

## China rocked by student-led protests

BY FRED FELDMAN

Students in the Chinese capital city of Beijing began a boycott of university classes April 24 as part of a nationwide student strike called in the wake of the biggest wave of protest demonstrations to take place in China since the mid-1970s. The students are also organizing student councils independent of the government.

The wave of protests reached a high point with an April 22 gathering of tens of thousands in Tiananmen Square, coinciding with the state funeral nearby for former party head Hu Yaobang. The *Washington Post* estimated those present at 150,000. The *Post* correspondent reported that the demonstrators were joined by a contingent of 5,000 workers.

A report in the *New York Times* gave the number present as 70,000, adding that tens of thousands of workers and students had been prevented by police from reaching the square.

The government had attempted to head off the protest by barring admission to the square that day. Thousands of students and their supporters arrived hours before the area was cordoned off, some camping out overnight to participate.

### Newspapers suppressed

The government halted publication of the Beijing *Science and Technology Daily* and confiscated copies of the Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald*, two newspapers that had published sympathetic reports on the demonstrations. Hu Qili, a top leader of the ruling Communist Party, called on newspaper editors not to cover the events.

"Long live democracy" and "Down with corruption" have been prominent slogans in the protests. Demands include freedom of

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## Labor solidarity key to block Eastern plan



Militant/John Naubert

Some of the several hundred Eastern strikers and supporters who rallied at New York's LaGuardia Airport April 22.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

On April 24 Eastern Airlines President Phillip Bakes presented a plan to reorganize the airline and resume operations as a smaller, nonunion carrier.

The proposal, made to a meeting of the bankruptcy court-appointed creditors' committee, came a week after Frank Lorenzo announced that the airline would be reorganized, not sold. Lorenzo is chairman of Texas Air Corp., which owns Eastern. That declaration was made a few days after a proposed buyout of Eastern by a group of

investors headed by Peter Ueberroth fell through.

Eastern's operations have been crippled since a strike by Machinists began March 4, backed by the airline's pilots and flight attendants. Five days after the strike began, Eastern filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in federal bankruptcy court in New York.

The plan to reorganize Eastern, Bakes told the committee, is to reduce the size of the airline by one-third by selling \$1.8 billion in assets. Already planned is the sale of Eastern's New York-Boston-Washington,

D.C., shuttle to Donald Trump for \$365 million and the sale of the airline's Philadelphia operations to USAir for \$85 million. In addition, about 40 percent of Eastern's current fleet of 255 aircraft would be sold, Bakes said, reducing the number of planes to 157. Some routes, gates, and take-off and landing slots would also be sold. The reorganized airline would fly to 77 cities, down from 102. The airline's major hub would be Atlanta.

### 'Key ingredient' missing

Eastern's plan "lacks one key ingredient—the 1,000-plus pilots he will need to operate the airline," said John Bavis, who heads the pilots' union at Eastern. Since the strike started, he added, the number of Eastern flights has remained the same and "there have been virtually no defections across the picket lines." Currently, Eastern is able to get only about 10 percent of its usual 1,040 daily flights into the air—many of them virtually empty.

Legally, the bankruptcy court and creditors' committee have to approve any reorganization plan. The court, which was supposed to reconvene April 24, postponed any action until early May.

Bankruptcy examiner David Shapiro reported to Judge Burton Lifland, who presides over the Eastern case, that "four, and possibly five, credible buyers for Eastern had emerged after a weekend of screening bidders," the *Wall Street Journal* reported April 25. Included are Trans World Airlines Chairman Carl Icahn and Hyatt hotel chain owner Jay Pritzker. These offers, Shapiro said, are expected to be presented in the coming week.

Officials of the unions at Eastern remain committed to the aim of finding a buyer for Eastern who will negotiate an agreement acceptable to the unions and who wants to

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## Grenada bans 86 books; publisher urges protests

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NEW YORK — Pathfinder publishers is calling for protests against an escalation in book banning and censorship by the U.S.-imposed government of Grenada.

An order handed down by the cabinet of Prime Minister Herbert Blaize April 11 declares 86 titles officially banned from Grenada. The majority are published by Pathfinder; several are published by Grove Press and International Publishers of New York and Progress Publishers of Moscow.

"The Grenadian government has stepped up its assault on fundamental democratic rights to publish, to read, and to exchange ideas," said Pathfinder director Steve Clark. "This escalation must be met by renewed protests from individuals and organizations worldwide."

The new banning order states that "the Governor-General [appointed by the queen of England] and the Cabinet are of the opinion that the importation into the State of the publications mentioned... was contrary to the public interest." It brings the 86 titles under provisions of a book-banning statute dating from 1951, when Grenada was under British colonial rule.

This action formalizes a number of recent seizures of Pathfinder book shipments by Grenadian officials. These include titles

by Fidel Castro, Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Karl Marx, and V.I. Lenin.

These books had been ordered from Pathfinder by Terry Marryshow, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada. Marryshow has filed suit challenging the constitutionality of the law and demanding that the books be turned over to him. The trial, first set for April 7, has been twice postponed.

Anticipating widespread protests, the Grenadian government did not include in its new banning order *Maurice Bishop Speaks* and *The Struggle Is My Life* by Nelson Mandela. Pathfinder has sent Marryshow a new shipment of these two books.

Protests against the book banning have been issued by U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, newly elected chair of the Congressional Black Caucus; U.S. Rep. Sidney Yates of Illinois; novelist Graham Greene; the PEN American Center writers' organization; members of the British and Canadian parliaments; the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad; and others.

Protests should be sent to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, Botanical Gardens, St. George's, Grenada. Please send copies to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## D.C. rally for abortion rights

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Hundreds of supporters of safe, legal abortion gathered in front of the U.S. Supreme Court the morning of April 26 as the nine justices heard one hour of oral arguments in the case of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*.

The decision that will be announced some time in the next two months could alter or overturn the historic 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling that made abortion legal throughout the United States.

The court announced on January 9 that it would review a Missouri law, struck down by lower courts, that contains considerable restrictions on the right to abortion. Since then, supporters of a woman's right to choose have mobilized from coast to coast to protect this constitutional liberty. Tens of thousands have out-mobilized antiabortion rights forces at clinics in dozens of cities.

On April 9 hundreds of thousands marched on Washington, D.C., in support of abortion rights in the largest U.S. demonstration since the Vietnam War.

At the Supreme Court action dozens of women wore T-shirts that read "Abortion without apology." A group of college students wore and sold buttons that read, "No U.S. intervention in women's wombs." A

printed sign in Spanish read, "Mi cuerpo, mi vida, mi derecho a decidir." ("My body, my life, my right to decide.")

Among the most popular chants were, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate" and "Prolife, your name's a lie. You don't care if women die."

At a brief rally Pat Tyson, representing the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, said, "We must maintain the separation of church and state... If made illegal, abortions are not going to stop. Women are just going to die."

Eleanor Smeal, president of Fund for a Feminist Majority, cited a World Health Organization figure that 200,000 women internationally die each year from botched, illegal abortions.

At a well-attended press conference, National Organization for Women President Molly Yard said, "Women are human beings, and they are not about to accept either law or policy that would dictate compulsory pregnancy, not from the president of the United States, not from the Congress of the United States, not even from the highest court in the land."

NOW announced April 29 actions at three clinics in the D.C. area targeted by the antiabortion group Operation Rescue.



# Union conference opens in Philippines

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — Under a banner calling for strengthening international working-class solidarity, the May 1 Movement (KMU) union federation opened its sixth annual International Solidarity Affair conference here April 24. Among the participants were some 50 delegates from trade unions in Japan, Fiji, Ireland, Australia, Canada, the United States, and many other countries.

In his welcoming remarks to the delegates KMU General Secretary Roberto Ortaliz stressed that workers around the world are suffering common problems brought about by their common exploitation and oppression by imperialism.

KMU National Chairman Crispin Beltran expanded on this theme in his keynote address to the conference. Pointing to police violence against workers fighting for basic rights from South Korea to South Africa, and to growing unemployment and poverty in the imperialist countries, Beltran said Filipino workers face a global reality of more and more workers being forced to live in a climate of fear and hunger.

A major issue here is organized labor's

campaign for raising the legal minimum wage of 64 pesos (1 peso=US\$.05) for non-agricultural workers. All the major union federations have joined together in lobbying the Corazon Aquino government for an immediate increase of 30 pesos.

With the support of the employers, Aquino responded by submitting proposals to Congress for a legislative increase of only 15 pesos for workers in the Manila metropolitan area and six pesos elsewhere. This is in line with the austerity measures the government is implementing in its efforts to secure a new loan from the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist banking agencies. This includes raising the price of basic government services such as electricity, water, and education.

Beltran told the conference that the KMU and organized labor as a whole would not run away from the struggle. He called on other federations "to cast away illusions" that the government would back down before the unions' lobbying efforts and grant the 30 peso increase.

Augusto Sanchez also addressed the conference. He was sacked as minister of labor, by Aquino in November 1986, under rightist pressure. The government has much to answer for, Sanchez said. The efforts he

made as minister of labor to foster a partnership between capital and labor, he said, has been abandoned and "now labor is seen as the enemy."

## Vigilante campaign against miners

Citing what he termed a terror campaign against labor throughout the country, Sanchez said laws guaranteeing union rights "go no further than paper." He pointed to the example of the Atlas mine in Cebu, the largest copper mine in Asia, with more than 7,000 workers. The mine owners and government authorities have joined in a vigilante campaign against the KMU affiliate, which organizes the mine workers. At least eight unionists have been assassinated in the past year. Despite this, the Atlas workers voted March 21 by a margin of 4-1 in a union certification election to stay with the KMU.

The International Solidarity Affair continues for a week with conference participants fanning out across the country to observe firsthand the situation facing workers organized by the KMU and then reconvening in Manila to assess their experiences. They will then join tens of thousands of Philippine workers on May Day, the international labor day celebration.



Militant/Russell Johnson

Crispin Beltran

## Filipino students fight tuition hikes

BY KATE KAKU

MANILA, Philippines — Students' and teachers' organizations warned of nationwide protests against the Corazon Aquino government's proposals to subsidize private schools.

Raul Segovia, president of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), said in a statement that 104,000 members of ACT are ready to take to the streets "unless government subsidy to private education is specifically directed to salary adjustments demanded by teachers."

More than 50 students from the National Union of Students of the Philippines and the League of Filipino Students barricaded the main entrances of the Department of Education.

The student protest was directed against the subsidy plan. The plan, they said, was a ploy to divert attention from tuition increases in June. The students demanded a freeze on tuition and an expansion of the plan to help subsidize more university students from poorer backgrounds.

Students here have also participated in broad protests against the Letter of Intent submitted by the government to the International Monetary Fund.

The letter outlines austerity measures the government proposes to implement to insure foreign debt repayment at the expense of the poor.

# Protests rock Chinese government

## Continued from front page

the press; enactment of laws to prevent corrupt dealings by those in power, including publication of the sources of income of top officials and their children; a full rehabilitation of Hu; and repudiation of the crackdown on dissent that followed Hu's fall in 1987.

The protest gatherings began on April 15, as soon as the former party leader's death that day became known.

## Hu's ouster

Hu was forced out as general secretary of the Communist Party in January 1987.

His ouster coincided with a crackdown by the regime on student protests and other criticism. At that time, Deng Xiaoping, the central leader of the government and party, was quoted as declaring, "We can afford to shed some blood" to stop the protests.

Hu was identified as a strong supporter of the regime's heavy reliance on capitalist market forces to develop the economy, as well as an advocate of allowing wider leeway for expression of dissenting views.

He remained on the Party political bureau after resigning the top post. After his death, Hu was eulogized by the government's New China News Agency, and current party head Zhao Ziyang spoke at the state funeral.

