members have been framed-up by the police for their participation in the fight for land.

"Political power is concentrated in the hands of an elite," said Pavan. "Congress and the judiciary refuse to carry out agrarian reform even though it's on the books."

The MST also fights for the rights of 180 different indigenous peoples in Brazil who comprise a population of about 200,000. They suffer particular oppression and exploitation at the hands of logging and mining companies, explained Pavan. Land set aside for them is constantly being invaded.

The PT, formed in 1979, is the largest working-class political party in the country.

During the last presidential elections in 1989 PT candidate Luis Inácio da Silva (Lula) came close to winning the election. Weiss expressed high hopes that in the upcoming 1994 contest, he will be even more



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Dulcinea Pavan, a member of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers of Brazil, speaking at New York Militant Labor forum.

Rail worker joins 'Militant' staff

BY GEORGE FYSON

With this issue, Pat Smith joins the *Militant* staff. Smith, until recently a railworker and member of United Transportation Union local 577 in Chicago, was the Socialist Workers candidate for University of Illinois Board of Trustees in the 1992 elections. Over the past year she has contributed articles to the *Militant* on the A.E. Staley corn syrup workers contract fight in Illinois, on cop intimidation in a Chicago housing project, and other issues.

Prior to working as a brakeman for the Chicago and North Western railroad, Smith was a member of the United Steelworkers of America, also in Chicago. From 1986 to 1989 she worked as a meat-packer and machinist in Des Moines, Iowa.

Leaving the paper are Paul Mailhot and Derek Bracey. Mailhot, who has been labor editor of the paper for several months, has taken national leadership responsibilities in the Socialist Workers Party.

Bracey, on staff since August 1991, has



Militant/Sara Lobman

Pat Smith

been one of the paper's copy editors and regular contributors. He will take on an industrial job and help lead the work of the Socialist Workers Party branch in New York City.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

DRIVE GOALS: 2,800 MILITANT ■ 600 PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL ■ 1,200 NEW INTERNATIONAL

Miners, soldiers buy 'Militant'

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Supporters of the *Militant* are now mapping out plans to meet the serious challenge of completing an international drive to win thousands of new readers. Heading into the last quarter of the campaign, subscription sales to the socialist newsweekly and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* were a little more than a week behind schedule, and sales of the magazine *New International* were even further behind.

The strike by UMW members in Illinois and Indiana, widespread discussions on Washington's war moves against Yugoslavia, and other political developments in the world make it both possible and necessary to turn the drive around and reach all of the goals by May 22.

Miners buy more subscriptions

More miners and their supporters are deciding to buy *Militant* subscriptions. In the week leading up to the miners' walkout, *Militant* supporters from across the United States and Canada got a great response at mine portals, campuses, and communities in southern Illinois and Indiana. Altogether, the sales and reporting team sold 168 copies of the socialist paper, seven subscriptions, and one issue of *New International*.

As the *Militant* becomes known in the coalfields, single issue sales can be turned into subscriptions. Team member Kristin Meriam described one shift change at a Peabody mine near Lynnville, Indiana, where three workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and 31 others bought single copies. "One worker told me he'd read the paper before," Meriam said. "I asked him, 'Did you like it? Do you want a subscription?' and he took out his billfold right away."

Strikers at the Buck Creek mine in Sullivan, Indiana, also welcomed the team at their picket line and strike headquarters. One of the miners there purchased a copy of *New International* no. 4 to read "The Fight for a Workers' and Farmers'



Selling *Militant* at Humboldt University in Berlin

Militant/Dag Tirsén

Government in the United States." He had already bought a subscription to the *Militant* from an earlier team.

The team also sold three copies of the Pathfinder book *The Eastern Airlines Strike* to miners and their supporters.

Discussions on Yugoslavia

Two *Militant* supporters who went to Wrightstown, New Jersey, just outside McGuire Air Force Base, got a friendly response from many of these working people in uniform, their families, and others. The team sold 10 single issues of the *Militant* and 1 subscription each to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

One airman bought a *Militant* even though he disagreed with the paper's opposition to U.S. plans for intervention in Yugoslavia, reported Nancy Boyasko and Maggie Trowe. Another soldier said he was afraid to say what he thought about the war moves because he might get in trouble with the brass, but readily bought a single copy of the *Militant*. A woman from Panama, who is married to an airman, purchased a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and said she opposed U.S. intervention. She explained that events in Panama after the U.S. invasion of that Central American country in 1990 had made her question Washington's intentions.

In Detroit, supporters of the *Mil-*

itant have made a special effort to organize sales teams in the adjacent city of Hamtramck, where many recent immigrants from Yugoslavia, Albania, and other Eastern European countries live. "We sold a subscription to a member of the United Auto Workers union who is from Yugoslavia. We've also met a lot of young people from Yugoslavia who are really trying to figure out whether or not they should support U.S. intervention," said a member of the sales team.

Meat-packers subscribe

A *Militant* sales and reporting team to Greeley, Colorado, and Grand Island, Nebraska, sold eight *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions to meat-packers at two Monfort plants, reports Ruth Nebbia. The packinghouse workers have been discussing a recent union certification victory at the Greeley plant, where workers voted in the United Food and Commercial Workers union, as well as a raid last September by the immigration cops at the Grand Island plant.

Unionists at rallies supporting United Airlines flight kitchen workers around the country liked the *Militant* as well. At an informational picket line in Seattle, *Militant* supporters sold a subscription and a copy of the Pathfinder book *The Eastern Airlines Strike*. In Los Angeles, three people at a similar rally signed up to get the paper.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 61% 1,705

SHOULD BE: 75% 2,100

END OF WEEK SIX

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
Denver	6	5	120%	1	2	1	5
Cleveland	51	65	78%	1	4	10	25
Salt Lake City, UT	58	75	77%	10	15	15	35
Atlanta	56	75	75%	8	10	7	20
Cincinnati	7	10	70%	1	2	0	3
Miami	68	100	68%	22	35	29	50
Chicago	73	110	66%	11	25	5	35
Detroit	53	80	66%	2	10	9	30
San Francisco	72	110	65%	17	30	42	70
Twin Cities, MN	77	120	64%	19	15	31	30
Greensboro, NC	39	65	60%	5	7	7	30
Morgantown, WV	39	65	60%	2	5	8	20
New Haven, CT	6	10	60%	1	2	3	5
Washington, DC	45	75	60%	9	25	20	40
Los Angeles	98	170	58%	67	85	25	95
Birmingham, AL	43	75	57%	5	10	5	20
New York	129	225	57%	44	75	20	95
Baltimore	42	75	56%	0	10	0	25
Houston	42	75	56%	8	20	11	25
Seattle	44	80	55%	12	30	11	35
Boston	60	110	55%	15	30	30	45
Des Moines, IA	46	85	54%	24	30	12	40
Newark, NJ	73	135	54%	19	45	16	70
Portland, OR	8	15	53%	0	2	4	10
Philadelphia	45	85	53%	10	20	14	25
Santa Cruz, CA	4	8	50%	0	5	2	5
Pittsburgh	38	80	48%	6	8	9	25
St. Louis	37	90	41%	3	7	4	40
U.S. Total	1,359	2,273	60%	322	564	350	953
AUSTRALIA							
	19	30	63%	2	10	5	20
BELGIUM							
	0	8	0%	0	4	0	10
BRITAIN							
London	42	60	70%	4	5	15	25
Sheffield	19	35	54%	0	3	9	15
Manchester	18	35	51%	1	1	4	20
Britain Total	79	130	61%	5	9	28	60
CANADA							
Toronto	48	75	64%	7	15	12	45
Vancouver	43	70	61%	6	10	19	30
Montreal	31	65	48%	8	12	10	60
Quebec City	0	5	0%	0	0	0	2
Canada Total	122	215	57%	21	37	41	137
FRANCE							
	2	10	20%	1	3	4	10
GERMANY							
	9	15	60%	0	0	1	4
GREECE							
	4	5	80%	1	1	1	2
ICELAND							
	5	10	50%	0	1	1	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Wellington	34	40	85%	1	1	7	10
Auckland	33	45	73%	4	1	6	10
Christchurch	17	25	68%	0	1	5	8
New Zealand Total	84	110	76%	5	3	18	28
PUERTO RICO							
	2	1	200%	2	10	2	10
SWEDEN							
	38	65	58%	17	20	14	20
TOTAL	1,714	2,857	61%	376	662	463	1,253
SHOULD BE	2,100		75%	450		900	

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
UMWA	44	15	293%	1	—	0	—
OCAW	39	50	78%	2	4	8	18
UAW	61	85	72%	1	—	5	25
UTU	57	80	71%	1	4	11	27
IAM	56	90	62%	1	25	9	35
USWA	50	85	59%	2	—	2	25
ACTWU	13	28	46%	7	—	2	20
ILGWU	5	20	25%	17	20	6	15
UFCW	14	56	25%	22	35	6	26
U.S. Total	339	453	75%	54	65	49	165
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	7	12	58%	0	—	0	6
AEEU	2	6	33%	0	—	0	6
NUM	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
Britain Total	14	26	54%	0	—	0	17
CANADA							
CAW	7	9	78%	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	15	28	54%	1	2	5	9
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	4	5	80%	0	—	0	1
UFBGWU	2	8	25%	0	—	1	1
MWU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
New Zealand Total	6	15	40%	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	—
Sweden Total	5	13	38%	—	—	0	3

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

Allegations that Bell Canada won't reroute U.S. calls to Cuba are false

BY PAT SMITH

The *Financial Post* of Toronto and the *Toronto Sun* reported April 7 that Bell Canada ordered eight Canadian companies to halt rerouting of phone calls from the United States to Cuba. These reports are false.

Tom Godfrey's *Toronto Sun* article claimed Bell officials said the "Toronto and Montreal firms were notified last Friday [April 2], that all third party calls rerouted from the United States to Cuba would be blocked." Godfrey claimed Bell began blocking these calls because Cuban exiles in Canada complained some calls are taped by Cuban spies in Canada and that these independent phone companies are "fronts for Fidel Castro's spy network in Canada." The companies listed as affected include Appell International, RapiTel, and Toronto Communications, Inc.

Cuban-Americans and others in the United States rely heavily on these agencies to make telephone

calls to Cuba. As a result of the U.S. trade embargo against the Caribbean island, it is virtually impossible to call Cuba direct from the United States.

Because of the seriousness of these alleged restrictions Cuba-Info, a U.S. publication providing information on Cuba and U.S.-Cuba relations, reprinted the *Financial Post* story in its April issue, noting the allegations could not be confirmed.

Bell Canada spokesperson Perry Blocher said in a phone interview that the *Toronto Sun* report was untrue. "On April 2," he said, "Bell Canada began blocking calls that originate in Canada, terminate in Cuba, and are billed to a U.S. third number or U.S. calling cards. Bell took this action because of revenue loss the company was experiencing due to this type of calling. We have not taken this action as a result of any external pressure."

This will not affect any of the

call-relay operations that arrange calls to Cuba from the United States, as reported in the Canadian press. Blocher said this decision only affects customers using calling cards issued from U.S. companies like MCI, Sprint, or Bell subsidiaries and calls made from Canada charged to a number in the United States.

Estela Oyarzun, general manager of Toronto Communications, Inc., categorically denied the *Toronto Sun* report. "We have nothing to do with this decision," she said, stressing that the company's business has not been affected at all since April 2. "We don't have a Torricelli bill here," she continued and explained that her company uses Bell Canada's lines to Cuba like any individual, since Canada has no restrictions on communications with Cuba and does not have a trade embargo on the island. Bell Canada bills her company, which mails a bill to its U.S. customers.

War and social crisis in Yugoslavia: product of world capitalist disorder

The following is the introduction to a new Pathfinder book entitled *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*, by George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman. It is scheduled for publication in May. The subheadings are by the *Militant*, which printed an uncompleted draft of this introduction by error in its May 10 issue. Copyright © by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY GEORGE FYSON

As this book goes to press, Washington is preparing to go to war in the former Yugoslavia. Its declared plans include air attacks on bridges, roads, and military positions of the rightist forces in Bosnia linked to the Serbian regime in Belgrade.

Washington has also declared its intention to send tens of thousands of troops, equipped with tanks and other armor and backed up with massive air power, to enforce a cease-fire in Bosnia.

Prior to this decision by the U.S. rulers, the British and French governments sent troops to head a military operation conducted under United Nations cover in Yugoslavia. The German government took steps to enable some of its naval and air forces to be deployed in the region — the first time since World War II it has made such moves.

These events culminate months of debating and maneuvering between the rulers in Washington, London, Paris, and Bonn over how to intervene in the former Yugoslavia. While publicly claiming humanitarian concern, each of the imperialist powers is in reality seeking to advance its own economic, political, and strategic military interests, which conflict in an increasingly sharp way during a period of world capitalist depression.

Now that Washington has decided the time is ripe to assert its might, the rivalry continues over who should command the operation. Washington wants the formal command to be under NATO, the military alliance dominated by the U.S. government and its officer corps. This course has met sharp opposition from the government of France, which is not part of NATO's military structure.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Yugoslav shepherd Ramiz Beshlija and his family outside their home on the outskirts of Sarajevo. "Tell the world this is not an ethnic war," he told the *Militant*.

Working people and youth in the United States and around the world are asking what lies behind this war. The authors of this book present the social and economic roots of the conflict, explaining that the military plans of the rival imperialist powers hold no benefits for working people in the region or anywhere else.

'Not an ethnic war'

"Tell the world this is not an ethnic war." This was the emphatic message of Ramiz Beshlija, a shepherd whose family lives on the outskirts of Sarajevo and whose neighbors are among the many of Serbian origin participating in defense of the city. Beshlija was speaking to Argiris Malapanis, a reporter for the *Militant* newsweekly who visited Sarajevo in July 1992.

Despite the murderous attacks and chauvinist campaigns conducted by rightist forces over the past two years, millions of working people in the former Yugoslavia

remain deeply hostile to the notion that they must no longer live with, work alongside, and intermarry with those of different national origins, as they have done for decades.

"This is not a war between Serbs and Muslims," Haris Halilovic, a hotel worker, told Malapanis. "You can see it here," he said, pointing to families of Serbian and Croatian origin, and of the Muslim and Christian faith, crammed into a basement shelter together.

Rightist leader Radovan Karadzic, who has led the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia by the Belgrade-backed forces, claims that Serbs and Muslims are instinctively hostile to each other, "like cats and dogs."

"Remarks like that are simply stupid," responded Zdravko Jovanovic, a small businessman in Sasici, a village outside the Muslim-majority town of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia. Jovanovic, who is Serbian by birth, added, "Serbs and Muslims have lived in the same valleys, used the same roads, worked in the same places, and intermarried throughout our history. Now Karadzic wants to tear us apart. You just tell him from me, come to Sasici. We'll sort him out."

In Serbia itself, the regime has had difficulty drafting youth to fight, and has faced antiwar demonstrations, including a march of 100,000 in Belgrade in June 1992 calling for negotiations to end the Belgrade-backed wars in Croatia and Bosnia.

Supporters of imperialist intervention into the Balkans perpetuate the myth of "irreconcilable national hatreds" to rationalize such involvement.

But the explanation for the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia lies not in "age-old animosities" between working people of Serbian, Croatian, or Albanian origin, or those who belong to the Muslim faith and various Christian denominations. Rather, what is happening there is a product of the crisis and growing world disorder of capitalism.

The Yugoslav workers' state that came out of the revolutionary struggle for national sovereignty and socialism in the 1940s was increasingly dominated by a privileged petty-bourgeois caste. This social layer monopolized power in the state institutions, the officer corps, and the management of the state-owned factories and other economic units. The caste encompassed individuals of every national origin in Yugoslavia and organized its control through the League of Yugoslav Communists, the ruling Stalinist party.

Crumbling of Stalinist regimes

In 1989-91, Stalinist regimes and ruling parties crumbled across Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, often in the face of massive popular protests. These regimes had been weakened by years of growing eco-

nomie and political crisis. The Stalinist bureaucratic and antiworking-class methods of planning and management proved incapable of raising labor productivity. The resulting crisis was worsened by the deepening economic stagnation of world capitalism since the mid 1970s.

The League of Yugoslav Communists began to split up in January 1990, following a period marked by skyrocketing inflation, intractable large-scale unemployment, and mounting strike struggles. The entire bureaucratic apparatus of the party, government, and state enterprises fragmented, largely along the lines of the major provincial administrations within the former Yugoslav Federal Republic.

All the contending gangs within the privileged caste have charted a course towards integrating their economies into the world capitalist system, an increasingly difficult task in today's depression conditions. This endeavor has gone hand in hand with their attempts to begin expanding capitalist market relations in the territory they control. In this process they seek to use the leverage of their privileged political and social positions to establish themselves as the new property-owning class.

These mafia-like gangs have reached out to the various imperialist powers for loans, investments, and other assistance. In turn Bonn, Paris, London, and Washington have sought to reassert or extend their economic and political influence there and throughout the Balkan region.

Regimes draped in nationalist flags

In order to rally political support, Yugoslavia's aspiring capitalists have draped themselves in different nationalist flags, as they fight among themselves to maximize the territory and resources under their control.

The most aggressive force in these wars is the regime headed by Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, whose top officials, headquartered in Belgrade, also predominated in the old Yugoslav federal state. At first they tried to use the Yugoslav army to block their rivals in the different republics from breaking away. When this failed in Slovenia in 1991, Belgrade proceeded to organize and supply armed bands to act on its behalf in those parts of Croatia and Bosnia where populations of Serbian origin predominate, with the goal of absorbing these areas and their wealth into a "Greater Serbia."

The current conflicts — fueled by rivalries among the aspiring capitalist layers at the expense of the majority of workers and farmers — had long been simmering within the previous federal regime. From early on under the presidency of Joseph Tito, Yugoslavia's Stalinist authorities made use of capitalist market forces in an effort to wring greater productivity from workers in the nationalized economy. Such policies encouraged competition rather than planned cooperation between the different state enterprises and republics and deepened economic and social imbalances between the different republics of Yugoslavia. Various wings of the ruling bureaucratic layer used nationalist demagoguery dredged up from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to claim a bigger share for themselves of the wealth produced by workers of all national origins in Yugoslavia.

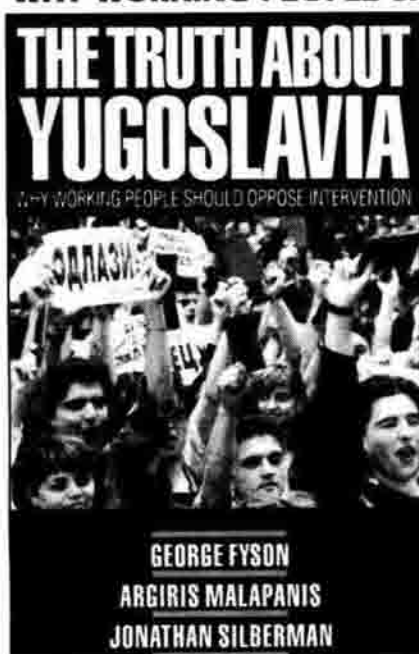
But when these forces openly embarked on a course toward reestablishing capitalism, their conflicts took on a new and sharper dynamic as the leading officials in Belgrade, in the Croatian capital Zagreb, and elsewhere intensified the piracy, plunder, and killing.

Bloodiest battle in Bosnia

The most prolonged and bloody of the battles has been in Bosnia where, under relentless bombardment, working people have been driven from the towns and villages they had occupied for generations. While working people who are Muslim make up the great majority of the victims in Bosnia, non-Muslim workers and farm-

The Truth about Yugoslavia

WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD OPPOSE INTERVENTION



George Fyson
Argiris Malapanis
Jonathan Silberman

What are the roots of the carnage and developing European war in wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia?

The answer is not "age-old ethnic and religious conflicts," as the daily papers and TV newscasts say. What's happening in Yugoslavia is a product of the crisis and intensifying conflicts of the depression-ridden world capitalist system.

Rival gangs of would-be capitalists — fragments of the former Yugoslav Stalinist regime — drape themselves in nationalist colors in a war for territory and resources that is against the interests of all working people in Yugoslavia. Washington and its imperialist competitors in Europe are intervening militarily to protect and advance their respective interests.

The articles collected in this new book tell the truth about Yugoslavia and why working people the world over should oppose military intervention.

\$8.95 (special price \$6.95 to members of Pathfinder Readers Club)

ers of Croatian and Serbian origin have also been targets of this "ethnic cleansing," carried out by forces either commanded directly or sponsored by Belgrade and Zagreb, as well as by the government of Bosnia itself.

By the end of 1992 the murderous assaults had created some 3 million refugees, 1.7 million of these from Bosnia. The great majority of the refugees remain within the borders of the former Yugoslavia, as governments in Europe and North America have resisted taking in more than a handful of those driven from their homes by the unending assaults.

Six months of fighting in Croatia in 1991 ended with 10,000 dead. Rightist forces, heavily armed by the Yugoslav army, had seized a third of the territory of the former republic of Croatia, proclaiming it the "Serb republic of Krajina." In January 1993 the regime in Zagreb launched a counteroffensive into a section of this area, on the Dalmatian coast. As this preface is being completed, forces commanded by Zagreb are also waging a bloody drive for increased territory in central Bosnia.

Another region where the regime in Belgrade is determined to maintain its hold regardless of the wishes of the local population is Kosovo, a southern province of Serbia that was granted autonomous status in 1974. Belgrade revoked Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 in retaliation against widespread protests by the majority-Albanian population there demanding an end to repression. Rightist groups encouraged by the Serbian government have called for "open war" on Albanians and expulsion of those who defy rule by the Belgrade regime in the region.

Threats to carve up Macedonia

Both Belgrade and the Greek government have openly threatened to carve up the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The capitalist rulers in Athens have made an issue of the republic's use of the name "Macedonia," demagogically charging that this signifies aggressive designs by the Macedonian government on the northern province of Greece, also known as Macedonia. Officials from Belgrade have floated a trial balloon about partitioning Macedonia, with a "leak" to the press that they had discussed this with the Greek government.

This book's authors look into these conflicts, explaining that the would-be capitalists that have emerged from the privileged caste in the former Yugoslavia are responsible for the slaughter taking place today—a slaughter imposed upon working people whose parents and grandparents made a socialist revolution in that country. The Yugoslav revolution, forged in the midst of World War II, was a social upheaval by millions. It brought an end to a period in which capitalist regimes carried out massacres against various ethnic groups. The fascist Ustashi regime set up in Croatia under the German military occupation was the chief organizer of this butchery, in which large numbers of Jews, Serbs, and Muslims were killed. The Serb monarchist forces, known as Chetniks, carried out massacres of Croats.

Workers and peasants of every nationality united to make the revolution, and in the following years succeeded in narrowing some of the extreme regional disparities in industrial development, agricultural productivity, and living standards that existed in the country. Their struggle to defeat the fascist forces, win land reform, and expropriate capitalist industry had a powerful momentum. But over time, the Stalinist misleaders eroded these gains at an accelerating pace, exacerbating social inequalities and regional disparities.

None of the actions of the warring factions anywhere in the former Yugoslavia are in the interests of working people there. Nor will imperialist intervention bring them any relief. The statements by working people of different national origins cited at the beginning of this preface

are representative of millions of workers, farmers, and youth there who recognize that their interests do not lie in the chauvinism of the gangsters who claim to be their "leaders," or in the efforts to slice up the lands where they live into ever-smaller "ethnic" partitions. And despite the "humanitarian" motives professed by Washington and other intervening imperialist powers, these capitalist regimes will bring nothing to working people in Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics except more deaths, destruction, denial of national sovereignty, and brutal economic exploitation.