On April 18 thousands of students marched in Beijing and Shanghai. They mourned Hu and cheered calls for the party

political bureau to resign.

On April 19 hundreds of police went into action to end a demonstration after protesters gathered outside the walled neighborhood where the party headquarters is located and top leaders live. The protesters demanded to see Premier Li Peng.

For several hours, hundreds of students staged a sit-in at the entrance of the compound, backed by thousands of others who stood nearby. The next day, about 10,000 people marched to the party compound.

As the date of Hu's funeral approached, the regime stepped up its threats to prevent a massive mobilization. On April 21 students from Qinghua University reported that police had beaten some demonstrators with fists and belts.

There have been no arrests reported yet in connection with the protests in Beijing and Shanghai. The government's cautious response — together with the decision to grant Hu a hero's funeral — appeared to reflect the degree of popular support for the protests, and divisions within the regime over what policies to follow in the face of growing difficulties and discontent.

The government media claimed that protests had spread to Xian, where about 6,000 people gathered to watch the official memorial service for Hu on television. The demonstrators were mostly unemployed youth, according to a non-Chinese resident of the city.

According to the government media,

some of the protesters forced their way into the government compound and set fire to some rooms and vehicles. Others reportedly smashed the windows of a bus carrying tourists.

The current outbreak of public opposition comes in the midst of economic difficulties. A high rate of inflation — reaching 30 percent annually, the highest rate since the triumph of the 1949 revolution — shortages of agricultural products, and widespread corruption have increased discontent. This has heightened tensions stemming from the widening gap between the richest sectors of the population and the poorest workers and farmers.

The economic difficulties and fear of discontent led the regime recently to impose tighter administrative controls over privately owned enterprises and regional economic bodies.

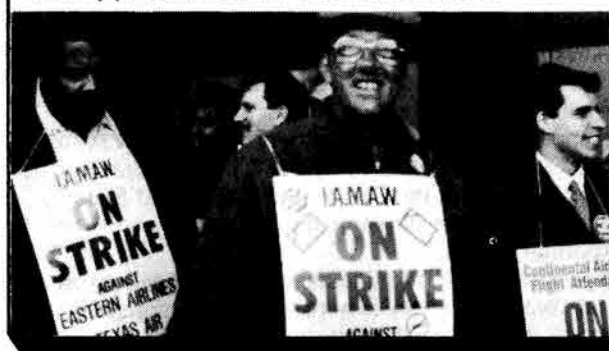
The rallies and other actions were the largest demonstrations directed against repression and other government policies since April 1976. At that time, huge throngs gathered in Tiananmen Square to mourn Chou En-lai, who had been a central leader of the party and government.

Those gatherings provided an outlet for opposition to the economic policies and political repression carried out under the regime of Mao Tse-tung and had the covert encouragement of some within a faction in the party leadership, including Hu and Deng, that opposed Mao's policies.

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# Activist, fighting frame-up in Israel, on U.S. tour

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK - In a jam-packed six-day visit, Michel Warschawski, a victim of Israeli political repression, spoke at public forums in New York; Washington, D.C.; Miami; and Dearborn, Michigan.

He was heard at campus meetings at Yale, Rutgers University, and Newark, New Jersey's Essex County Community College.

He held a New York press conference, was interviewed by Pacifica radio, and was a guest at a luncheon organized by the Committee to Protect Journalists.

In Washington, he visited Capitol Hill seeking congressional support for his rights.

The American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition (AICLC) sponsored a New York reception for him on April 24, attended by a number of influential figures.

Warschawski's visit was limited to six days because he is now on trial in Israel and a condition of his bail is that he report weekly to the Jerusalem police.

## 'Support to terrorist organization'

A founder of the Alternative Information Centre, Warschawski was arrested when police shut down the center, which publishes *News from Within*. This publication reports Israeli human rights abuses and developments in the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Charges against Warschawski and the center include "support to a terrorist organization," principally by providing typesetting services to publicly active West Bank and Gaza Palestinian organizations. Warschawski reported that many recognize the attack on him, and the center, as a threat to everyone's democratic rights.

The Israeli activist opened his U.S. tour at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum here. The gathering of 125 was chaired by Don Rojas, former press secretary to the slain Grenadian revolutionary leader, Maurice Bishop.

Sharing the platform to register their support for Warschawski was Julie Nalibov, regional director of the Palestine Solidarity Committee; Ghassan Mohammad, a student from Gaza and Guy Levi of Friends of Yesh Gvul. Yesh Gvul is comprised of Israeli soldiers and reservists who have refused occupation duties in the West Bank and Gaza. Levi is among these.

In Dearborn, sponsors of the Warschawski meeting included the Palestine Aid Society and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. About 85 people attended, with a good number from the Arab community.

At the New York forum, Warschawski described the profound impact of the West Bank and Gaza uprising on all layers of Israeli society. He placed the Israeli government's charges against him and the growing support for his defense in the context of this political situation.

He spoke of the Israeli youth who organize rock concerts against the occupation; the Israeli doctors who join with their Palestinian counterparts in protesting the curbs on Palestinian medical institutions; and the women's groups that solidarize with Palestinian women prisoners.

Most decisive, he added, is the disaffection among soldiers and reservists of all ranks. In growing numbers, they are voicing their opposition to the "iron fist" repression of the Palestinians.

## Shin Bet

In response to a question, Warschawski described his two weeks of prison interrogation by Israeli's secret police, the Shin Bet.

The grilling was intensive and exhaustive, with psychological pressure skillfully applied. He was held in total isolation and could not even tell the time of day, much less how many days had passed.

He said that if he had to choose between two weeks with the Shin Bet or six months of regular prison time, "I would unhesitatingly choose the six months."

And yet, he emphasized, his treatment was nothing compared to what Palestinians are subjected to. He described a Palestinian

prisoner that he did see, and the torturous position in which he was shackled.

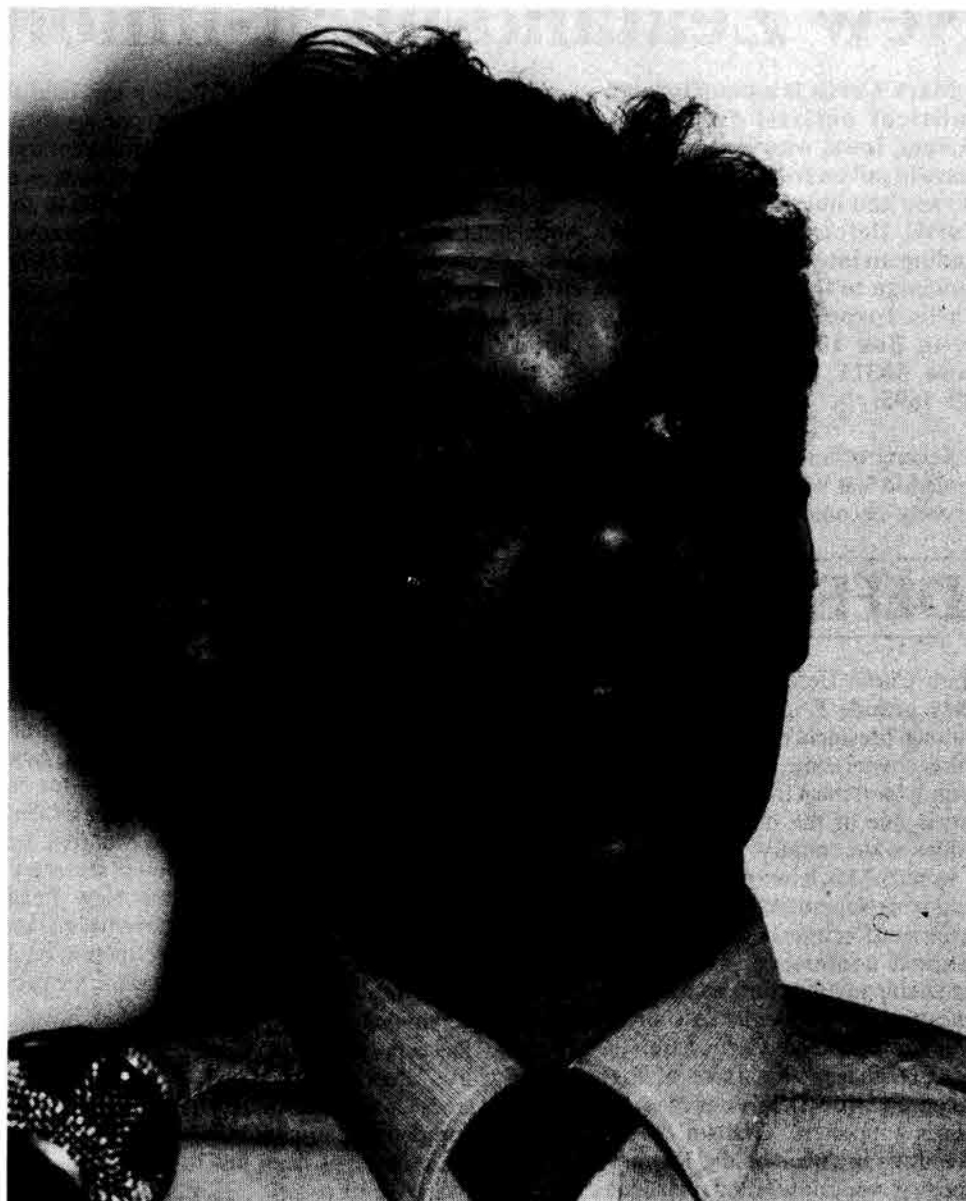
An April 24 reception for Warschawski was held at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue.

Warschawski was introduced by Lesly Lempert, executive director of the American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition (AICLC).

The inviters of the reception included Paul Martin, director of the Columbia University Human Rights Centre; Jim Haddad of the New York chapter of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; and George Baker, president of Local 300 of the Mailhandlers' union.

Among those attending were Eric Goldstein of the Committee to Defend Journalists, Ezra Goldstein of the New Jewish Agenda, and Jeremiah Guttman, counsel to the AICLC.

Also Fred Dube, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa and a New York professor fighting his firing for political reasons; Rabab Hadi, Palestine Solidarity Committee; Nubar Hovsepian, director of the American Council for Palestinian Affairs; Wilhelm Joseph, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Gara LaMarche, PEN American Centre; Mona Rishmaw, a West Bank human rights attorney; and Edith Tiger, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Michel Warschawski, director of Alternative Information Centre in Israel.

## Confidence dips on junk-bond market

BY FRED FELDMAN

Wall Street investment banks and mutual funds have been having trouble selling junk bonds — an area where they had continued until recently to do a brisk business. "There's almost a buyers' strike," reported the April 14 *Wall Street Journal*.

The slide has been going on for several weeks, with the interest rates of some junk bonds rising to 16 percent and selling prices dropping as much as \$40 per each \$1,000 in face value.

Bonds are interest-earning securities, issued to raise funds by companies, financial institutions, or government bodies. The certificates guarantee repayment in full by a fixed date.

Junk bonds are bonds issued by companies whose credit ratings are below investment grade, meaning that there is a high risk that payments on interest or principal will not be made.

Only 4 percent of U.S. corporations qualify as investment-grade. Bond issues from the rest are "junk."

Because they carry more risk, they must pay a higher rate of interest to attract investors.

Many junk bonds are issued to finance corporate buyouts. The expansion of the junk bond market is a contributing factor to the vast increase of corporate debt in recent years. The \$188 billion in junk bonds account for one-quarter of outstanding corporate bonds.

## Surge of new issues

One reason for the current slowing of junk bond sales is worry that the expected surge of \$9 billion in new junk bonds onto the crowded market in coming weeks will lessen the value of the bonds. About \$4 billion of the new issues will help finance last December's \$25 billion buyout of RJR Nabisco.