The Russian revolution of October 1917 showed how working people of city and countryside, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of V. I. Lenin, could forge a new state that reached beyond the national divisions and oppression reinforced by landlords and by capitalism. Its example played a powerful role in inspiring the generations that made the Yugoslav revolution of the 1940s. That example remained despite Joseph Stalin's counterrevolutionary policies and murderous repression that drove working people out of politics from the late 1920s.

London, Paris object to U.S. war plan

Continued from front page

forces sign the Vance-Owen partition plan. The U.S. government's proposal to supply arms to the Bosnian government, parallel with air strikes, is aimed at avoiding the risk initially of U.S. troops having to engage in direct ground combat.

UN contingents

London and Paris, with military contingents under UN command in Bosnia, contend that air attacks and arming Bosnian government forces will prompt an all-out offensive by the heavily armed troops of the Serbian Democratic Party, including attacks against UN soldiers.

Faced with the objections from Paris and London, Washington has been considering its options, including exerting more direct pressure.

Clinton suggested that U.S. ground troops might be first sent to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. The United Nations already has 800 troops there. Macedonia has been the subject of threats both from Belgrade and from the government of neighboring Greece, but no actual fighting has occurred there yet.

Washington has also suggested, thus far without success, that Paris and London pull back their troops to safer areas during air strikes.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported May 13 that Pentagon officials are proposing to Clinton to go ahead with air strikes anyway and draw back from plans to provide weapons to Bosnian government troops.

Discussion also continues in ruling circles in the United States over the type of intervention that should be carried out.

"If European leaders are unwilling to follow Mr. Clinton's preferred lead," said a *New York Times* editorial May 12. "Washington dare not follow theirs." The *Times* editors suggested that "events may yet compel the United States to take unilateral action."

The *Wall Street Journal* editors, however, expressed reservations about immediate military action. "So far Clinton has done nothing," said a *Journal* editorial May 11, "which at this stage is probably just as well."

Despite hesitations among some in Congress, leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties offered their support for Clinton's war plan, stating that they believed a resolution from Congress would help rally support for the president's course. Republican senator Robert Dole said he supported Clinton's proposals but noted that calls to his office had run 262-2 against military action. Dole remarked, "We need a resolution. You have to prepare the American people... You need a fireside chat."

Today working people in the former Yugoslavia can look to South Africa where, under the leadership of the African National Congress, masses of ordinary working people are seeking to place their stamp on that society's future by fighting for a united and democratic South Africa, free of the narrow "ethnic" and racial divisions the rulers have imposed for so long.

The Cuban revolution provides an outstanding example of what working people, organized in defense of their interests as a class and in alliance with fellow working people internationally, can achieve. They expropriated the landlords and capitalists who exploited them and, despite military attack and economic embargo by Washington, set out to build socialism, transforming themselves and society at the same time.

It is along such lines of class struggle and internationalism that working people in Yugoslavia can defend their common class interests and reconquer what previous generations began to achieve with the revolution of the 1940s. In the process they can create a society based on human solidarity, in contrast to the rivalry, brutality, and bloody conflict that is the true product of the crisis

of the world capitalist market system.

The contents of this book first appeared in the socialist newsweekly the *Militant* between April and October, 1992. The article on page 53 was written in reply to an item in the August 12, 1992, *Guardian*, a New York-based weekly that ceased publication with that issue. Much of the material, including photographs, resulted from a trip to Yugoslavia by a team of *Militant* reporters in July 1992. They visited Belgrade, Kosovo, Zagreb, Split, Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, and Skopje, as well as several cities in Greece, speaking with workers, antiwar activists, and students.

A note on the authors. George Fyson is editor of the *Militant* and a long-time socialist journalist from New Zealand. Argiris Malapanis, managing editor of the *Militant*, led the paper's reporting team to Yugoslavia in July 1992. Jonathan Silberman is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union in Manchester, England. He is a contributing editor of the magazine *New Internationalist*.

Lee Hamilton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a critic of intervention, said that if an immediate vote were held, Congress would probably reject it. "But I also expect if the president asserts leadership—and he puts this in a national security context—that he would carry the day," he added, in an open suggestion to Clinton on how to drive the measure through.

House speaker Thomas Foley amplified the point. "There has been no instance in American history," he said, "where a president has gone to the Congress and asked for this authority [to use military force], stating that the national interest was involved, where it's not been given."

UN military observers entered the Bosnian town of Zepa May 9, to find only a few dozen people there. The predominantly Muslim town had been besieged by Serbian nationalist forces for almost a year. During this period Zepa's population of 6,000 had swelled to about 40,000 as thousands of refugees from surrounding villages and countryside fled attacks by Serbian rightist forces.

The UN observers found that almost every house in Zepa had been destroyed by shelling, much of which had occurred in the previous week. The thousands of residents and refugees had fled, seeking shelter in a nearby forest. Under the UN decision to declare Zepa a "safe area," any remaining Muslim combatants in the town would be disarmed, and the Serb nationalist forces, who agreed to this plan, would withdraw their artillery.

Zagreb-linked forces advance

Meanwhile, in the city of Mostar in southwestern Bosnia, forces linked to the government of Croatia pressed an attack on Bosnian government troops. The Croatian nationalists have declared Mostar to be the capital of a Croat-dominated republic of Herzegovina. A UN official accused the Croat-based forces of seeking to drive Muslims from their homes.

Under the Vance-Owen partition plan for Bosnia, control of the area around Mostar would fall to the Croatian nationalist forces. While Croats comprise about 16 percent of Bosnia's population, the Vance-Owen plan would allocate the Croatian nationalists about 30 percent of Bosnian

territory.

Earlier, on May 6, Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman threatened to widen attacks on Serbian Democratic Party forces in Croatia, whom he referred to as "Serb barbarians." Croatian government officials



Militant/Jay Ressler

made it clear this new aggressive approach was based on the belief that prospective U.S. military action in Bosnia would weaken the Serb rightist forces elsewhere.

Speaking at Yale University in New Haven as part of a U.S. tour, Kemal Kurspahic, editor-in-chief of the Sarajevo daily *Oslobodjenje* (Liberation), criticized the Vance-Owen plan as "containing elements of apartheid," in its carving up of territory as part of sorting people by ethnicity.

Kurspahic, who favors U.S. military action in Bosnia, stated "Contrary to all that is said about ancient hatreds, I insist that this is an obvious case of aggression against neighboring states to seize territory, organized by Belgrade." He described how the paper has had many of its reporters killed and its facilities shelled.

"I am a Muslim, our deputy editor is a Serb, as is our best columnist, who writes against Serbian fascism," said Kurspahic. "Still, Sarajevo keeps its multi-ethnic and multi-religious solidarity. Being shelled on a daily basis, this solidarity is even stronger. If peace were achieved today," he continued, "Serbs, Croats, and Muslims would be sharing cafe tables tonight, discussing the events."

Will Wilkin, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 609 in New Haven, Connecticut, contributed to this article.

Indiana miners fight to win first contract

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SULLIVAN, Indiana — When a *Militant* reporting team visited the Buck Creek mine here May 6, some of the strikers were sitting in an old horse trailer surrounded by union signs, listening to Pink Floyd on the radio, and playing with a stray dog they had adopted and named "UMWA Solidarity." These were young workers, many hired right out of high school when the mine opened in 1989.

On April 1, miners went on strike to force the company to negotiate a contract with the UMWA.

"They pressured us to work unsafe," Kerry, one of the strikers, explained. The mine lacks adequate ventilation and dangerous levels of methane gas are allowed to accumulate. "The guys who own this mine ran the Pyro mine in Kentucky when it exploded and killed 10 men. We don't want to be their next victims," he said.

Striker Terry Simmons explained that many had never worked underground before and hadn't realized how dangerous it was. "We'd have flash fires at the coal face and we'd just joke about it," he said. "Then a few experienced miners began explaining things to us and we got serious about organizing the union and a safety committee."

"Wages are below coal industry stand-

"Can we win? Of course we can," said striker Larry Simmons. "No one likes to be out of work without money. But it's worth it if you're fighting for something important. Workers have got to stick together."

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

Zeigler tries to keep UMWA out of W. Virginia, Kentucky mines

BY ELIZABETH LARISCY

LOVELY, Kentucky — Nonunion miners at Wolf Creek Collieries Co. struck the Zeigler-owned mine in Martin County, Kentucky, May 4 to protest company cuts of medical coverage for retirees and disabled workers. This attack comes in the midst of a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) union-organizing drive at this mine and the Marrowbone mine nearby in West Virginia, both owned by Zeigler Coal Co.

As of May 10, William "Bubbles" Chapman, who has worked in the mine for 17 years, reported that 98 percent of the 285 Wolf Creek miners are out.

Martin County, Kentucky, across the Tug River from Mingo County, West Virginia, is an impoverished area of Appalachia. Around 1968 the Huntley-Brinkley television news program closed every evening with an appeal to "remember the people of Martin County, Kentucky, who do not have a road for their children to get to school." The children had to hike to the Tug River and take a raft across to West Virginia where they could reach a road to school. The road, which was built with donations, is now the main artery to reach schools, stores, homes, and the mine.

According to UMWA District 17 board member Hawkeye Dixon, the active UMWA membership has reached a low of 500 in eastern Kentucky. But the union is very much alive for miners and their neighbors.

The Wolf Creek mine is one of several nonunion mines bought by Zeigler last year from Shell, which had bought them from the A.T. Massey Coal Co. Other Zeigler mines are organized by the UMWA and are among the ones targeted in the May 10 strike. Zeigler is now the fourth-largest coal company in the United States.

Zeigler started major benefit cuts soon after it bought the mine. The miners at the Marrowbone complex in Mingo County responded with a strike March 24 that lasted 10 days, until the company backed down



UMWA Buck Creek strikers and supporters in Indiana

Militant/Harvey McArthur

from firing the four miners who led it. In the midst of this strike 400 of the 435 hourly employees there signed for a union-recognition election, which will be held May 27.

The miners at Wolf Creek linked up with the Marrowbone miners and began their own union election card-signing campaign in the weeks before their current strike.

Both Wolf Creek and Marrowbone mine low-sulfur coal, which is sold to the Carolina Power and Georgia Power companies under 10-year contracts at higher-than-average market prices.

Zeigler has been running full-page ads in newspapers from the Tug Valley area to Charleston, West Virginia, urging Marrowbone miners to vote against the union. The company put up a neon sign that the miners see when entering work saying "Vote No. Don't give your money to the UMWA."

About 70 Wolf Creek miners met with UMWA representatives May 6 at the high school in Inez, Kentucky, to discuss the unionization campaign and the strike.

Miners at the meeting cheered the announcement that Zeigler superintendent Art Palm had been replaced. Palm was the point man for the benefit cuts and responsible for firing the four strikers.

Joe Stanley, a Marrowbone miner for 12 years and a central leader of the unionization drive, said, "We'd like to believe our children will be doctors, lawyers, journalists, but that's not going to happen — they'll be coal miners. And coal miners should not have to work in any dog hole, or low coal, or get black lung, and have an average life expectancy of 62." It's important to talk with every miner, to answer all the questions, and to work hard to win them to the union, he added.

Charles Meeks, a leader of the Wolf Creek miners, explained the importance of defending the retirees to strengthen solidarity.

UMWA organizer Bernard Evans announced he had 214 signed cards to file with the labor board in Charleston the next day to petition for a union-recognition election at Wolf Creek.

The following day about 150 Marrowbone miners met with UMWA representatives at the high school in Naugatuck, West Virginia, to discuss the challenges of the organizing drive.

UMWA International Executive Board member Howard Green spoke about the need for Virginia and Kentucky miners to join forces. "We need to look at Marrowbone and Wolf Creek as one," he said. "It takes solidarity to win."

William Chapman, speaking for the miners at Wolf Creek, thanked the Marrowbone miners for "opening some eyes across the river to the need for a union."

Joe Stanley described the challenges of organizing when some of the bosses are promising everything. "We can't promise anything," he stated. "All we can say is that we'll fight for a contract and that we'll have the right to vote on that contract. We have to continue to work hard for the next 20 days to win this election."

One of the most impressive parts of the prounion drive by the Marrowbone miners are the individual leaflets they are writing up and distributing to their coworkers.

For example, Elmer Spence, a prounion activist at Marrowbone, typed up a two-page leaflet where he wrote, "Do you think Zeigler, owner of Marrowbone, would have given the four fired men their jobs back, if not for the UMWA cards you signed? I certainly don't believe so, do you?"

The miners sign their names to leaflets like these and hand them out.

Elizabeth Lariscy is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 347 in Morgantown, West Virginia.



Wolf Creek striker Bill Crum with family members

ards," said UMWA District 11 president Bill Yockey, who was at the picket line that day. "Workers have no sick leave, seniority system, grievance procedure, or rights to bid on different jobs." The union drive really took off in 1990, he explained, after a miner was killed at work and the company tried to deny his widow the compensation she was due.

The UMWA won recognition, but the company only offered a contract that "would have left us without rights," Simmons said. It would prohibit strikes, the miners' most effective way of enforcing the contract and safety provisions, and eliminate the safety committee. Miners rejected it by a vote of 63 to 18.

"Money is not the issue," said Simmons, "though we are asking for a raise. The big thing is walk-around rights: allowing us to accompany federal safety inspectors to be sure dangerous conditions are reported and corrected."

Most Buck Creek miners are out, but 16 have crossed the picket lines and the company has hired several more strikebreakers since the walkout began.

Other UMWA miners in southern Indiana have organized caravans to the picket lines and to protests at the homes and offices of Buck Creek's owners. A group of strikers leafleted a major Buck Creek customer, the Central Illinois Power Co. plant in Newton, and workers there decided to stay off the job that day, Yockey said. UMWA locals and other unions have sent thousands of dollars in financial support. Retired miners, other union workers, and area residents also stop by the picket lines regularly.

Strikers' wives have organized a women's auxiliary that raises money through sales of union T-shirts, hats, and buttons. They also help with outreach, convincing area stores to put "We support the UMWA" signs in their windows. The auxiliary is organizing a dance "to raise morale and money," said Rexanna Cox, and plans to bring widows of the Pyro miners to Sullivan to scandalize Buck Creek and build support for the strike.

Coal miners strike to win contract

Continued from front page

"Nothing is moving at the bargaining tables. The companies failed to provide all the information on what coal lands they own. With all the profits they've earned off miners' labor, it's a real slap in the face," he said.

History of struggle at Arch mine

The Conant mine outside Pinckneyville is one of the newest underground mines in the country and workers say it has the lowest cost per ton of coal mined of any Arch mine. When Arch Minerals first opened it, they tried to keep the union out by opening the mine under a subsidiary's name. This enabled them to delay the 1988 BCOA/UMWA contract, which would have required that 60 percent of all those newly hired be UMWA members laid off from other Arch mines.

In the fall of 1990, hundreds of other UMWA members, especially from Arch mines, organized to block this attack on the union. Many were veterans of the fight for a contract at the Pittston mines in Virginia and they set up a Camp Solidarity directly across the road from the new mine, with a big kitchen and camping facilities, ready to invite workers from Illinois and around the country to help out. Several rallies of hundreds of miners and their

families dressed in camouflage were held in nearby Pinckneyville.

Arch finally agreed that if a majority of workers signed cards for the UMWA, the union would be recognized at the mine, and then agreed to hire 60 percent of the laid off Arch miners.

The UMWA was quickly established. No one is crossing the picket line at the mine today.

'We're organized to go into action'

In the week between the end of the contract extension on May 3 and the launching of the new strike May 10, miners continued their preparations for the next round of the battle with the coal bosses. The companies were not idle, either. In West Virginia, Eastern Associated Coal, a subsidiary of Peabody, announced the lay-off of 210 miners from four union-organized mines.

In Illinois, Peabody announced that 3.5 miles of a 12-mile conveyor belt had been cut and suggested that it was sabotage by the union. They called in the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms [of Waco, Texas, fame] to investigate, and bought newspaper ads offering \$100,000 for information. Jerry Cross, secretary-treasurer of

UMWA District 12, responded to the charges, saying, "We had no reason to do that. It would make no sense for miners to put themselves out of work with no benefits."

As the *Militant* goes to press, we have not heard of any attempts to bring in strikebreakers at the 10 mines on strike. The union has not announced whether other miners will be called out. And there are no reports of negotiations resuming.

But union members at other mines remain on alert. Picket shacks have been kept up outside the Peabody mines and new shacks have been prepared by workers at other mines. At many places, roadside meetings are organized before work, with the miners then driving in as part of a caravan. Many miners are wearing camouflage clothing and union support signs are being displayed in cars, houses, and stores.

Darlene Cochran, secretary of the UMWA Family Auxiliary for miners at the Peabody Baldwin, Marissa, and Pit 6 mines in Illinois, said, "We're organized to go into action, to set up the strike kitchen at a moment's notice, to do whatever's necessary to win this fight."

Deborah Lazar is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9014 in St. Louis.

Ontario government demands massive job and wage cuts from public sector workers

BY AL CAPPE
AND JOHN STEELE

TORONTO — The leaders of unions representing Ontario's 950,000 public sector workers have been given a deadline of June 4 to sign a so-called social contract with the Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP) government. This proposal contains unprecedented cuts in public services, wages, and jobs. The NDP is a social-democratic party linked to the organized labor movement.

Reflecting the anger of working people at the proposed cuts, leaders from a common front of 28 unions representing hospital workers, teachers, and provincial and municipal workers, rejected the centerpiece of Robert Rae's proposals on May 4. In April, 1,200 delegates from the convention of the 165,000-member Ontario Public Service Employees Alliance marched on the legislative buildings at Queen's park to denounce the government's course.

However, despite criticisms of Rae's proposals, union leaders are working on their own proposals for a "social contract" with the government to cut government costs. The proposals were presented to Premier Rae at a May 7 meeting.

"Maybe there really is a need for a social contract. But not the slash and burn the government has proposed," said Liz Barkley, president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.

In place of a \$2 billion annual wage cut for public sector workers, union leaders proposed that the Ontario government raise taxes by an additional \$2 billion over and above the \$2 billion annual tax hike Rae had already included in plans for the government's upcoming budget.

Union leaders have also suggested any agreement on service cuts should include some guarantees of "job security."

Drastic cuts

The massive cuts projected by the Ontario government include:

- A total of \$4 billion in additional spending cuts this year.
- A loss of up to 11,000 government jobs.
- Cuts of more than \$2 billion in health care, education, and other social services. These cuts will mean additional reductions in available hospital beds as well as other services. Some medical procedures previously covered under the Ontario Health Insurance Plan will be eliminated.
- Medical services will be restricted for 80,000 refugee claimants in Ontario. Two thousand new day-care spaces have been canceled for this year and another 2,000 delayed until 1995. Centers for the disabled will be shut.
- The government's free medication program for those over 65 years of age will be slashed by \$195 million forcing older workers to pay for many drugs now covered by the program.
- Housing subsidies to low-income workers will be slashed.
- The "social contract," which would tear up the present union contracts of government workers, will impose a three-year wage freeze, and force workers to accept a 5 percent wage cut by taking one unpaid day off each month.

The government is dismantling social services won through struggles of working people over decades, using the excuse that it has to get a projected \$17 billion deficit under control.

Rae claims that the government's fiscal problems are due to the recession, the Canada-U.S. free-trade accord, and cuts in transfer payments to the provinces by the federal government. He argues that controlling the deficit will promote an economic recovery and create jobs by encouraging investment.

"The public sector has been quite insulated from the worst of the recession," stated Rae in an effort to play government workers off against workers in the private sector. In the past decade bosses in the manufacturing sector have chopped almost a third of manufacturing jobs.

The government has threatened to lay off even more workers — up to 40,000 — if the public sector unions don't accept its "social contract."

In Ottawa, federal government officials



Workers in Winnipeg protest cuts in public services, wages, and jobs.

backed the Ontario government's austerity drive.

"I guess the Ontario government is finally coming to the realization that they have to make tough decisions," said federal finance minister Don Mazankowski of the Conservative Party.

On April 26, following the lead of the Ontario government, Mazankowski presented a new federal budget, which includes chopping 16,500 workers off its payroll over the next five years.

It has demanded the negotiation of a new job security clause with 231,000 federal government workers in June. In 1991, members of the 170,000-member Public Service

Alliance of Canada were ordered by Parliament back to work following their first-ever national strike. The strike, which ended with a pay freeze coupled with job security contract language, lasted 25 days.

The Ontario NDP government's austerity drive has led to public rifts in the federal NDP. Steven Langdon, the NDP's finance critic in the federal Parliament, was ousted from his post by the NDP parliamentary caucus for sharply criticizing the Rae government's policies. Robert White, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, the biggest labor body in the country, publicly backed up Langdon.

White spoke on May 5 at a meeting of

May 15 labor demonstration in Canada will advance the interests of all working people

The following statement was issued May 11 by Steve Penner and Michel Dubé on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist League in Canada.

The May 15 Canadian Labour Congress demonstration in Ottawa is an important opportunity for thousands of working people to join together with those who are today on the front lines of the fight against sweeping government cutbacks and unemployment exceeding 11 percent. Strikes,

Statement of the Communist League

marches, and rallies have taken place in opposition to government attacks from Ontario and British Columbia (B.C.) to Quebec and Newfoundland.

It is also an opportunity to build support for gold miners in Yellowknife who have been on strike for almost one year, U.S. coal miners who walked off the job May 10, and metalworkers in eastern Germany out on their first strike in some 60 years against the bosses demands that they give up promised wage increases.

The May 15 action takes place as Washington, Ottawa, and other imperialist powers are on the verge of military intervention in Yugoslavia. This underlines the need for a discussion in the labor movement on the interconnection between the capitalist rulers' drive toward war and attacks on workers' wages, social services, and democratic rights.

War drive defends interests of ruling rich

Faced with the first international depression since the 1930s the ruling rich claim that "we" need to tighten our belts in order to bring the government deficit under control and allow capitalist corporations to become more profitable. They also claim that "we" need to send Canadian troops to Yugoslavia and Somalia in order to prevent slaughter and famine.

But there is no "we." Working people share no common interests of any kind with the

billionaire families who own the factories, mines, mills, and banks and exploit our labor.

The military intervention by Washington, Paris, London, Ottawa, and other imperialist powers in Yugoslavia and Somalia is not aimed at defending humanitarian interests or "peacekeeping" as they claim. It is part of the capitalists' drive to solve the crisis of their system on the backs of working people in order to gain advantage over one another in a world of sharpening competition and trade wars.

If Ottawa had the slightest concern for working people in Yugoslavia and Somalia it would have opened Canada's borders to more than a trickle of refugees. And it would not be covering up the murder and beatings of unarmed Somali civilians by so-called Canadian "peacekeeping" troops.

The momentum towards stepped-up military intervention in Yugoslavia is linked to the rulers' offensive against working people at home.

Under the new unemployment insurance legislation, tens of thousands of workers will be cut off from UIC and forced to accept the first job they're offered. By intensifying competition among working people for scarce jobs, the bosses and their governments aim to drive down the wages and living standards of all workers. At the same time they seek to weaken the unions, the main organized force capable of resisting these attacks.

Government proposals for a "social contract" in Ontario and British Columbia aim to convince unionists to voluntarily agree to cutbacks in services, jobs, and wages. Those workers who are in the forefront of resisting these demands have learned from the two-decades-long austerity drive that concessions only weaken the unions and do nothing to save jobs.