The market has also been cooled by fears that inflation will lower the real value of bonds and that many corporations may prove unable to redeem bonds or meet interest payments on their debts during the next recession.

The crisis in the savings and loan industry is also having an effect on the junk bond market. In the last three months of 1988, purchase of junk bonds by S&L's had jumped 10 percent, to \$14.9 billion.

The scale of the crisis among the "thrifts" and the growing role of the government in bailing out and restructuring

them is putting a stop to the expansion of their junk bond purchases. Some S&Ls are getting rid of junk bond portfolios, and others that were considering purchases are pulling back.

The current downturn in the junk bond market could spell trouble for some of the 119 mutual funds firms in the United States, currently holding \$47 billion in assets, that specialize in holding junk bonds. Since March investors have withdrawn more money out of at least one such firm, T. Rowe Price High Yield Fund, than they have put in.

## New study

In this atmosphere, confidence in junk bonds on Wall Street was further shaken when a study by Paul Asquith and two other Harvard University professors found that between 19 and 26 percent of the junk bonds issued from 1979 to 1983 had defaulted by Nov. 1, 1988. Those issued in 1977 and 1978 had a default rate of 34 percent.

Junk bond dealers had been using an ear-

lier study by New York University Prof. Edward Altman, as a selling point. He claimed that the default rate for junk bonds issued between 1970 and 1985 has been only 2.1 percent.

The low figure was based on dividing the number of defaults in a given year by the total number of outstanding junk bonds — including the large number of newly issued ones. The Harvard study, in contrast, focused on the likelihood of default over the life of a given junk bond.

Asquith found that the default rate for a typical junk bond issue is low in the early years but rises over time. In contrast to the high rates estimated for 1977-78 or 1979-83 issues, Asquith found defaults running at 4 to 9 percent so far for junk bonds issued between 1984 and 1986.

He explained that "the illusion of low default rates can be sustained only as long as explosive growth in new issues continues. Once growth slows, as it inevitably must, the overall market will no longer be dominated by recently issued bonds with lower default rates."

## New issue of African magazine out

BY JOHN RIDDELL

The latest issue of the French-language magazine *Coumbite* is now available from Pathfinder.

*Coumbite* is edited in Paris by David Gakunzi, a native of Burundi who has attempted to make better known internationally the ideas of the martyred revolutionary leader of Burkina Faso, Thomas Sankara.

The current issue of *Coumbite* features the article, "Cuba: the Latino and African Revolution." Written by Gakunzi and N'Dumba, it describes the gains Cuba's workers and farmers have registered in the 30 years since they established a revolutionary government.

The article also portrays how Cuba's leadership and internationalist volunteers have helped advance the revolution in Africa — from Algeria in the early 1960s to the recent defeat of South African troops at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.

Other items in this issue present the views of Thomas Sankara on the international debt crisis, analyze how the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank act to worsen Africa's oppression, and describe imperialist efforts to foist toxic

wastes and poisonous products on the peoples of Africa.

Copies of *Coumbite* are available for \$3.50 from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, telephone (212) 741-0690 (enclose \$1 for postage and handling).

In next 'Militant' issue...

## Defend Mark Curtis

• The *International Socialist Review* supplement next week will feature a speech by Socialist Workers Party leader John Gaige on the political stakes in the fight against the frame-up of Mark Curtis.

• We will also have a feature on the class struggle in El Salvador today by correspondents Seth Galinsky and Cindy Jaquith, who recently spent three weeks there.



# New Zealand meat-union officials endorse defense

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving 25 years in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international political campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

Several officials from the New Zealand Meat Workers Union have recently become endorsers of the

Sutherland from Avon in Christchurch and John Terris from Western Hutt in Wellington are both Labour Party MPs.

Barry Wilson, president of the Auckland Council for Civil Liberties, endorsed the Curtis defense effort and wrote an open letter detailing some of the irregularities in Curtis' September 1988 trial:

"Mark Curtis should have a new trial. An examination of this case reveals:

"1. The right of defence to question chief police witness Gonzalez previous suspension for lying in

they invented them; but how can anyone justify depriving a man of a quarter-century of life for standing on someone else's porch? Is Oliver North likely to get anything like that for running a secret government in the White House?..."

"The alleged victim placed the attack between 7:35 and 8:10 p.m. Curtis produced testimony (uncontested by the prosecution) that he was in a restaurant until 8:30 p.m. How did the jury decide it is possible to be in two places at once?"

Other prominent endorsers include Des Amanono, president of the Auckland University Students Association; Harold Appleton, secretary, Kawerau Pulp and Paper Workers Union; and Jim Conesdine, prison chaplain from Lyttelton. In addition, Nicky Hager, a central leader of the Peace Movement Aotearoa (Aotearoa is the name for New Zealand in the language of the native inhabitants, the Maoris); John Minto, international secretary of Hart Aotearoa (the New Zealand anti-apartheid movement); and Jack Shallcross, Wellington educator and civil libertarian, are prominent endorsers.

Support for Mark Curtis is beginning to be mobilized in Nicaragua as a result of efforts by supporters of the defense case who are living or visiting there.

Dorotea Wilson, a deputy of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in the National Assembly, recently added her name to the list of endorsers of the defense committee. Wilson is from the North Atlantic Autonomous Region and has been a leader in the autonomy process.

Also endorsing the committee is José Alcides Rodríguez, a leader of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers in Region VI, in north-central Nicaragua. Vidal Cruz, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) at Imep, a Managua metal-working factory, has also signed up to support Curtis' fight for justice.

Rosalía Gutiérrez, a CST leader in the Puerto Cabezas area of the North Atlantic region, is another endorser. She has volunteered to

## Parliament members have also signed up as sponsors of case.

help spread the word on the defense effort.

Other endorsers from the North Atlantic region include Rose Cunningham, regional director of culture; Henry Herman, mayor of Puerto Cabezas; Rev. Lloyd Miguel, president of the regional Commission on Human Rights; Eddy McDonald, president of the Puerto Cabezas Sandinista youth group JS-19; and Clementina Williams, coordinator of the Peace and Autonomy commissions.

Amalia Dixon, a longtime fighter for the rights of the indigenous Miskito people of the North Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, also has become a sponsor of the Curtis defense committee. Another new sponsor in Nicaragua is Lois Wessel, a U.S. citizen working in Managua who has long been active in the fight to stop U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

Students at the Nica School in Estelí, Nicaragua, recently talked with Paul Curtis, Mark Curtis' younger brother. Paul Curtis described his brother's arrest, beat-

ing, trial, and sentencing. Also present were three of the young Nicaraguan women who teach Spanish at the school to people from other countries.

The school was established by U.S. activists and provides people of all ages from around the world the opportunity to live with a Nicaraguan family, study Spanish in a classroom environment, and make field trips to cooperatives, factories, government offices, and cultural and religious organizations.

Paul Curtis had been traveling in Central America. When it became known that he would be in Nicaragua, a student at the school invited him to talk about the Curtis fight. The school is an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and several staff members have written to the committee, expressing their support. José Lobos, director of the school, signed an endorser card as well.

The Nicaraguan teachers who attended Paul Curtis' talk took printed material, promised to write another letter to the defense committee, and agreed to seek endorsers in Estelí.

George Fyson in Auckland, New Zealand; Pat Neale in Wellington, New Zealand; Bob Cantrick, Estelí, Nicaragua; Larry Seigle in Managua, Nicaragua; and Matilde Zimmermann in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, contributed to this column.



Militant/Harvey McArthur  
FSLN leader Dorotea Wilson has added her name to support list

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

Mark Curtis Defense Committee. They include Roger Middlemass, national president of the union. The union covers some 20,000 workers in the export meat freezing industry and is one of the most important unions in the country.

In early March two meat workers who were supporters of the Curtis defense effort attended the union's national conference. The union leadership invited conference delegates to attend a special session to hear a report on the Curtis case.

After hearing the facts of the frame-up, two officials signed up as Curtis supporters: Graham Niles, executive member of the Pareora freezing works union and president of the Timaru Trades Council, and Paul Wintringham, vice-president of the West Coast Branch of the meat workers' union.

A number of delegates took defense committee literature with them. After studying the material, four more union officers added their names: Henry Te Karu, president of the Wairarapa Trades Council; Marshall Coley, president of the Waingawa freezing works sub-branch; Mike Farrell, vice-president of the Longburn freezing works sub-branch; and the president, Roger Middlemass.

Two New Zealand members of Parliament are among the 75 endorsers of the Curtis defense effort in that South Pacific country. Larry

course of his work — wrongfully denied by the court.

"2. No forensic evidence connecting Mark Curtis to complainant.

"3. No evidence of physical contact between Curtis and complainant.

"4. Evidence of beating of Curtis in custody and verbal abuse of Curtis by police excluded.

"5. Certain jury irregularities need to be examined.

"Note: these points to be seen against Curtis' denials and strong alibi evidence. Until these matters have been properly determined, it cannot be said there has been justice in the Mark Curtis case."

Another endorser, novelist Noel Hilliard, sent a stinging letter to the *Des Moines Register*, the city's only daily paper. It was a response to an opinion column by editor James Flansburg that appeared in the Nov. 27, 1988, edition.

"Referring to the Mark Curtis case, you say: 'Every independent investigator has concluded there was no frame-up.' I know nothing of such independent investigations; but do not the verdict and sentence strike you as outrageous?"

"Curtis has been jailed for 25 years for burglary when all he did was stand on a porch — not even the prosecution claimed he removed anything from the premises. . . .

"I know it is customary for American newspapers to express a reverence for human rights as if

# New evidence proves frame-up of Black activist

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Herman Ferguson, a Black rights activist who fled a 1968 conviction here, returned and surrendered April 7. He said he did so because new evidence is available that proves he was the target of a government frame-up.

Ferguson and a codefendant, Arthur Harris, had been convicted of "conspiring" to assassinate two civil rights figures — Roy Wilkins, then director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney Young, director of the Urban League. At the time Ferguson was a prominent figure in the mass struggle being waged by New York Blacks for control of the schools in their communities.

Ferguson has now begun serving his sentence of three-and-a-half to seven years. "I chose to come back to vindicate my name and prove I am not a criminal," he said.

At an April 10 hearing, attorneys for Ferguson sought to have him released on bail pending moves for a new trial. They noted he had returned voluntarily from Guyana where he has lived and worked since he fled in 1970.

A supporter of Ferguson who attended the hearing, Joseph Mashariki of the Black Veterans for Justice, said the judge agreed to review the new material submitted. He will determine if it should be turned over to a select committee that would decide if it justifies a new trial. The judge will make his ruling on May 10.

He did not agree to issue bail for Ferguson, asserting it was not in his jurisdiction



Militant  
Herman Ferguson in 1969 before he fled to Guyana to escape unjust jail sentence.

to do so. Ferguson's lawyers will continue to pursue the fight to have him released on bail. A Committee for Freedom for Herman Ferguson has been established, Mashariki said.

Ferguson and Harris had been prosecuted by New York City officials, but the defense was persuaded from the outset that the federal government was involved.

Efforts were later made, Mashariki said, to obtain FBI files on Ferguson, but these were flatly denied on grounds of "national security" and "international security."

But new evidence came to light in the files of another victim of government repression — Dhoruba al-Mujahid bin Wahad (Richard Moore).

Dhoruba, a member of the Black Panther Party in New York, was convicted in the 1971 shooting of two New York cops. He has been fighting for a new trial on the basis of information in his FBI files that indicates that vital evidence, damaging to the prosecution, was withheld.

In his files, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, Dhoruba also found repeated mention of Ferguson. He turned the material over to Ferguson's lawyers.