At the center of the rulers' union-busting efforts is their attempt to frame-up the striking miners at the Giant Gold Mine in Yellowknife for last September's explosion in which nine replacement workers were killed. To this day they've never produced a shred of evidence linking the miners to the explosion.

600 Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) union delegates attending the 1993 CAW Collective Bargaining and Political Action Convention in Toronto. He called on the Ontario NDP government to reach negotiated settlements with public sector workers similar to restructuring agreements reached with workers in the private sector that include early retirement packages.

"I've not fought my entire political life to see the political success we have achieved in this province thrown away because we didn't have the guts and the fortitude to say there is a limit to how much we can spend," Rae told the convention.

Rae made "one hell of a case" for deficit reduction, said CAW President Buzz Hargrove, who had criticized Rae's call for public sector wage reductions.

Public employees across the country are facing similar demands for concessions and job losses in the name of deficit control.

In Newfoundland, the Liberal government headed by Premier Clyde Wells, won a May 3 election victory campaigning for drastic cuts in the public service.

In British Columbia, unions representing 55,000 health-care workers recently accepted a "social contract" with the NDP government there, which included the loss of 4,800 jobs in health-care services over three years. However, despite the concessions accepted by the unions, a majority of British Columbia's 150 health-care boards of directors, responsible for 198 facilities, have just voted to reject endorsing the deal.

Al Cappe is a member of Lodge 235 of the International Association of Machinists. John Steele is a laid-off textile worker.

The solidarity and unity among working people needed to push back the capitalists' attacks have to be international in scope. The anti-"free trade" campaign of the trade union and New Democratic Party (NDP) officials is an obstacle to building such solidarity. It pits workers in Canada, Mexico, the United States, and elsewhere against one another, lining us up behind demands of the bosses for protectionist tariffs against goods from other countries.

Instead, working people need to unite internationally in a common struggle against the rulers' attacks. The labor movement should fight for jobs for all through demanding a shorter work week at no loss in pay; unemployment insurance at union rates for all the unemployed; and affirmative action to fight all forms of discrimination whether on the basis of sex, skin color, language, or country of origin.

Working people should solidarize with our sisters and brothers in the former Yugoslavia — who are resisting "ethnic cleansing" — by standing up against the threatened military intervention. Working people should demand the withdrawal of all Canadian and other foreign troops from Yugoslavia and Somalia, and an end to the devastating embargo of Serbia and Montenegro. In addition, the labor movement should demand that Canada's borders be opened to refugees from Yugoslavia and Somalia.

It is fights like that of miners in Yellowknife and the U.S.; teachers, health care and other government workers fighting cutbacks across Canada; and metalworkers in eastern Germany that point the way forward. So too the mobilizations of working people in South Africa to advance their fight for a democratic republic and the resolve of the Cuban working class to defend the socialist revolution through collective efforts underline the importance of relying on our strength to stand up to the austerity demands of the capitalist rulers.

The May 15 Ottawa action against cutbacks and unemployment is an important step in that direction.

Strikes in Germany

Continued from front page
throughout Germany participated in warning strikes and solidarity demonstrations. In Wolfsburg alone, at the headquarters of Volkswagen AG, 25,000 workers demonstrated at VW's administration building.

"In 1928, we suffered the same conditions as now," said Manfred Foede, a leader of the IG Metall union. "Mass unemployment, a trend toward right-wing radicalism, and broken union contracts. The unions did not protect themselves enough then and we all know what happened. This time, we will protect ourselves."

The 3,500 workers organized by IG Metall at Eko Stahl in this town near the Polish border joined the strike May 5, the third day of the strike. This huge steel plant was built in the 1950s, and Eisenhüttenstadt grew up around it. At the time of the collapse of the Stalinist East German regime, Eko employed approximately 12,000 people. Like 14 of the other 17 steel mills in eastern Germany, Eko is in the hands of the Treuhand, the government agency responsible for modernizing and privatizing German industry in the region. As in the case of most plants, the Treuhand has failed to modernize Eko, where production has dropped proportionately with layoffs.

'This is our mill'

The spirit among the workers was one of determination May 6 when a *Militant* reporting team visited the picket line. "This is our steel mill," emphasized one worker, who explained that workers had come from throughout East Germany to build the mill and the town forty years ago. Another worker added that they were prepared for a long strike. "We can only win this fight if the unions east and west unite," he explained. The Eko local organized a demonstration in April of 6,000, and also sent a delegation to a large demonstration of steelworkers that was held in Bonn on March 26.

Wages at Eko are 52 percent of the level of west German wages, although prices have now reached the level of prices in western Germany. Workers stressed that the issue of wage equalization is their central demand.

Workers on the picket line at Hydraulik AG in Schwerin related experiences similar to those at Eko. The *Militant* reporting team visited the picket line in the northern German city May 7. Hydraulik, which produces hydraulic equipment for ships, employed some 2,000 workers in 1989, but now has only 250 full-time employees.

The Treuhand recently appointed a new manager, whose principal task is to reduce the workforce to 140. The company claims they will then modernize the plant, but most workers on the picket line were skeptical. "Maybe this strike is the solution, if it isn't dragged out too long and the Treuhand simply shuts the place down," remarked one worker. Although Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) won local elections here shortly after the demise of the Stalinist regime, several workers told the *Militant* that they had now become disillusioned with the politicians in Bonn. "They all lie," said one worker. Another explained that he was glad that they had gotten rid of the Socialist Unity Party government in 1989, but that "the capitalists also have to go."

Employers consider lockouts

The employers refuse to budge. Dieter Kirchner, head of the metal and engineering employers' association, Gesamtmetall, stated May 9 that the timetable previously agreed on for income parity between the two parts of Germany must be discarded altogether. A few days earlier, Kirchner said that the employers were considering locking out workers at some plants, which Gesamtmetall had earlier promised not to do, drawing strong condemnation from IG Metall president Franz Steinkühler.

Horst Wagner, IG Metall coordinator for the Berlin-Brandenburg area, commented that "the situation is very explosive. There is very little room for compromise."

Carl-Eric Isacsson, Aggy Partagg, and Dag Tirsén contributed to this article.

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.

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

CONNECTICUT

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U.S. Hands Off Yugoslavia! Speaker: Argiris Malapanis, visited Yugoslavia in 1992, author of upcoming Pathfinder book, "The Truth About Yugoslavia." Sat., May 22, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St. (between Chapel and Elm). Donation: \$3. Tel: (203) 772-3375

MICHIGAN

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Join the Socialist Alternative! Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally. Speakers: James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for president in 1992; John Sarge, Socialist Workers candidate for city council, member, United Auto Workers. Sat., May 22. Reception: 5 p.m., program: 7 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$5 for reception dinner, \$4 for program. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

Tokyo will send troops to Mozambique

BY ROBERT MILLER

In another move aimed at expanding Tokyo's ability to use its armed forces abroad, the Japanese government has decided to send troops to Mozambique. Fifty-three officers and soldiers from the Japanese Self Defense Forces (SDF) will go to Mozambique this month as part of a United Nations "peacekeeping" force that will total 7,500.

Currently, a 700-member SDF engineering battalion is operating in Cambodia, preceding elections to be held there May 23-27. A Japanese soldier has already been killed in Cambodia.

The new deployment is being sent to the Mozambican capital Maputo, and to Matora and Beira. The soldiers will take over traffic control duties at ports, airports, and other transport facilities for six months.

An SDF officer who recently returned from a Defense Agency fact-finding mission, told the *Japan Times*, "Some basic conditions in Mozambique are as bad as those in Cambodia. But Cambodia is part of Asia, as we can still feel attached to people there. Africa, however, is the most alien place on Earth for Japanese."

On April 26, Sadao Yamahana, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Japan's largest



Japanese troops leaving for Cambodia. Tokyo is taking more steps to use its armed forces abroad.

opposition party, said he is willing to recognize the SDF as constitutional if they are organized along defensive, not offensive lines. He did not elaborate on what he con-

Tel: (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Cuba Today: The Challenges Facing Working People. Speaker: Francisco Picado. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Malcolm X: Revolutionary Internationalist. A panel of speakers. Sat., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 547-7557.
Clinton's Holocaust in Waco, Texas. Speaker: Richard Hazboun, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 29, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

CANADA

Montreal

Coal Miners Strike: Eyewitness Report from the U.S. Coal Fields. Sat., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

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.

siders offensive or defensive military power.

Article 9 of the Japanese constitution, imposed on Tokyo by the victors in World War II, renounces the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes and stipulates that "land, sea and air forces, as well as other potential war forces, shall never be maintained."

Yamahana, in what he called the "creative views of the constitution," said the 240,000-member SDF is constitutional.

Many working people in Japan, however, remain strongly opposed to military intervention abroad. On April 28, the 8-million-strong Japanese Trade Union Confederation (Rengo) released a survey of its members on the constitutionality of the SDF. Of those polled, 45.3 percent believed the SDF constitutional, while 43.8 percent said the existence of the force violates the constitution.

The Rengo leaders said they were disappointed with the results, since they hoped to see two out of three supporting the SDF. Earlier Akira Yamagishi, the head of the union federation, had said the Rengo would endorse the SDF, arguing that the country's postwar constitution provides the state with the right to defend itself.

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SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

You'll find it in the humor section — Rich Vos, cofounder of Amway, the door-to-door folks, has written a book called, *Compassionate Capitalism*. An ad says it offers



Harry Ring

an "inspiring and enlightening guide to achieving success the compassionate way."

Compassionate capitalism — A study found that one of every eight U.S. children go hungry at

some point each month.

"I gave at work" — The Queen of England will open Buckingham Palace to visitors at \$12.50 a head. Proceeds will help restore the recently fire-damaged Windsor Castle. An initial proposal that taxpayers foot the \$56 million restoration bill evoked a big grumble. An appeal was then made for public contributions to the rebuilding fund. These have totaled about \$39,000. One expert sniffed that the amount wouldn't pay for the curtains.

Future outpaces past? — The reader who sent the item about the royal fire repair fund notes that the

\$39,000 raised so far is a tad more than half the \$75,000 goal in the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund.

P&G taking a bath? — In 18 months of peddling its soap products in Russia, Procter & Gamble has yet to make a dime, and it doesn't hope to for at least two more years. It's not for lack of trying. P&G hikes its prices as often as once a week, assertedly to compensate for the steady, rapid decline in the value of the ruble.

Stealing's for big fish — In addition to coping with Russia's inflation and low wages, P&G says its sales efforts are hurt by price-gouging retailers. It has Russian

staffers out counseling merchants that they'll make more by keeping prices lower.

The bars sparkle — The shutdown of Kincheloe Air Force Base in northern Michigan brought economic havoc to the area. But there's been a successful reconversion. The deserted base is now the site of four maximum security prisons and a work camp. A satisfied local official commented, "It's a nice clean industry."

No poop scoop? — A wealth of souvenirs have been licensed for sale during the pope's upcoming visit to Denver. There will be pope mugs, T-shirts, blankets, socks, fanny packs, sunscreen, and peri-

scopes called "Pope Scopes."

Cheap pigout — "Take charge of your own company Steer your business through recession, inflation, boom, war, and audits Negotiate with striking employees. Borrow big to bankroll your growth." For real? Well, almost. Send \$35.95 for the computer software game, "Capitalist Pig."

It's a market principle, stupid — The Clinton administration proposal to send \$100 million in grain and other goods to Russia stipulates the use of ships flying the U.S. flag. With that, shipping rates skyrocketed. The Agriculture secretary complained that "the timing is very suspicious."

Duluth abortion clinic staff resists rightist attacks

BY JON HILLSON

DULUTH, Minnesota — The women come from southern Ontario's Thunder Bay, the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, northern Wisconsin, and Minnesota's Iron Range. They are seeking abortions.

These women have one place to go, the Women's Health Center in Duluth, the only abortion facility in Minnesota outside of Minneapolis and St. Paul, 150 miles south of here. This medical procedure is unavailable in 83 percent of rural counties in the United States.

Some women travel as long as nine hours by car for an appointment. Many have children, and most are in their 30s.

The Duluth clinic is under a mounting attack from antiabortion rightists, who have picketed, protested, and periodically invaded the facility since it opened in 1981. The campaign of intimidation and harassment sharply escalated in November of last year.

In response, the facility's staff has organized regular clinic defense with escorts for the first time.

Up to 25 rightists, whose leaders, based in neighboring Wisconsin, bill themselves as "self-employed Christian missionaries" began to appear regularly at the doorstep of the clinic.

They have since trailed patients to and from the clinic, verbally and sometimes physically accosting them on their way in and out, on the street, and at bus stops.

In one case, right-wingers identified a young patient from a yearbook photo from a small, nearby town and called her parents after the abortion took place. Her father severed all relations with the young woman. The financial blow forced her to leave a local university.

In December 1992, abortion foes began a campaign of personal intimidation aimed at clinic founder and director, Tina Welsh.

On one occasion, Welsh, who is slightly under five feet tall and weighs 100 pounds, was threatened by a six-foot, 200-pound leader of the antiabortion thugs in a public parking lot.

Defending himself recently in Duluth municipal court, where Welsh is seeking an in-

junction against harassment at her home, the rightist bully testified that his threat against the clinic director was "a sharing of scripture about the afterlife." He also denied the clinic picketers were part of "an organized group."

The walls of the Women's Health Center are covered with pictures and news coverage of marches in Washington in defense of abortion rights. Most of the clinic staff have been with the center since its inception.

The clinic had been raided by the Lambs of Christ, Welsh said, when it was housed in a different building. There, antiabortion graffiti was splashed on inside walls and toilets were stuffed with excrement and exploded when flushed.

"The police told us they had been let in the building from the inside," Welsh said.

Harassment of clinic doctors, common for years, has also recently intensified, Welsh said. The murder of Dr. David Gunn earlier this year at a Pensacola, Florida, abortion clinic by an antiabortion right-winger, make the implications of such harassment "extremely serious," she noted.

In the wake of illegal acts, Welsh continued, "the [Duluth] police have never arrested anyone."

The longtime former police chief told her personally "if he wasn't in uniform, he'd be out there with the [antiabortion] protesters," Welsh said.

The major media of Duluth has sided with foes of abortion rights.

The attacks led to the cancellation of the clinic's lease and its move to the present location. There, the current lease expires December 31 of this year, and the landlord has in-



Activists defend another Minnesota clinic at Robbinsdale April 24

formed the clinic it will not be renewed.

Widespread publicity of the campaign against the clinic has not deterred patients. Few cancel their appointments, staff member Elizabeth Franz told the *Militant*.

One of Welsh's chief tasks now is to find

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

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The Peruvian Committee to Defend the Rights of Man has been seeking to mobilize support for Ricardo Gadea, an imprisoned leader of one of the [guerrilla] movements, as well as a number of others. The committee is also aiding Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist leader who was sentenced to 25 years in prison for his activity in organizing peasants of the Cuzco region. Gadea and seven others have been in prison without trial for two years.

Gadea is associated with the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which carried on guerrilla struggle under the command of Luis de la Puente who was killed in combat.

In June of 1965 the MIR struck its first blow by attacking the hacienda of a big landlord in the central region. The guerrilla fighters say they had won a significant degree of support from the people in the central area and in the north as well. Because of this, they were able to carry through several effective military actions.

But the government immediately moved into action against the guerrillas on a massive scale. In doing so it had the active support of the United States. To buttress its military offensive, the government decreed the death penalty on July 9, 1965, for anyone aiding guerrillas. A sweeping "anticommunist" law was also enacted, and there were mass arrests. The wives of the guerrilla leaders were imprisoned for eight months. The jails were filled with thousands of people associated with the left-wing parties and the student, labor and peasant movements.

A most pressing immediate problem for Peruvian revolutionaries is defense of Ricardo Gadea, Hector Bejar, Hugo Blanco and the other political prisoners. Two things

are strongly urged. First is that everyone follow the example of the distinguished international group of intellectuals at the Cultural Congress of Havana who demand of Peruvian President Belaunde Terry that the political prisoners be freed. Second, that financial contributions be sent to Peru at once to aid the defense of the prisoners and help provide assistance for their families.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
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May 22, 1943

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party conducted a second protest demonstration against Warner Brothers' whitewash film "Mission to Moscow" last Sunday night. The purpose of the demonstration was not to prevent people from entering the theater but to call attention to the lies in the motion picture and to the truth about the Moscow frameups.

Thousands of copies of *The Truth About "Mission to Moscow"* and the *Moscow Trials*, a four-page tabloid, were distributed. In this exposure of the lies and slanders contained in the film, the latter is branded as a "100% Stalinist lie" produced with "unofficial" government blessing.

The demonstrators carried placards calling for the defense of the Soviet Union and denouncing "Mission to Moscow" as a whitewash of Stalin's crimes against labor. The demonstration attracted the attention and interest of thousands of theatergoers and passersby. So great was the interest of the crowd that gathered to read the placards, that the theater management attempted to "dim-out" their effectiveness by extinguishing the marquee lights.

Stalinist plug-uglies milled about the theater obviously seeking for a pretext to break up the action. They were prevented from using their customary hooligan methods by the disciplined and firm conduct of the distributors and placard bearers.

Racists deface books in California

BY RICH STUART

Hundreds and possibly thousands of books in bookstores and libraries in southern California have been defaced in recent months with stickers pasted in the books that read "Earth's Most Endangered Species: The White Race. Help Preserve It."

The stickers also contain the phone number for a racist message that encourages callers to write for literature on a group calling itself the White Aryan Resistance.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, store employees have discovered hundreds of vandalized books in Vroman's bookstores in Pasadena and Santa Anita, as well as numerous area stores in the Waldenbooks, B. Dalton Booksellers, and Crown Books, bookstore chains.

The *Times* reports that more than 200 books have been found to be defaced in the Pasadena Vroman's store alone. The Glendale Galleria Waldenbooks store has found sixty stickered books so far.

Publisher's Weekly magazine reports in its April 26 issue that the Midnight Special

Bookstore in Santa Monica, California, has been the target of more than 30 threatening phone calls from members of a right-wing organization called the Cuban Liberation Group.

The Midnight Special Bookstore is sponsoring a month-long exhibit of revolutionary poster art from Cuba. Bookstore owner Margie Ghiz told *Publisher's Weekly*, "When they call us they say, 'We know where you live and where you park your car.'"

The owner of the Blue Door Bookstore in San Diego told *Publisher's Weekly* that over the last few months he has regularly found antigay flyers in books in his store.

Barry Fatland of the Los Angeles Pathfinder bookstore said in an interview that there have been no recent incidents of right-wing harassment at the store.

"A broad, public condemnation of these attacks is in order," Fatland said. "We call on all supporters of democratic rights to condemn this and to call on the police to take seriously the threats by these hate groups."

No to intervention in Yugoslavia

Washington's envoy Warren Christopher got nowhere trying to convince the governments of Britain and France to get on board the White House plan for military intervention in Bosnia with U.S. forces at the helm. London and Paris refused to endorse the U.S. proposal for air attacks on the artillery of the Serbian rightists, and, on infrastructure in Bosnia; they were even more hostile to Washington's plan to supply arms to the Bosnia government.

Washington, however, continues on its course toward direct military intervention to prevent its imperialist rivals in Europe from getting a firmer foothold in the former Yugoslavia. "Events may yet compel the United States to take unilateral action," noted a *New York Times* editorial May 12. Pentagon officials are suggesting Clinton should go ahead with air strikes anyway. And Clinton announced Washington may send U.S. troops to Macedonia as a first step.

The French government, which has 5,000 of its troops in Bosnia, objected most strongly to Clinton's proposal for a U.S.-led "peacekeeping" force under the badge of NATO — a command structure in which France does not participate. Paris also dealt Washington a diplomatic blow when the European Community foreign ministers, in rejecting the Clinton war plan, endorsed France's call for U.S. troops to come in behind French and British forces under the UN flag.

The disagreements are another manifestation of the accelerating disorder of world capitalism. The "allies" are in fact deeply divided rivals, engaged in fierce competition and trade wars in a depression-ridden world. All of them, but especially Washington with its qualitatively greater military might, seek to wield their military power in the world to enhance their economic weight.

Support coal miners fight

Round two of the 1993 coal miners fight for a contract has begun. It is shaping up as the most important labor battle in this country for some time. It deserves and needs the support of other union members, farmers, young people, and retired workers. We all have a stake in its outcome.

The labor movement in the United States and around the world must throw its full weight behind the miners battle against the coal bosses.

This strike has tremendous international implications. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) go into battle against the coal bosses as the government that represents those bosses prepares to go to war in the former Yugoslavia.

The miners come onto the battlefield today at the same time metal workers and electrical workers in eastern Germany are on strike — the first time workers there have been able to stand up and fight in their own interests in 60 years.

Why are the miners on strike?

They're fighting for jobs and to extend the pay, benefits, and safety standards they've won to more workers in the coal industry.

The miners are showing again that the powerful weapons of the workers' struggle — solidarity and strikes — are not outdated and ineffective as almost all "experts," politicians, employers, and even some labor union officials claim.

The disciplined strike by the miners in February pushed the companies back and forced them to release some of the information the union needs to negotiate a new contract. Now another stronger push is necessary.

The UMWA fight inspires other workers. Nonunion miners at Marrowbone in West Virginia and Wolf Creek in

The U.S.-led war against Iraq in 1990-91 exacerbated the already simmering inter-imperialist conflicts. Since that war, both Tokyo and Bonn have taken steps to deploy military forces beyond their borders. Economic clashes, such as the trade war Washington waged against European Community members over oilseed production in late 1992, have sharpened. Never again will Washington be able to assemble a coalition of the breadth that it led against Saddam Hussein.

Capitalism's decline means not only wars like the ones in Iraq and Yugoslavia, but intensifying economic and political — and ultimately military — rivalry between the imperialist powers of the world.

Working people the world over have every interest in resisting imperialist intervention in the former Yugoslavia. From the bombing of Iraq to the invasion of Panama, it has been the toilers in those countries who have borne the brunt of these assaults. In every one of these interventions, the democratic rights and living standards of working people at home come under threat from the bosses and their government, under the banner of backing the "war effort."

Imperialism will only be stopped in its drive toward another world conflagration by a conscious and organized struggle by the working class — the only class that can lead a fight to take political power out of the hands of the billionaire families who own the factories, mills, banks, and land, and to disarm the warmakers. Speaking out against the imperialist intervention in the former Yugoslavia, and clarifying the issues at stake, are necessary steps toward that understanding and organization.

The labor movement should demand: No troops or warplanes to Yugoslavia! End the economic embargo now!

Kentucky have carried out their own strikes and signed up to join the UMWA. On typewriters and home computers, some of them write, sign their names to, and distribute their own leaflets to help convince their coworkers to vote for the union.

"We're just hillbilly scabs" some of the nonunion Wolf Creek miners in eastern Kentucky say with a smile as they put on UMWA hats, set up picket lines and sign union cards. The company they're up against, Zeigler, has union mines in Illinois and Indiana that are targets of the selective Bituminous Coal Operators Association strike that began May 10.

Young miners, some recently out of high school, voted in the UMWA at the Buck Creek mine in Indiana two years ago and are now in the seventh week of their strike to get a contract.

The miners fight is a social cause. Drive into one of the small towns in the coal fields where there are striking miners, like Boonville or Sullivan, Indiana. UMWA support signs are everywhere — on houses, businesses, cars, and trucks. The impact of the miners far exceeds their numbers.

What can working people do?

Help get out the *Militant* — the only publication covering the miners fight week after week, giving the miners side of the story, and promoting solidarity.

Contact the UMWA and invite striking miners and union representatives to speak to other unions, schools, and community groups.

Organize delegations to visit the strikers and join the picket lines. Show that they are not alone.