According to Mashariki, the FBI files indicate that before the New York indictments came down, Ferguson had been targeted by the federal cops. The Revolutionary Action Movement, with which he was then associated, was among the organizations singled out for disruption and possible destruction under the FBI Cointelpro operation.

## Community and political activist

At the time of his indictment, Ferguson was assistant principal of a Queens high school. In addition to his role in the community control fight, he was active in vari-

ous political movements. In 1968, out on bail after being convicted, he was the candidate for U.S. senator on the New York Freedom and Peace ticket, which nominated Dick Gregory for president.

The Queens County trial of Ferguson and Harris was heavily sensationalized to ensure railroading them to jail.

During the trial, one huge *New York Post* headline blared: "The Murder Timetable, Say Leaders Were to Die This Weekend."

The district attorney's office had to concede there was no "timetable" in evidence.

During the period of the trial, Robert Kennedy was assassinated in California.

The next day, in court, the prosecuting attorney suggested — without any basis — that Kennedy's name had been on a "targets of terrorism" list.

Ferguson and Harris were convicted by an all-white jury.

The chief witness for the prosecution was a cop who three years earlier had infiltrated the Brotherhood for Improvement Association, then headed by Ferguson. The conviction of Harris and Ferguson rested almost completely on his testimony.

Two years later, after exhausting all legal appeals, Ferguson and Harris fled the country. Ferguson spent the entire period of his exile in Guyana. He said he believed Harris later settled in Sweden.

In Guyana, Ferguson helped set up cooperative settlements in the interior of the country and later, as a consultant to Guyana's education ministry, helped to produce textbooks and educational materials.



# Labor solidarity key to block Eastern 'reorganization' plan

Continued from front page

purchase the airline as a whole and keep it basically intact.

The collapse of the Ueberroth deal has effectively closed off this avenue, however—at least for the moment. The sale fell through because Lorenzo refused to step aside and allow a court-appointed trustee to be named who would oversee the airline while the sale was completed. By hanging tough, he calculated that he could regain control of the situation and protect the interests of Eastern's stockholders and creditors.

No other offers have yet been concretized, and Eastern management now maintains that the airline is no longer for sale.

So the ball is again firmly in Lorenzo's court, and strikers are discussing how to move forward in this situation.

## Eastern shut by strike

When the Eastern Machinists and flight attendants began putting up picket lines at airports around the country at 12:01 a.m. March 4, no one was quite sure what would happen.

At that moment, most Eastern workers themselves weren't yet aware of the decision made that day by the pilots to support the Machinists. But as flight crews began walking off the planes shortly after midnight, and pilots began joining the picket lines, it quickly became clear that the workers were doing what most recent strikes have been unable to do: they shut the company down.

At that point, the tug-of-war between the workers and Eastern, channeled for months through the government-sponsored negotiations mandated by the Railway Labor Act, broke out into a fight.

On one side are 8,500 mechanics, ramp service workers, aircraft cleaners, stock clerks, and facility cleaners in the International Association of Machinists (IAM),

## More workers press for COLAs to meet rising inflation

With inflation currently running at an annual rate of 7 percent, more workers are pressing for the inclusion of cost-of-living adjustments — COLAs — in union contracts.

From 1983 to 1988, the percentage of unionized workers who had some kind of COLA in their contracts fell from 60 to 38 percent. So far in 1989, the percentage has risen back up to 40 percent.

Officials of the Communications Workers of America, with 550,000 members, say they will be pushing for reinstatement of COLA provisions in negotiations with American Telephone & Telegraph Co. this year. The union gave up cost-of-living adjustments in 1986.

The United Steelworkers of America, whose contracts covering 45,000 workers at Bethlehem Steel Corp., National Steel Co., Inland Steel Industries, and Armco expire July 31, also want COLA reinstated.

In 1988 COLA payments made up 26 percent of overall union wage increases, compared to 16 percent for the previous year. They are expected to be even more this year.

Typically, a COLA clause will provide for a one-cent-an-hour wage increase for every .3 percent increase in the Consumer Price Index. The Steel union contract in the aluminum industry, for example, provides for a one-cent-an-hour wage increase for every .3 percentage point increase in the CPI above 3 percent. Since 1986, this has added 30 cents an hour to aluminum workers' wages. Union officials, citing an expected inflation rate of 4.8 percent — less than the current rate — in the next few years, expect this COLA clause to add 90 cents an hour to workers' wages.

In many cases, however, COLA clauses in contracts have limits. One of the new contracts negotiated by the Teamsters, for example, has a 35-cent-an-hour ceiling.

backed by 5,900 flight attendants in Transport Workers Union Local 553 and 3,400 members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). The strikers have won official backing from their unions and from the leadership of the AFL-CIO. They also have the support of many nonunion workers at Eastern, most of whom were laid off shortly after the strike started.

On the other side are the owners of Eastern and Texas Air, led by Frank Lorenzo and backed by the billionaire capitalist class ruling families and government. Eastern is the seventh-largest U.S. airline, with assets it values at \$1.8 billion. Before the strike brought its operations to a halt, Eastern used to fly a million passengers every 10 days.

This battle is the most serious challenge the U.S. rulers have faced from the labor movement in the last decade.

## How strike began

When the workers first walked out, it was by no means guaranteed that they would be able to keep Eastern shut for this long. The strike's success in achieving this can be traced through different stages and turning points.

The first stage has its roots in the years before the strike began. In the early 1980s, the company—run at that time by Frank Borman—began a drive to get concessions from the workers and weaken the unions. This intensified sharply when Lorenzo bought Eastern in 1986—the point at which workers say the "reign of terror" began.

In late 1987, negotiations between the IAM and Eastern began, under Railway Labor Act auspices. It soon became clear that what Lorenzo was after was not a negotiated agreement with the unions. Instead, his aim was to repeat what he did at Continental, Texas Air's other airline, in 1983 — to break the unions.

The antiunion drive was accompanied by the selling off of company assets, or their transfer to Texas Air and Continental. No wonder that the "new" plan announced April 24 by Bakes for the reorganization of Eastern as a stripped-down, nonunion airline sounded familiar — like a smaller version of what management accompanied earlier at Continental.

In February 1989, after 16 months of negotiations, the Machinists took a strike authorization vote. Some 97 percent voted to back a strike.

When the final 30-day "cooling off" period ended March 4, the workers at Eastern were ready for a fight, and they went into it united.

## Support from flight attendants, pilots

The next turning point in the strike came with the decision by the flight attendants and pilots to back the Machinists' walkout.

The flight attendants, who had suffered some of the worst abuse and deepest pay and benefits cuts at Eastern, have been a key component of the strike from the beginning.

The backing of the pilots, however, was essential to keeping the airline grounded, and it was unclear what they would do. The pilots' association had been negotiating with Eastern themselves right up to the last minute.

Lorenzo—not to mention the rest of the capitalists and the government—clearly counted on either reaching a separate settlement with ALPA, or at least that a substantial number of pilots would continue to work in the event of a walkout by the Machinists.

The rulers had reason to think that the pilots would not honor the Machinists' strike. It has happened before. Top pay for full-seniority pilots goes as high as \$12,000 a month. At Eastern, pilots' wages were on the low end for major airlines—\$7,600 a month for a 12-year captain. As a professional layer among airline employees, most pilots usually see their interests as more in line with management than with mechanics, aircraft cleaners, flight attendants, and other workers.

On March 3 ALPA members voted overwhelmingly to honor the Machinists' strike,



Militant  
Some 1,500 unionists attended Eastern strike support rally in Detroit March 18, held at United Auto Workers Local 600 union hall.

and the 17-member ALPA council at Eastern backed that course unanimously.

## Rail pickets blocked

Shortly after the strike started, IAM officials made plans to set up secondary picket lines at Amtrak and other rail lines in New York, New Jersey, Boston, and other cities with heavy commuter rail traffic.

The IAM leadership's goal in calling for the rail pickets was to tie up the commuter railroads and force President George Bush to intervene in the Eastern strike. IAM and AFL-CIO officials have been pushing for government intervention to settle the dispute with Lorenzo since before the strike started.

On March 5, however, federal judges in Philadelphia and New York barred the pickets, despite their legality under the Railway Labor Act.

The Machinists' union leadership called on its members to obey the courts' decision. Many Eastern strikers looked to the secondary pickets as a way to extend the impact of their strike. And rail workers, too, were looking forward to backing the Eastern strikers by not crossing their picket lines.

But the Eastern workers refused to be provoked into breaking the court injunctions and held back from setting up the pickets—a move that could have jeopardized the broad public support for the strike and the unity of the strike itself.

## Bush doesn't step in

Another key question faced by the Eastern workers in the days leading up to the strike, and since, is whether or not the federal government would intervene. Under the Railway Labor Act, the option for federal intervention exists in a situation such as this, either to impose a contract settlement on the union or to force a further "cooling-off" period.

Initially, Bush refused to step in because he and others in ruling circles thought that such action would be unnecessary: Lorenzo could break the strike on his own. They were completely unprepared for the strike's success—the workers' capacity to draw the pilots into the walkout, the strike's power to shut down Eastern's operations, Lorenzo's inability to recruit scab pilots, and the outpouring of solidarity the strike won from millions of other working people.

Once Bush refused to step in—under the guise of "not interfering with collective bargaining"—it became more difficult for the rulers to exercise that option, although such action may still occur.

In the absence of government intervention, Eastern's owners moved within days to file for bankruptcy. By putting Eastern under the protection of the federal bankruptcy court, Lorenzo hopes to gain needed leverage in his drive to break the strike.

After federal bankruptcy court Judge Lifland was assigned to the Eastern case, he made a lot of noise about getting the airline flying again, even if he had to "bang heads" to do it. This he has been unable to do.

Although the bankruptcy court is now the medium through which Eastern's financial affairs must formally pass, the court will not take any action that goes against the bottom-line interests of Eastern's stockholders and

major creditors, including airplane manufacturers and the banks.

The strike itself, therefore, remains the ground on which the conflict between Lorenzo and the unions will be fought.

That ground is made firmer by the wide solidarity the strikers have won from other workers. This has been strengthened by the official support the strike has won from the AFL-CIO leadership.

In the days and weeks after the walkout began, thousands of unionists in cities around the country packed Eastern strike support rallies and marches and jammed airport picket lines. Nearly every union newspaper has been filled with stories about the importance of backing the Eastern strikers, as well as news of what unions are doing to get behind the strike.

Workers from other airlines, some of whom are currently in contract negotiations themselves, have been some of the Eastern workers' strongest supporters.

## What next?

The challenge facing strikers now is how to respond to Lorenzo's threat to strip down Eastern and restart operations as a smaller, nonunion outfit.

The answer lies in keeping the strike firm in the coming days and weeks, including at the shuttle and any other operations Lorenzo attempts to unload.

Winning even broader solidarity from the labor movement will be decisive. If Lorenzo can't get pilots to fly his planes, they will remain on the ground. If the labor movement throws its full weight behind the strike, others thinking of buying up parts of a carved-up Eastern can be made to see that the price will be too high.

Now is the time for the AFL-CIO and other unions to step up public strike support rallies, marches, and other activities. Now is the time to swell the airport picket lines around the clock. Other members of the IAM can play a special role in backing the strike.

The strikers can gain new support by appealing to unorganized workers as well, starting with those at Continental. Indications are that many workers at Continental would welcome a serious appeal by Eastern workers, especially if it included help in rebuilding the unions there.

Outreach to other unorganized and unemployed workers is also important for the Eastern strikers in combatting Lorenzo's efforts to hire other workers to replace them and in gaining support from broader layers of working people.

The response to the Eastern strikers at the massive April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., was an example of the solidarity that can be won from fighters in other struggles.

The flying public too can be reached. Convinced as to the justice of the union's fight and concerned about safety, many are already supporting the striker's appeal not to fly Eastern or Continental, and this support can be widened if Lorenzo tries to sell off parts of the airline.

"It's time for labor to put its foot down," said David Ferrose, a young ramp service worker and IAM Local 1018 member at LaGuardia. "If we stick together, we can win."



# Sales by New Zealand teams help to keep drive on schedule

BY FRED FELDMAN

At Otago University on New Zealand's South Island, more than 29 subscriptions to the *Militant*, one to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and one copy of *New International* were sold in a single day. The sale was a highlight of visits to the island by two socialist sales teams during the week of April 8-15.

The other team went to the Ocean Beach plant in Southland province, a center of the meat-packing industry. After setting up a table in the lunchroom with union cooperation, they sold 14 subscriptions to the *Militant*. Later, two more subscriptions were sold to meat-packers at the Makarewa plant.

On the country's North Island, teams of *Militant* supporters sold 20 subscriptions in the Auckland region. The sales included five to meat-packers at the Moerewa plant and four to workers at the big pulp and paper mill in Kawerau.

## Canadian sales

In Canada, a team of activists have been

## Poverty rate for rural workers is higher than for those in cities

The poverty rate among working families in U.S. rural areas is nearly double that in urban areas, according to a report issued April 11 by the Washington, D.C., Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

The overall poverty rate for rural residents is 17 percent, compared to 12.5 percent in urban areas.

The census data for 1987 also showed, however, that about 10 percent of rural families in which one or more members held a job were living below the official poverty line (\$9,056 for a family of three). In metropolitan areas, the figure was 5.7 percent.

About 44 percent of Blacks in rural areas were below the poverty line, compared with 33 percent of those in cities.

More of the poor people in rural areas are elderly — 12.6 percent were 65 or older — compared with 9.2 percent in metropolitan areas.

bringing the socialist publications to working people in Nova Scotia, on the country's Atlantic coast. They sold two *Militant* subscriptions, nine single copies of the newspaper, and five copies of the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis to mine workers at the Lingan coal mine.

Special teams like these, together with steady and well-organized work by *Militant* distributors in seven countries, are among the reasons why the drive to expand the circulation of five socialist publications is staying ahead of schedule. Nearly five weeks have been completed in the eight-week effort, which ends May 20, to sell a total of 8,000 subscriptions to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and French-language monthly *Lutte ouvrière*, and single copies of the Marxist journal *New International* and French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*.

## Earth Day

The interested response that the socialist publications are getting at demonstrations and other political gatherings is another contributing factor. In New York City on April 22, participants in the Earth Day protest against environmental destruction sold 38 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and 88 single copies.

That same day, in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, 30 *Militant* subscriptions were bought by participants in a rally of more than 1,000 protesting an event held by the racist Aryan Nations group.

## 'New International'

While the overall totals in the drive are basically where they should be at this time, sales of *New International* is one of the areas that is lagging behind. *New International* takes up, in more detail and greater depth, the questions and struggles that are covered in the *Militant* and the other socialist publications.

Like the other publications, *New International* is aimed at working-class fighters and other activists who are thinking about how to defend gains and win new ground. Many of the same people who buy subscriptions to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, or *Lutte ouvrière* will also want *New International*.

## ment Workers' Union.

Madrid, who became part of the *PM* staff in November 1988, was born in El Salvador. In 1980 he was studying at the University of El Salvador when it was occupied by the army. In the face of increasing repression, Madrid moved to the United States. He got a job in a San Francisco — area oil refinery, and was a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. He is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Luis Madrid and Selva Nebbia



Militant photos



Militant/Steve Marshall

Socialist publications were distributed from Pathfinder table in Lawrence, Kansas.

## Subscription drive scoreboard

Area	Drive Goals			Militant		New Intl*		PM (Perspectiva Mundial)		LO (Lutte ouvrière)	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
<b>UNITED STATES</b>											
Seattle*	210	159	76	150	138	25	7	30	9	5	5
Portland, Ore.*	195	139	71	160	114	20	16	10	5	5	4
Phoenix	132	93	70	70	59	20	8	40	26	2	0
Des Moines, Iowa	200	133	67	140	115	35	5	20	12	5	1
Greensboro, NC*	120	78	65	90	66	15	2	13	9	2	1
Price, Utah*	80	52	65	50	34	15	10	13	8	2	0
Houston	180	115	64	100	86	30	11	45	18	5	0
Brooklyn	345	220	64	190	134	60	48	65	31	30	7
Los Angeles	470	287	61	240	149	90	16	130	122	10	0
Cleveland	100	60	60	70	48	18	5	10	6	2	1
Omaha, Neb.	120	69	57	80	47	20	18	15	4	5	0
Charleston, WV	92	52	57	70	50	15	1	5	1	2	0
Philadelphia	190	105	55	125	89	25	2	30	14	10	0
Oakland, Calif.	175	93	53	100	75	30	9	40	7	5	2
New York	635	334	53	300	241	150	18	150	70	35	5
Birmingham, Ala.	170	86	51	130	65	25	17	10	1	5	3
Pittsburgh	165	83	50	120	75	30	4	10	4	5	0
Detroit	175	87	50	125	80	30	1	15	3	5	3
Salt Lake City	120	56	47	80	32	20	13	15	9	5	2
Newark, NJ	500	232	46	250	152	100	36	100	34	50	10
Miami	250	113	45	145	69	35	9	45	14	25	21
Austin, Minn.	87	39	45	60	35	15	1	10	3	2	0
Kansas City	105	47	45	65	42	20	1	15	4	5	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	275	123	45	200	93	35	21	30	9	10	0
Baltimore	155	69	45	115	61	25	0	10	8	5	0
Atlanta	205	84	41	150	66	30	8	20	10	5	0
Milwaukee	130	50	38	80	37	20	9	27	3	3	1
San Francisco	215	82	38	135	60	35	6	35	15	10	1
Boston	265	101	38	160	73	40	8	45	13	20	7
St. Louis	175	65	37	130	56	30	6	10	3	5	0
Morgantown, WV	115	41	36	75	39	25	2	10	0	5	0
Chicago	320	111	35	200	80	50	2	60	29	10	0
Washington, DC	170	54	32	100	38	25	0	35	16	10	0
Other U.S.	-	35	-	-	33	-	1	-	1	-	-
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>6,841</b>	<b>3,547</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>4,225</b>	<b>2,631</b>	<b>1,158</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>1,118</b>	<b>521</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>											
<b>BRITAIN</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
London	150	92	61	95	70	30	6	20	16	5	0
Manchester	61	35	57	40	26	15	7	5	2	1	0
South Yorks	60	26	43	30	19	20	3	10	4	-	0
South Wales	59	20	34	40	17	10	2	7	1	2	0
Other Britain	70	5	7	25	5	25	0	8	0	12	0
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>CANADA</b>											
Vancouver*	75	51	68	65	47	2	0	6	4	2	0
Toronto	270	121	45	150	69	50	19	50	25	20	8
Montréal	250	112	45	80	18	40	30	30	23	100	41
Other Canada	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>595</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>											
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auckland	100	74	74	75	69	15	1	6	4	4	0
Christchurch*	95	71	75	80	65	10	4	3	2	2	0
Wellington	70	49	70	45	44	20	0	3	5	2	0
Other New Zealand	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>NEW ZEALAND TOTAL</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>											
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
International Team	25	10	40	3	3	3	0	19	7	-	-
Other International	50	16	32	30	7	7	4	5	-	8	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,282</b>	<b>4,292</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>5,080</b>	<b>3,129</b>	<b>1,414</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>1,318</b>	<b>629</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>Drive Goals</b>	<b>8,000</b>			<b>4,900</b>		<b>1,350</b>		<b>1,300</b>		<b>450</b>	
<b>Should be</b>		<b>4,000</b>	<b>50%</b>		<b>2,450</b>		<b>675</b>		<b>650</b>		<b>225</b>

\*Single copies. Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*.

\*Raised goal during drive.



# Palestinian uprising in West Bank, Gaza opens way to new PLO diplomatic initiative

The following is an introduction to a forthcoming pamphlet *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation*, published by Pathfinder. It is based on eight articles by Fred Feldman that appeared under the same title in March through June 1988 issues of the *Militant*. The pamphlet also includes the article "West Bank, Gaza: labor pool for Israel," by Georges Sayad from the March 18, 1988, *Militant*.

BY FRED FELDMAN

This pamphlet provides an overview of the Palestinian struggle as part of the fight against colonialism and imperialist oppression in the Middle East. It spans the period from the opening of World War I to the beginning of the current *intifada* or uprising of the Palestinian people in December 1987.

The uprising has continued for well over a year. There have been daily, often massive protests by Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and on many occasions throughout Israel. This is the most sustained wave of struggle in Palestine since the 1936-39 Arab revolt against British rule.

Since the articles that were the basis of this pamphlet were written in mid-1988, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has taken a major diplomatic initiative that has shaped the international discussion on the Palestinian struggle.

At a meeting in Algeria in November 1988, the Palestine National Council (PNC), which serves as the Palestinian parliament, proclaimed "the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital Jerusalem."

"The State of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be," the council declared.

## PLO proposals

This declaration was accompanied by a communiqué affirming "the determination of the Palestine Liberation Organization to arrive at a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, which is the question of Palestine . . . in such a manner that safeguards the Palestinian Arab people's rights to return [to Palestine], to self-determination, and the establishment of their independent national state on their national soil, and that institutes arrangements for the security and peace of all states in the region."

The communiqué called for "all the means and capabilities needed to escalate our people's *intifadah* in various ways and on various levels to guarantee its continuation and intensification."

The proposed steps included strengthening "the popular committees and other specialized popular and trade union bodies, including the attack groups and the popular army, with a view to expanding their role and increasing their effectiveness."

The communiqué demanded "the withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem."

To implement this withdrawal, the Palestine National Council called for convening an international conference on the basis of, among other things, United Nations resolutions 242 and 338.

UN Security Council Resolution 242 was adopted in the wake of the 1967 Israeli war against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. It called for Israeli withdrawal from "territories of recent conflict" and "acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area," including Israel.

Resolution 338, adopted during the 1973 Israeli war with Egypt and Syria, called for negotiations to end the fighting and to resolve the overall conflict between Israel and the Arab countries.

The Palestine National Council resolution stressed that the basis of the international conference includes "the attainment of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is the right to self-determination."

The PNC also affirmed that the perspective for the future relationship between Palestine and Jordan should be a confederation



Palestinian youth on West Bank march in December celebrate anniversary of uprising  
Impact Visuals/Neal Cassidy

## Under current conditions, demand for Palestinian state advances fight to end Israeli military rule and repression.

based on the free and voluntary choice of the two peoples.

The statement upheld "the right of peoples to resist foreign occupation, colonialism, and racial discrimination, and their right to struggle for their independence." It reiterated the PLO's "rejection of terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism."

The council expressed "appreciation of the role and courage of Israeli peace forces" and proposed to reinforce and develop relations with them.

Both the Israeli and U.S. governments rejected the PLO proposals. On November 26, 1988, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz barred PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat from entering the United States to speak at the UN General Assembly in New York.

In the face of Shultz's move, the General Assembly voted 154-2 to hold a special session December 13-15 in Switzerland, in order to discuss Palestine and hear the Palestinian leader. This was the first time the General Assembly had met outside New York since it established its headquarters there in 1952.

## Pressure on Washington

On December 13 Arafat addressed the body. With pressure mounting on Washington to lift its ban on talks with PLO leaders, Arafat held a news conference the following day.

Basing himself on the PNC decisions, he endorsed the right of all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict "to exist in peace and security . . . including the state of Palestine, Israel, and other neighbors."