German workers show way

The 37,000 metalworkers currently on strike in eastern Germany are showing the way forward for working people throughout Eastern Europe and around the world.

The members of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, are striking to demand that the employers in the steel, metal, and engineering industries abide by a 1991 agreement that would have brought the wages of workers in eastern Germany up to the level of those in the west by 1994. Eastern German workers currently earn only 70 percent of western German wages. But much more than immediate wage demands are behind these massive protests.

The strike unfolding in eastern Germany today is primarily a political strike aimed at the German government. It is a response to the German capitalists' attempt to impose their system on workers in eastern Germany. And it is a graphic demonstration of how the attempted reunification of Germany has turned out to be a nightmare for the billionaire families that rule Europe's strongest imperialist country.

In spite of initial predictions that the unification of Germany would be a gigantic boon for German capitalism, Bonn has been unable to absorb the workers' state in the east. In fact, the attempt to do so — because they have chosen to try to avoid provoking a social explosion by using vast subsidies to sustain the growing numbers of unemployed and underemployed workers — has become

a tremendous financial burden, to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars. In addition, the German economy is in a recession, exacerbated by the current world depression.

In an attempt to maintain their profits and emerge from this crisis, the German rulers are driven to crush the working class and drive down its standard of living. But they have been unable to do this. In fact, the strikes and protests in Germany today show that the opposite is happening.

Workers in both parts of Germany are becoming more and more dubious that they have anything to gain from acceptance of government and employer austerity programs. Rather, the great event that the capitalists who led German reunification did not foresee, is happening: the crisis is driving workers from east and west together, to fight as a single class for its common interests. As one worker said on the picketline at the Eko Stahl steel mill in Eisenhüttenstadt, Germany, "We can only win this fight if the unions east and west unite."

The mobilizations in Germany are a beacon for workers and farmers around the world, from Yugoslavia to the United States. They show that it is possible for the toilers to stand together and fight to defend our interests as the capitalist rulers, and those who aspire to be capitalists, try to impose their austerity plans, exploitation, and wars on all of us.

Was the right to bear arms at stake in Waco massacre?

A number of readers have written to the *Militant* discussing the recent government-ordered massacre in Waco, Texas. In one of the letters printed on the facing page, Steve Marshall raises some important questions about the Second Amendment and the "right to bear arms." There are a couple of aspects of this issue that are worth taking up.

The issue in the FBI's murderous assault on the Branch Davidian's housing complex in Waco is neither whether or not the group was stockpiling weapons nor whether those weapons were legal. As Marshall points out, this was merely the pretext used by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) to justify their initial raid on the religious sect.

The cops used weapons charges to portray their victims as violent criminals who needed to be disarmed. By doing so, the government hoped to gain acceptance for the abuse of various democratic rights, including due process, freedom of association, and freedom from unreasonable search and seizure.

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Some commentators used the events in Waco as an opportunity to push for more gun control laws. If the Branch Davidians had not been able to purchase weapons, they claim, the fire that took dozens of lives would never have happened. This turns reality on its head — it was the ATF's guns that started the siege in February and the FBI's tanks that carried out the final massacre six weeks later. Those were the weapons that needed to be controlled!

In contrast, as our reader points out, many right-wingers vocally defend the "right to bear arms." One argument you often hear goes, "If you outlaw guns, only the outlaws will have guns." The logic of this type of statement is vigilantism against so-called criminal elements — often with a racist and anti-immigrant character.

This debate, which counterposes gun control and the right to bear arms in the context of a "war on crime," is a trap for working people. Neither the antiweapons laws advocated by many liberals nor vigilantism under the guise of protecting democratic rights have anything to do with stopping crime. Both are often used to attack workers' rights. And both leave the biggest, most violent criminal elements — the imperialist rulers, their armies, and their police forces — armed to the teeth and ready to carry out at will murderous assaults like that at Waco and the slaughter in Iraq two years ago.

The question of who has weapons, how they are used, and for what purpose cannot be separated from struggles between different social classes with conflicting interests. The democratic and constitutional rights Marshall refers to — due process, equal protection under the law, free association, freedom of religion, and freedom from unreasonable search and seizure — must be unconditional. But there is no abstract or absolute "right to bear arms." Working people need to take an independent approach to the question of guns and self-defense, based on our class interests.

The actual wording of the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which Marshall refers to, reads, "A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed." This article has its origins in the struggle by the revolutionaries who fought for American independence from Britain to ensure democratic rights in the new state. The first ten amendments to the constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, codified the gains of this struggle.

The call for "a well regulated militia" was one of the democratic demands. Building a popular militia to defend the revolutionary power against the forces of colonialism and monarchy was counterposed to organizing a highly centralized and bureaucratized standing army. That's where the statement that the people have the right "to keep and bear arms" came from historically. The constitutional amendment was an important conquest in the context of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of that epoch.

The working class today often faces the challenge of having to physically defend itself from anti-labor, racist, and fascist forces, especially in times of deep economic and social crisis and class polarization.

During the big union struggles of the 1930s, the labor movement in the United States often ran up against fascist gangs and company-hired gun thugs. Socialists at the time called for organizing workers' guards or militias for self-defense on the picket line and at union meetings and other activities. In the cases where such guards were actually formed, they proved effective in resisting attacks by the bosses' henchmen.

Another example of working people organizing in self-defense was the fight by Blacks in Monroe, North Carolina, to defend themselves from violent attacks by the Ku Klux Klan in the late 1950s and early '60s. The NAACP chapter in Monroe began to organize the Black community to respond, with guns when necessary, to repeated assaults by the Klan. The government's response to these efforts was to frame up and victimize leading activists in the Monroe NAACP.

Self-defense along these lines can't be carried out simply by individual workers owning guns — it takes a collective, disciplined effort. This is very different from what the right wing calls the "right to bear arms." — NAOMI CRAINE

Timex strikers in Scotland call solidarity rally

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 as a way for other fighting workers around the world to learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in

a 10 percent cut in pension benefits, the savings plan, and a canteen subsidy.

After May 17 Timex management is allowed under British law to selectively rehire workers. At present 130 scabs are based in each day.

At a mass rally of 7,000 April 12, Roy Leslie, vice-convenor of the Timex joint shop stewards

contract that included wage increases averaging 34 percent over three years.

The settlement marked a victory for the flight attendants and a defeat for company owner Robert Obadia's attempt to break their union through the use of scabs.

Early in their fight the flight attendants, members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, organized a widely publicized boycott of Nationair. They demonstrated in front of travel agencies and government offices; set up information tables at airports, colleges, and shopping centers; and picketed flights, patiently explaining the stakes in their battle to Nationair passengers.

"To get things moving during our fight, we had to take action," explained Robert Ledoux, a Nationair flight attendant. "We got a good contract because we were able to maintain our solidarity for 15 months."

On April 1 the Canadian government suspended Nationair's license to fly when the cash-strapped carrier was unable to pay its public liability insurance. With no planes flying, Nationair succeeded April 21 in winning a court order giving it an extra three weeks to prepare a formal reorganization proposal for its creditors. If they reject the proposal, the company will go bankrupt.

Nationair is not the only Canadian airline in trouble. Air Canada, the largest, posted a record \$454 million loss in 1992, and is demanding that all its employees take a 5 percent wage cut.

Canadian Airlines International, the second-largest airline, lost \$534 million last year and was only saved from bankruptcy when the Canadian government granted it \$50 million in loan guarantees.

None of the formerly locked-out flight attendants at Nationair had returned to work when the airline was grounded. Many were completing two weeks of retraining before restarting their jobs. John Karkar, a Nationair flight attendant, explained, "We didn't even get paid for the two weeks of training. The company owes each of us about \$800."

Air Transat, a charter carrier which has now replaced Nationair as the third-largest airline in Canada, has hired 200 former Nationair employees, including some flight attendants, and may hire more.

Many flight attendants expressed no regret for having stood up to the company.

"We didn't cause the downfall of Nationair," explained one woman. "We don't regret the fight we put up at all."

"In fact, many people are saying Obadia was trying to bleed the company out of business," added another.

An accounting professor, who studied Nationair's finances on behalf of the union, revealed that Nolisari, Nationair's parent company, of which Obadia is majority shareholder and sole director, paid out \$4.3 million in dividends between 1987 and 1990 to an account in his name.

Gerber lockout in N. Carolina

Baby food manufacturer Gerber Products Co. locked out about 400 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 204 in Asheville, North Carolina. The company and the union had been negotiating a new contract since the last week of January.

The last union offer was pre-

ratified by the membership, and the union was willing to work without a contract until a new agreement could be reached. The bargaining positions were separated by only 9 cents hourly over three years and the question of whether workers' copayments for medical insurance would be determined by a percentage or a fixed amount. The union negotiating team felt agreement was close and was surprised by the lockout. One worker is seeking a court order to allow him to retrieve personal property locked in the plant.

Some union members noted that employees at the Gerber plant in Fremont, Michigan, were working four-day weeks, and took the lockout as a disguised layoff. Others took the move as an attempt to force acceptance of the company's last offer, and still others as a union-breaking effort.

The company claims the lockout is a result of a labor dispute, a claim which suspends unemployment benefits, pending hearings and review, which could take three to four weeks.

Zane Edmonds, chief steward and member of the negotiating team, said, "We made \$170 million for Gerber last year. They quit on us; we didn't quit on them." He added that Gerber management underestimates the union's ability to hold out. The day following the lockout, the union voted 150-65 to reject the company's latest contract proposal.

The following people contributed to this column: Ann Flander, member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in Manchester, England; Jim Upton, member of the International Association of Machinists Local 869 in Montreal; and Bob Brown in Asheville, North Carolina.

ON THE PICKET LINE

your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Strikers plan a weekend of action May 15-17 as the lockout and strike at the Timex factory in Dundee, Scotland, enters its fourth month. The Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC) is calling a mass demonstration and rally May 15 at which Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU) president Bill Jordan will speak. The AEEU national conference gave unanimous support to an emergency motion demanding a fair and just settlement to the 12-week-old dispute as well as weekly cash collections among other members to support the AEEU strikers.

The Timex strikers have called for a national mobilization at their weekly mass picket May 17 followed by a rally at which Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers will speak.

The dispute started February 15 when 340 workers were locked out after rejecting a management offer of 110 layoffs on rotation coupled with a wage freeze for a year and

committee of the AEEU, said, "We bent over backwards to loosen working practices so the company could survive, but they had a different agenda. Now I say to Timex there are only two options: either there will be a negotiated settlement honoring union agreements or this factory closes. This struggle goes on."

Workers at the U.S.-owned Timex plant make electronic circuit boards. The majority of workers before the strike were women, many of whom had worked there for a number of years. Mary Dolan, 50, started work 20 years ago and until the strike took home £114 (US\$180) a week. Four years ago Timex introduced a two-tier wage system, taking on new starts (hires) at £105 per week. The replacement workers are paid £90 per week.

Nationair on brink of collapse

One month after agreeing to end its 15-month lockout of 450 flight attendants, Canada's third-largest airline filed for bankruptcy protection March 22.

In late February the workers voted 83.5 percent to accept a new

LETTERS

Waco I

The *Militant's* front-page condemnation of the U.S. government's murderous assault in Waco, Texas, was right on target. It was a particular pleasure to sell the issue on the streets and in the rail yards where I work.

The Socialist Workers Party National Committee statement noted the government's trampling of numerous democratic and constitutional rights: due process, equal protection, free association, freedom of religion, and freedom from unreasonable search and seizure.

Absent from the list, however, was an equally important right: the right to keep and bear arms. The justification for the initial police raid, as the statement noted, was "rumors" of the Branch Davidians' adaptation of legal firearms.

Most rightist organizations claim to defend the Second Amendment. Some of my coworkers hold similar positions, but they were unusually quiet about this group's right to bear arms.