Arafat responded to suggestions that the uprising be called off: "Let it be absolutely clear that neither Arafat, nor any for that matter, can stop the *intifada*, the uprising. The *intifada* will come to an end only when practical and tangible steps have been taken towards the achievement of our national aims and the establishment of our independent Palestinian state."

Immediately after the news conference, Shultz announced the end of the U.S. government's 13-year boycott of diplomatic meetings with the PLO.

The first formal meeting took place in Tunis December 16 between PLO officials

and Robert Pelletreau, the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia. A second meeting occurred March 22.

In the wake of the second meeting, U.S. officials reiterated their opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

More than 100 governments and the UN General Assembly have so far accorded some form of recognition to the newly proclaimed state. On April 2, 1989, Arafat was chosen by the Palestine Central Council, a second Palestinian legislative body, as president of the State of Palestine.

## Balance of forces

Taken as a whole, the PLO's diplomatic initiative registered the balance of forces confronting the Palestinian struggle today. In the years leading up to the *intifada*, this struggle was dealt some savage setbacks.

The most severe was the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon and siege of Beirut, which forced the PLO to evacuate its fighters. The Israeli occupation of West Beirut was followed by massacres of up to 3,000 Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, carried out by rightist militias in complicity with the invaders.

These setbacks dealt devastating blows to the Palestinian masses in Lebanon, and separated the PLO from what had been its strongest base of organized support.

Earlier the Palestinian organization had been crushed in a bloodbath in Jordan. And in 1979 the Egyptian government had signed a separate peace treaty with the Israeli regime, which gave the Israelis more confidence to move against PLO forces.

Moreover, there have been no major revolutionary advances in the Middle East since the 1979 Iranian revolution. The upsurge in Iran was contained and a capitalist regime was consolidated.

An eight-year war followed the Iraqi regime's reactionary invasion of Iran in 1980, providing a pretext for capitalist and landlord regimes in Arab countries to give lower priority to the Palestinian cause in the name of confronting Iran.

Although Israel's capitalist government faces growing economic problems and increased opposition to its brutal treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, no massive struggles or broad radicalization of Israeli workers and farmers have developed yet.

Despite the severe blows the Palestinian struggle has taken, the *intifada* has reaffirmed its viability and irrepressibility. A surge of solidarity with this struggle has grown among working people worldwide, which has greatly strengthened the Palestinian cause.

Within this current framework, the PLO

call for the establishment of a Palestinian state advances the fight to force the Israeli government to end its military rule over and bloody repression of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The initiative is enabling the Palestinian fighters to win more space to organize and win broader support for their struggle against the Israeli regime. This also contributes to laying the basis for organizing a movement that can overturn this regime in the entire area that was formerly Palestine.

Already the PLO's action has put the Israeli government on the defensive politically, increasing the political price it must pay for trying to drown the uprising in blood.

Coming in the midst of the current struggle being waged by the Palestinian people, the PLO proposal deepened the isolation of the Israeli rulers at home and abroad. It has intensified the political crisis that the Israeli government faces over how to respond to the uprising — a crisis magnified by the worsening economic and social conditions inside Israel.

## Problems for Israeli regime

The response in Israel to the *intifada* has built on the opposition that developed in Israel to the invasion of Lebanon. This included protests by soldiers and reservists, and a demonstration in September 1982 of 400,000 against the massacres in Sabra and Shatila.

Today, the regime confronts stirrings of discontent among Israeli soldiers who are expected to beat and gun down Palestinian children and other protesters. "The situation is catastrophic," one soldier warned Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir last January 17. "It is destroying us and strengthening them. We need an urgent political solution."

A growing debate has been spurred inside Israel among Jewish workers, farmers, soldiers, and others over how to achieve peace.

The regime's fear of opposition from this quarter was highlighted by the February 1988 arrest and subsequent prosecution of Michel Warshawski, director of the Alternative Information Centre in Israel. With a staff including Jews and Palestinians, the center provides information on the social conditions and repression that Palestinians face.

Warshawski faces 23 years in prison on charges of aiding a prohibited, allegedly terrorist organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The trumped-up charge was based on the center's printing of material for publicly functioning student, women's, and labor groups on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The same month Warshawski was arrested, the Israeli regime shut down *Derech Hanitzotz* (Way of the Spark), which was published in both Hebrew and Arabic. Five editors were arrested. The editor of the Arabic edition was released after six months in prison without charges.

The other four were charged with "contact with a foreign agent" and membership in the outlawed Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a PLO affiliate. They faced the possibility of sentences of up to 40 years in prison.

International opposition to this attack on freedom of the press forced the Israeli rulers to make a plea bargain in January 1989, dropping the "foreign agent" charge and setting relatively light sentences. One of the four was immediately released after nine months in prison.

On Nov. 15, 1988, the Israeli Broadcasting Authority barred radio and television from broadcasting the declaration of a Palestinian state or any of the other proceedings of the Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers. Using the term "Palestinian state" or broadcasting interviews with Arabs from the West Bank, Gaza Strip, or Israel about the decisions of the PNC meeting were also forbidden.

## International solidarity grows

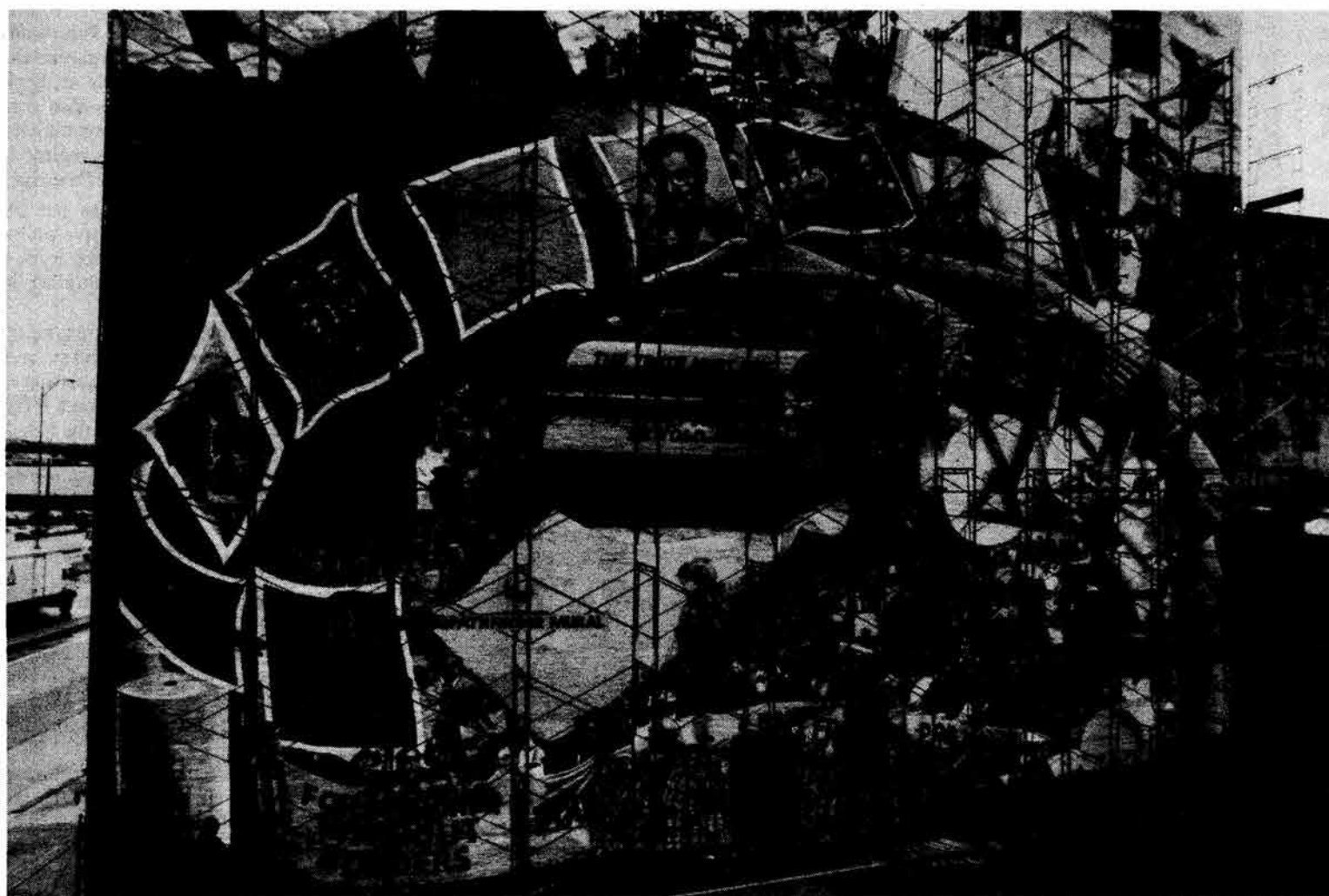
In the United States, the *intifada* has reinforced support for the Palestinian struggle among workers and farmers, and

Continued on Page 13



# \$125,000 fund goal set to complete

## Portraits of Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, Frederick Engel



Militant/Alicia Merel

Six-story Pathfinder mural at West and Charles streets in Manhattan. A May 27 open house will officially relaunch work on the project.

### BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — The Pathfinder Mural Project has set a goal of raising \$125,000 in order to complete work on the giant mural being painted on the south wall of the Pathfinder building in Manhattan. The work will be completed by early fall.

It covers all six stories of the Pathfinder building and will be one of the largest murals in the United States.

The mural promotes Pathfinder and the books and pamphlets it publishes. Its centerpiece is a large web printing press churning out books and pamphlets for fighting workers and farmers around the world. On the open pages of the books, as they roll off the press, are portraits of outstanding revolutionary leaders whose writings and speeches Pathfinder has published.

### \$20,000 matching fund

Mark Severs, head of Pathfinder sales and promotions, is organizing the fund-raising effort. Two supporters of the project are contributing to a fund that will match

contributions of \$500 or more, up to a total of \$20,000. The fund will continue through June.

"From now through the end of June everyone who gives \$500 or more to the project will actually be helping to raise double the amount they give," Severs explained. Some supporters can hold fund-raising events at their homes or at a gallery. Amounts over \$500 raised at those events will go to the matching fund.

The matching fund will help to raise the \$50,000 needed to restart the project and sustain it over the first two months.

Contributions to the project are tax deductible.

### Color photographic displays

Full color photographic displays of the mural are now available. The displays will greatly aid supporters of the mural project in other cities in raising support and funds for the project. The display consists of a 17-by-22-inch photograph of the full mural and ten 8-by-10-inch photographs of portraits featured in the mural. A complete display is \$300. The large photograph of the full mural alone is \$100. Each of the 8-by-10s is \$25. Everyone who contributes \$500 or more to the project will receive a complete display.

Pathfinder's goal is for each of its bookstores around the world to have a complete display. "We are encouraging Pathfinder bookstores to appeal to their supporters to raise the funds for the display," Severs said.

One supporter who works at a commercial bookstore in San Diego, California, took a photograph of the mural in to work. The owner of the store, who is from South Africa, gave \$250 for the project.

Several video interviews have been done with exiled South African artist Dumile Feni discussing the importance of the mural and his artistic work. They include an interview by the news program "South Africa Now." Feni painted a portrait on the mural of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Feni is a member of the ANC.

Two mural supporters in Albany, New York, are planning an event at which Feni will show and discuss his work. They have set a goal of raising \$2,000 for the project at the event. Feni is available for fund-raising events in other cities.