I would be interested in the *Militant's* thinking on this question. Steve Marshall
Newark, New Jersey

Waco II

I just received my May 30 *Militant* and was so relieved to see your write-up on Waco. I have been so appalled at the indifference to this monstrous, murdering assault on these victims. I am not even religious and am irate that the so-called Christian churches are not speaking out. Instead it seems that the brainwashed sheep in this country have bought right into the action. I immediately mailed the enclosed letter to butcher Reno and cohorts. Please feel free to print it in your letters with my name on it.

I am truly distraught about the innocent children and the adult victims, misled Christians as they were. Every church is a form of one cult or another with its thought-controlled indoctrinated followers embarked on their delusory path of greed and reward — but still no one, no matter how deluded, deserves to be incinerated.

Thank you for your articles. Alice Keiser Greth
Bend, Oregon

My dear Janet Reno:

Are you still proud of your tough law-and-order stance — as applied only to the weak and the powerless? The deluded Christian Davidian cult had committed no terrorist acts against anyone, especially as compared to our violent government and its brutal policies to quell dissent around the world.

Was stockpiling weapons their only offense that brought on this terrorist assault and siege of their home? If so, then I suggest that you begin an assault on the billionaire ruling elites, 1 percent of the population, who have stockpiled the most horrendous destructive weapons, at our expense with our tax monies, to protect their wealthy investments and interests around the world, slaughtering any Third World peasants who stand in profits' way.

I shall be waiting for your armored vehicles to break down the walls of their mansion, tear-gassing their children.

Or has this murderous event been intended to teach any dissident a monstrous lesson of annihilation????

The FBI, the ATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms] should be abolished and you and

your boss Bill Bush Clinton should resign. We the people, the other 99 percent of the population, need and deserve a humane government who is not going to tax the working people and their retirees to death or incinerate us when we disagree!!

Reports also said that the FBI phoned two hospitals before the fire telling them to expect burn victims. Why? And what lies will be told to cover that one up???

With the most profound disgust and revulsion at your actions and enormous sadness and tears for those innocent children and their deluded parents. — A.K.G.

Waco III

Two facts reported in the papers here about Waco may be of interest to other *Militant* readers.

1) According to the April 24 *Washington Post*, the fire department responded to the fire call and was on the scene in 10 minutes. The FBI held the trucks for 15-20 minutes at a roadblock.

2) The "tear gas" used is CS gas. The U.S. government recently signed an international protocol banning its use in military actions. One hundred thirty-six other governments signed as well. The manufacturer's handbook specifically states that CS gas is never to be used indoors. Death occurs within five minutes in an enclosed room, according to the *Washington Times*.

Greg McCartan
Washington, D.C.

Child abuse witch-hunt

The *Militant* hit the nail on the head in the article on the Kelly Michaels frame-up in Maplewood, New Jersey, by drawing on the comparison with the Salem witch trials of 1692.



Readers will also be interested to learn that the few individuals — parents of children and co-workers of Michaels — who initially came forward in her defense were intimidated into silence when threatened with prosecution as child molesters themselves. This further contributed to the climate of hysteria by gagging those who knew the truth.

The Michaels case is not unique. A child abuse witch-hunt has spread in recent years and is part of a broader attack on democratic rights. Convictions are handed down based on completely unsubstantiated allegations, often coerced out of children by prosecutors and sex abuse "experts."

This modern witch-hunt reached a horrific low point in Waco, Texas, when the accused were burned to death, calling to mind the witch-hunts of medieval Europe.

By speaking out, the *Militant* points the way forward for defending democratic rights.

Jay Ressler
Newark, New Jersey

More on ecology

I would like to see more articles on the relationship between capitalism and ecology. Apart from that, the *Militant* is excellent — couldn't do without it.

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

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

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.

Miami officials press slanders against groups opposed to embargo on Cuba

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — Two U.S. representatives here have joined in a slander campaign against the Alliance of Workers in the Community (ATC) and the Antonio Maceo Brigade, two Miami-based groups that oppose the embargo on Cuba.

Republican representatives Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart, sent a letter to Attorney General Janet Reno, requesting that the Justice Department rule that both the ATC and the Brigade be required to register with Washington as "agents of a foreign government." Reno's office has refused comment on the request.

English-language TV channel 7 and Spanish-language TV channel 51 have also spread the slander against both groups.

The ATC is made up of Cuban and Cuban-American residents of Miami who hold a wide range of views on the Cuban revolution, but are united in their opposition to the U.S. blockade. The Antonio Maceo Brigade is a Cuban-American group that supports the revolution.

More than 200 members of the ATC and the Brigade visited Cuba and participated in the May Day celebrations in Havana.

While right-wingers have charged in the past that opponents of the embargo are agents of Fidel Castro, the ATC presence at May Day enraged them even more.

The right-wing elements in the Cuban community are frustrated by the growing sentiment in Miami among Cuban exiles and Cuban-Americans in favor of humanitarian aid for Cuba and against the embargo. They are also upset with the ability of supporters of the revolution to openly express their views and continue to exercise the right to free speech, including in the Cuban-American community.

"Those people who carry signs saying 'Down with the Embargo' and who make constant statements and activities... should be identified as Castroite agents here," claimed Jorge Rodríguez-Chomat, a lawyer who collaborated with Diaz-Balart and Ros-Lehtinen on making the request to the Justice Department.

Channel 51 took the campaign against the ATC a further step. The station interviewed neighbors of Walfrido Moreno, a leader of the ATC. Moreno was a participant in the May Day celebration in Havana. Some of the neighbors refused to comment, but one called Moreno "a traitor." The station provocatively photographed and broadcast film of Moreno's house, including the house number and street — an open encouragement to right-wingers to attack.

Over the last several months the debate on the U.S. embargo has deepened. Although the most right-wing elements still wield signifi-

cant weight here, they are increasingly isolated, divided over the question of humanitarian aid and dialogue with the Cuban government, and wracked by internal disputes.

When the U.S. Treasury Department authorized a special United Nations bank account in the United States for funneling aid to Cuba after the storm of the century, a member of the ultraright group Alpha 66 was quoted as saying that he was in favor of sending humanitarian aid. Anyone can write checks to the UN account for transfer to Cuba. The bank account will be open until October 31 this year.

The *Miami Herald* notes that aid to Cuba from U.S.-based groups is increasing. A May 11 article noted that the National Council for Churches of Christ has received authorization to ship \$500,000 worth of supplies this year. The ATC sends food and medicine every month.

The Cuban government recently announced measures that would allow families to spend \$2,000 while visiting their relatives in Cuba, up from the previous limit of \$1,000. The Treasury Department, however, said that it has not yet given its authorization to the increased spending allowance.

Other opponents of the Cuban government have also issued calls for lifting the U.S. embargo. According to an article in the May 9 issue of the *New York Times*, five "dissident groups" in Cuba have written to President Clinton urging him to lift the economic embargo. They argue that this policy is "out-

dated" and "counter-productive."

Rolando Prats Paez, who identifies himself as a leader of the "Social Democratic Movement" in Cuba, elaborated further on this perspective in a May 10 *New York Times* opinion column. "The U.S. policy seems nonsensical to much of the world," said Paez in describing the trade embargo. "Why does Washington pursue this policy? Perhaps because it believes the predictions that the Cuban Government will soon fall. If so, it is miscalculating. The economic crisis in Cuba is acute but the country can survive at a subsistence level for a very long time." Paez argues that lifting the embargo is the best way to undermine the revolutionary government in Cuba.



Antonio Maceo Brigade and ATC members protesting Torricelli Bill last fall. Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen is pressing to have both groups registered as "agents of a foreign government."

Support grows for Friendshipment to Cuba

BY CHRIS NISAN

MINNEAPOLIS — Preparations for the July 1993 Friendshipment Caravan to Cuba are proceeding better than expected, according to organizers of Pastors for Peace, the Minneapolis-based group that is sponsoring the effort.

"We have received many more applications for drivers than at this point last year," said Elizabeth Flannery, a staff person for Pastors for Peace.

In November 1992, 104 drivers from across the United States took tons of medicine, food, and other aid to Cuba. They drove across the U.S.-Mexico border and departed on ships to Cuba from Tampico, Mexico.

The aim of the caravan was to demonstrate opposition to Washington's unrelenting hostility to Cuba since the 1959 revolution overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of

Fulgencio Batista. "The caravan was organized as an open challenge to the U.S. trade embargo and travel ban from the start," said Flannery.

Officials of the U.S. Treasury Department attempted to stop the Friendshipment at the Laredo, Texas, border crossing to Mexico. After a tense, eight-hour standoff, the U.S. agents relented and the caravan was allowed to proceed.

Organizers now expect active support for the caravan in 120 cities throughout the United States, said Flannery. These locations will be sites for educational presentations, news conferences, and aid collections. Such efforts will explain the goals of the caravan.

These include ending the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba and establishing normal relations between Washington and Havana "with complete respect for Cuba's sov-

eignty and national dignity," according to the April issue of *Pastors for Peace*, the project's newsletter.

The scope of this year's caravan is more ambitious than the 1992 project, Flannery said, because of increased interest in Cuba and growing opposition to the U.S. embargo. "Committees have been established in San Francisco and in New Jersey to raise money to send drivers to Mexico and Cuba," she explained.

Flannery also noted a change among some political activists who last year were hesitant to back the aid effort's defiance of the embargo. "Now," she said, "many of these people are getting involved."

San Francisco organizers plan to send 20 vehicles loaded with food and medicine. The committee in New Jersey is organizing 20 Cuban-American drivers for the 1993 Friendshipment. The New Jersey committee has already secured the donation of a semi-trailer truck from the owner of a local trucking firm to ship aid.

The caravan this year will also include participation from Canada. Pastors for Peace is currently involved in discussions with five different Cuban solidarity groups in that country.

Pastors for Peace is organizing a national speaking tour for Lucius Walker, executive director of Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), to promote and raise funds for the Friendshipment. Pastors for Peace is a project of IFCO.

On June 11 Walker will be speaking at a benefit dinner in Minneapolis. The meeting will be held at the Salem English Lutheran Church at 610 W. 28th St.

For more information on the Friendshipment Caravan to Cuba contact: Pastors for Peace, 331 17th Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel. (612) 378-0062. Fax. (612) 378-0134, or IFCO, 402 W. 145th Street, New York, NY 10031. Tel. (212) 926-5757.

Chris Nisan is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1000.

Cuban academic visits U.S.

BY PAT LEAMON AND JANICE LYNN

BALTIMORE — Olga Fernández, director of the Institute of Philosophy at the Cuban National Academy of Science in Havana, spent four days speaking in this area in late April. The tour was sponsored by the Radical Philosophy Association and organized in the Baltimore area by the Central America Solidarity Committee.

Fernández spoke at Johns Hopkins University, Loyola College, the Progressive Action Center, and All People's Congress Hall in Baltimore, Western Maryland College in Westminster, and American University in Washington, D.C.

Fernández was able to discuss how the Cuban people are responding to the deep economic crisis confronting the country. In addition to the voluntary agricultural brigades, which are the most important part of the fight for food self-sufficiency, a strict rationing program ensures that the food there is equitably distributed. While several factories have been idled as a result of the crisis, Fernández

noted that "no schools, daycare centers, or hospitals have been closed and laid-off workers collect 70 percent of their wages."

About sixty people attended the meeting at American University in Washington, D.C., which was sponsored by the Sociology Department. The audience included about 20 opponents of the Cuban revolution, several of whom succeeded in disrupting the discussion period after it turned to the question of medical aid for Cuba in light of the massive storm earlier in the year. Their behavior included pushing and shoving at least one student, knocking the hat off the head of another meeting participant, and throwing some books off the table sponsored by the local Pathfinder bookstore.

The event was filmed by a camera crew from the U.S. Information Agency. A story on the disruption of the meeting was featured on the right-wing radio station in Miami, Radio Mambi. Several students and professors at American University, including some Cuban-American students, have expressed their outrage at this disruptive behavior.

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