Among the portraits remaining to be done are those of Cuban communist leader Fidel Castro; U.S. Black rights leader and revolutionary Malcolm X; Farabundo Martí, for whom El Salvador's revolutionary movement is named; a group portrait of the Russian leaders of the Communist International in its early years — Nikolai Bukharin, V.I. Lenin, Karl Radek, Leon Trotsky, and Gregory Zinoviev; and portraits of the founders of modern communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

The painting of these portraits will help to promote several new titles to be published by Pathfinder in the coming months.

*Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, a collection of six never-before-published speeches and interviews of the revolutionary leader

will be available at the end of May. Two of the speeches were given in February 1965 during the last weeks of Malcolm X's life.

*Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* will come off the press at the end of April. It will be the first English-language edition of Cuban writer Carlos Tablada Pérez' book, which was first published in 1987.

*In Defense of Socialism*, by Fidel Castro, will also be available at the end of April. In four speeches given on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, Castro explains his views on the lessons of 30 years of building socialism in Cuba, the prospects for socialism in today's world, internationalism, and many other topics.

*Workers and Oppressed Nations of the World Unite! Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International* will appear at the end of this year. It is the fourth volume to appear in a series on the Communist International.

Painting was halted on the mural last November. It will begin again in mid-May.

### Open house

A May 27 open house at Pathfinder will officially relaunch the project. The event will be held on Charles Street, at the corner of West Street, the site of the mural. More than a dozen prominent artists from 10 countries have participated in the project, along with many more artists in the New York area. All of them have expressed interest in returning to work on the mural, and many of them are planning to attend the open house.

A large display of the books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder will be set up along Charles Street at the open house. Other working-class publishers; anti-apartheid, Central America solidarity, and women's rights groups; and others are invited to set up informational displays at the open house.

The floor and guard rail planking of the scaffold at the mural site that was removed during the winter will be put back in place at the beginning of May. The scaffold was erected by one of the city's largest construction companies and costs just over \$1,000 a month.

Two offices that house the project in the building are being renovated for the reopening. The renovated facilities will provide expanded, better organized, and more comfortable space for those participating in the project.



Militant/Alicia Merel

Mural portrait of Louis Riel by Québécois artist Armand Vaillancourt.



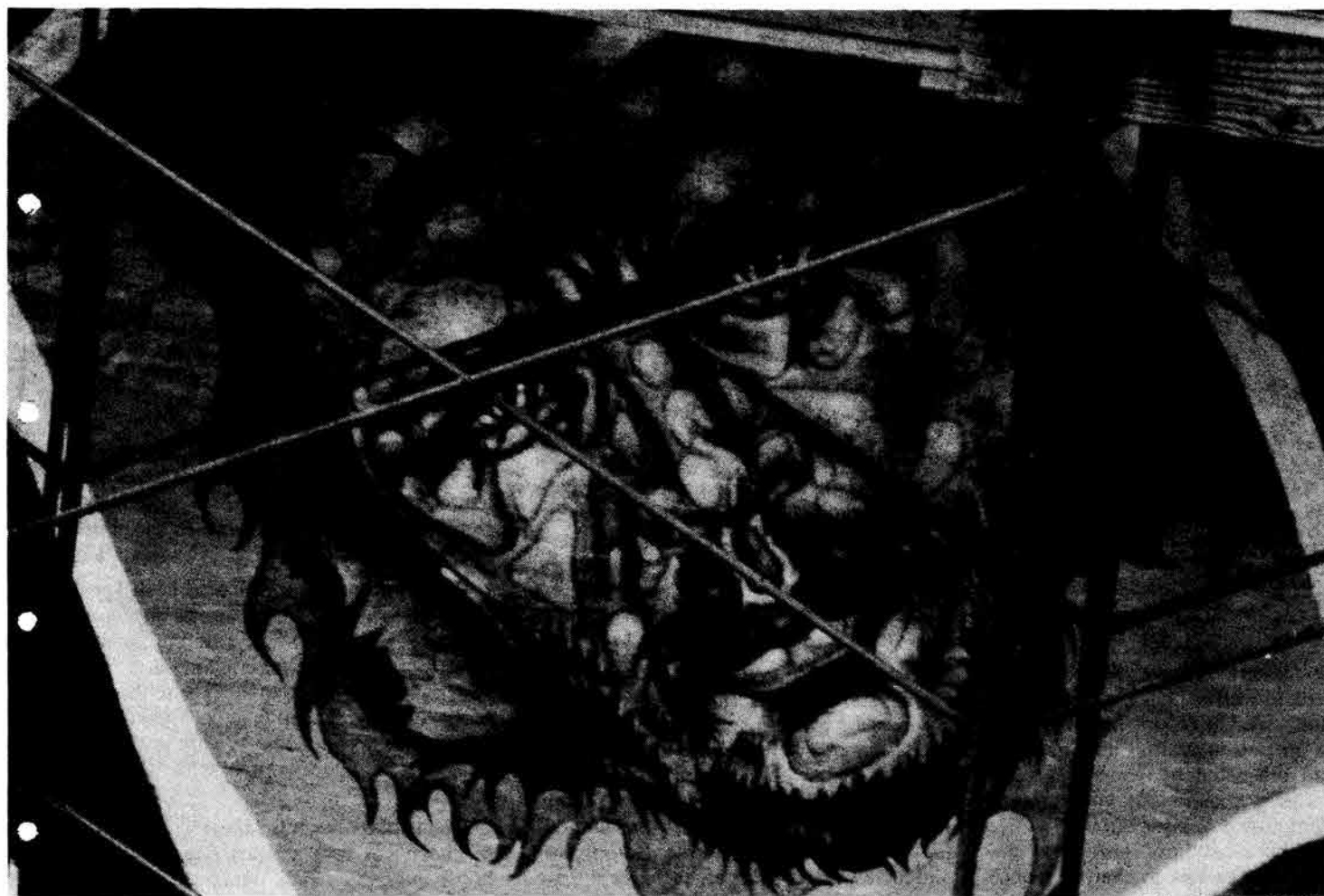
Militant/Alicia Merel

Exiled South African artist Dumile Feni with mural portrait of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.



# work on six-story Pathfinder mural

## Is, Comintern leaders to help promote new Pathfinder titles



Pathfinder mural portrait of Cuban Communist leader Ernesto Che Guevara was painted by Argentine artist Ricardo Carpani

Among the portraits completed so far is that of Nelson Mandela, painted by South African artist Dumile Feni. Pathfinder has published Mandela's autobiographical work, *The Struggle is My Life*, and the Spanish-language pamphlet *Habla Nelson Mandela*.

A portrait of Thomas Sankara, the central leader of the revolution in the west African country of Burkina Faso, was painted by Lynne Pelletier of Canada. *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the slain African communist, was published last August.

Ricardo Carpani is one of the most prominent artists in Argentina and Latin America. Last fall he painted a portrait on the mural of the Argentine-born leader of the Cuban revolution, Ernesto Che Guevara. In addition to the forthcoming book on Guevara mentioned earlier, Pathfinder has published many works by Guevara, including *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* which appeared last fall.

Nicaraguan artists Arnolando Guillén and Carlos Montenegro also participated in the project. Guillén painted portraits of Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca. Sandino led armed opposition to U.S. marines occupying Nicaragua in the 1920s and '30s. Fonseca was the founder of Central American Marxism and of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Montenegro added portraits of six of the peasant generals of Sandino's army.

Two U.S. communist leaders, James Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, were painted by Bob Allen, a former coal miner who now works at the Pathfinder building. Cannon was a founder and leader of the Communist Party and later of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs was a leader of the battles fought by Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis, Minnesota in the 1930s and also a founder of the Socialist Workers Party. He succeeded Cannon as its national secretary.

Pathfinder has published many volumes by both of these working-class leaders.

A portrait of Mary Harris, better known as Mother Jones, was done by New York muralist Eva Cockcroft. A sketch for the portrait of the German revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg was provided by artist May Stevens and painted by the mural's designer Mike Alewitz. U.S. labor and socialist leader Eugene Debs was painted by David Fichter.

More than 20 artists from 10 countries

have contributed portraits on the mural. Many more artists in the New York area have participated in the project in some way. Funds are needed to cover travel and other expenses of artists who will paint the remaining portraits on the mural.

The printing press in the mural is surrounded by a march of thousands of workers and peasants led by working-class leaders from around the world. At the head of the march is a banner proclaiming, "For a world without borders!" in Spanish, French, and English. The \$125,000 fund will help bring artists from across the United States and around the world to paint portraits in this march scene.

One of those is the Irish muralist Gerard Kelly. He is also an activist in the republican movement, which is fighting against Britain's armed occupation there. Kelly who was to paint portraits of Irish republican leaders Bobby Sands and James Connolly has been denied entry into the U.S. on political grounds. While on a trip to Belfast, Northern Ireland, I met with Kelly, who would still like to participate in the project and is reapplying to come to the United States.

Colombian artist Alirio Vargas will paint a portrait of the Latin American independence fighter Simón Bolívar. Supporters of the project in New Zealand are raising

funds to send that country's leading Maori artist here to paint portraits of leading Maori figures who fought against the British conquest of the island.

New Zealand artist Malcolm McAlister contributed several of the portraits on the mural. He will be returning to direct the final painting and work at the mural site.

New York artist Camille Perotter is looking forward to painting Louise Michel, a leading figure from the 1871 Paris Commune.

As news about the mural spreads, we are receiving more requests from artists from different countries to come and contribute work on the project.

Sam Manuel is the director of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

Clip and mail to: Pathfinder Mural Project, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Pathfinder Mural Project.

☐ Enclosed is a tax-deductible contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_. Make checks payable to the Anchor Foundation.

☐ I would like to host a fund-raising event.

☐ I would like \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the mural project brochure.

☐ I would like to work on, paint, or document the project.

☐ Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ photographic display(s) of the mural. \$300 each. ☐ \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the 17 X 22 photograph of mural alone. \$100 each. ☐ \$\_\_\_\_\_ for 8 X 10 feature portraits. \$25 each. Indicate which portraits and how many.

☐ Mandela \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Sankara \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Bishop \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Guevara \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Fonseca \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Sandino \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Cannon \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Dobbs \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Mother Jones \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Debs \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

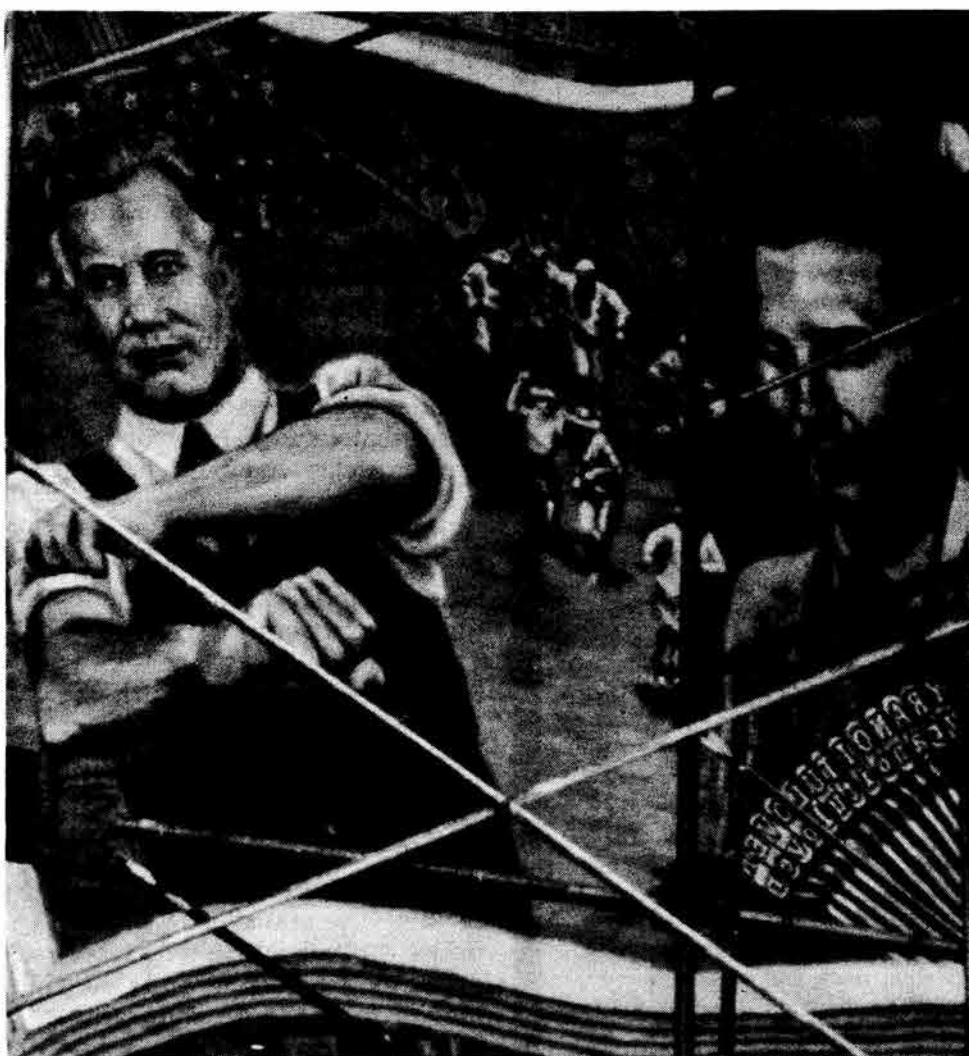
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Organization/Union/School \_\_\_\_\_



Militant/Alicia Merel

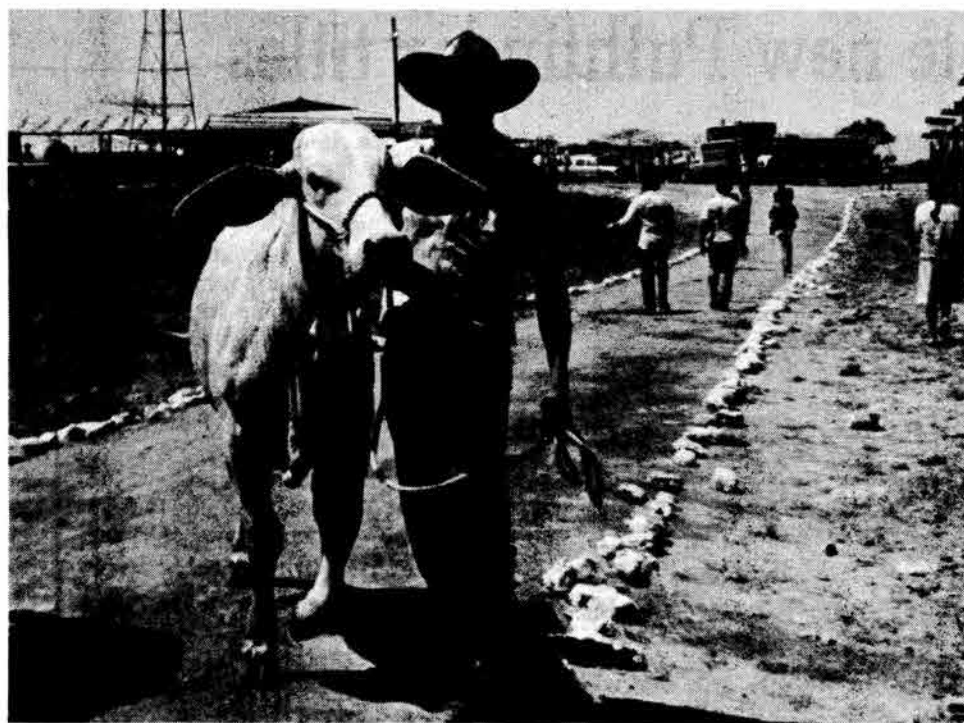
James P. Cannon (left) and Farrell Dobbs, U.S. working-class leaders and founders of the Socialist Workers Party, painted by Bob Allen. Right, New York muralist Eva Cockcroft's portrait of mine union activist Mother Jones.



Militant/Selva Nebbia



# Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega announces new concessions to farmers



Livestock handler at recent cattle fair in Nicaragua. Wealthy farmers are pressing to bring end to land reform.

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On April 20 Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced new concessions to private farmers, particularly in the area of banking and credit policies.

The measures were announced at the end of a two-day conference at which leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and economic ministries listened to the demands of farmers and ranchers involved in many types of agricultural production.

Family farmers and cooperatives were represented, as well as large capitalist farmers and ranchers. The reports from the commissions on cotton, cattle, and irrigated rice, were presented by wealthy private farmers who are leaders of various anti-government growers' associations.

One of the most important steps announced by Ortega was to sharply reduce the farmers' back debt to the state bank as an incentive to get them to plant more in the current growing season. The package of austerity measures adopted over recent

months included the requirement that farmers pay off back loans before receiving new ones, and at spiraling interest rates pegged to inflation.

Ortega announced that the bank will immediately forgive 50 percent of the accumulated debt of all farmers who grow cotton, irrigated rice, and sorghum, and basic food crops. The remaining half of their debt will be renegotiated over five years with one full year's grace period and at low interest rates.

Cotton farmers got extra bonuses equivalent to the full amount of their back debt, contingent on their planting during the 1989-90 season. Cotton, irrigated rice, and sorghum production are overwhelmingly in the hands of capitalist farmers here, while most producers of basic food crops are family farmers.

## Interest rates reduced

Interest rates for new agricultural loans were also reduced. Moreover, the government announced it would adjust them only once every four months and that the monthly rate would not exceed 20 percent. This is much less than the rate of inflation over the last year.

Reports to the conference from the different branches of agricultural production emphasized problems with economic policies. But many of the reports also raised the demand for an end to land confiscations and occupations. Ernesto Salazar, reporting for the cattle ranchers, called on the government to revise the agrarian reform law and review land confiscations to see if there were former owners who should get their lands back.

Ramiro Saborío, a leader of the León cotton growers' confederation, said that if

peasants had to be given land somewhere, it should be outside Region II, the large coastal plain where many of the cotton plantations are. Saborío said Region II should be reserved for farmers with the technology, experience, and resources to use it properly.

## Call for a 'land bank'

A statement from the Association of Rural Workers (ATC) also took up the question of land reform, calling on the government to establish a "land bank" to respond to the pressure for land that leads to occupations by peasants.

"It is the policy of the government and of the revolution to guarantee private property," said President Ortega in his closing speech. "But we must also consider the demand of thousands of peasants who were driven off their lands in past years and are now justly demanding land." He expressed the government's agreement with the establishment of a land bank, which would "assign land in an orderly way to the most needy peasants."

Regarding the peasants who have been taking over land in some parts of the country, Ortega said, "They are acting outside the law, and we cannot condone that. The government promises to make sure the law is obeyed. This type of land occupation just disorganizes production. We are not going to accept being presented with de facto takeovers."

One of the demands raised by the cattle ranchers was for "at least one slaughterhouse in private hands" and for the right to export beef outside the state monopoly. Ortega said the government would continue giving permission for direct export of cattle on the hoof on a case-by-case basis, but there are no immediate plans to authorize a private slaughterhouse. "What sense would it make to open one if there is no market for the beef? First you have to find the market," he said.

Ortega told the farmers that a conference would be held in Sweden soon at which people from different European countries would discuss aid for Nicaragua. He invited the capitalist farmers and ranchers to be part of the Nicaraguan delegation to the conference and indicated that the government would back up their requests for foreign investment and aid.

## Atlantic Coast Indians on peace accord

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

ALAMIKAMBA, Nicaragua — Alamikamba was once a busy little river port, where the U.S. companies that extracted gold and timber from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region loaded their boats for shipment down the Prinzapolka River and out to sea. Its population is 750, virtually all Miskito Indians.

In 1981 about 40 percent of the males in the area, under the leadership of a man named Alfredo Logan, joined the forces fighting against the Nicaraguan government. Villagers along the river sheltered the Miskito soldiers, and for four or five years government representatives and service workers could not enter the area. A nurse and a doctor who tried to enter in 1983 were kidnapped and held for two years. At a meeting with Logan and 30 of his troops in March, we were told that we were the first foreign journalists in Alamikamba since 1981.

Logan and the 50 soldiers under his command signed a peace accord with the Nicaraguan government in October 1988. Under the terms of the agreement, the Miskito soldiers keep their arms, and in fact many were issued new rifles by the Sandinista People's Army because their own no longer worked. Food and other supplies are brought in from the town of Rosita in the mining region, and health workers make regular visits.

At a meeting in Alamikamba's Moravian Church, Logan and some of his lieutenants explained their view of how the conflict started.

Logan said he participated in the founding of the organization MISURISATA and supported the first literacy brigades in Miskito. "But then," he said, "people started spreading stories to the government that the Miskitos were plotting against the revolution." The government arrested *brigadistas* and Miskito leaders, and Logan alleged that some Indian leaders were dropped into the sea from helicopters. Logan and a few others went to Honduras, where they were trained by North Americans and Chileans.

## Peace accord signed

Logan said that after the government initiated talks on autonomy for the coast in 1985 and 1986, his supporters "started

watching this and having discussions there in the mountains." The peace accord was finally signed last October. Logan defended Brooklyn Rivera, a Miskito who remains outside the country and has not signed any accord, saying only that "Brooklyn specializes in working on international relations, and we don't know much about work outside Nicaragua."

The peace accord included an agreement that the government would begin to provide certain services and goods. "You can see what the situation of Alamikamba is," said Logan. "We produce rice, beans, watermelons, corn — they are all seasonal, and out of season there is no work. We need a source of work like a sawmill or something so that we can survive."

Virgilio Logan, the head of the Peace and Autonomy Commission in Alamikamba and Alfredo's brother, spoke even more angrily about what he saw as government non-compliance with the accords. "These guys were wild," he said, "It wasn't easy to go into the hills and persuade them to talk. They were ready to kill you."

Virgilio Logan said he wonders now if the government promises weren't just a ruse to get the Miskito to stop fighting. He also claimed that there had been agreement that the army would pay the Miskito soldiers, each according to his rank, and that two trucks and motor boats would be provided. This has not happened, he said. "And if the road doesn't get fixed this month, then the rains will come, and it will be all over."

Representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) said that the limited resources and vehicles were being shared with Alamikamba. If Logan's troops hadn't been paid for several months, they said, neither had the regular army. They indicated they were trying to negotiate international financing for a development project.

Logan's forces and the army were at war for nearly eight years, and it has been only five months since they signed a peace agreement. Big areas of disagreement still exist between the former rebels and supporters — including Miskito supporters — of the FSLN.

The one thing there is agreement on is that

both sides are complying with the cease-fire. Since October there has been no fighting between the Miskito troops and the army, and in fact the two fought jointly against an attack by non-Miskito contra bands a few months ago. And the day after our visit, the Alamikamba baseball team, made up entirely of former fighters, came to Rosita for a game. They played the army team.

## Subscribe to 'Perspectiva Mundial' 'PM' features Sankara speech

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In May, PM features a speech by Thomas Sankara, "The Revolution Cannot Triumph Without the Emancipation of Women." This presentation was made to thousands of women in Burkina Faso in 1987 by Sankara, the central leader of the revolution in that country before he was assassinated.

Sankara traced the roots of women's oppression and described the status of women under capitalism. He then took up the status, the role, and challenges facing both men and women in a revolutionary society, if this society is to advance.



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# INS wants to deport South African exile in Des Moines

BY HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN

DES MOINES, Iowa — Shortly after his arrival in the United States, Daniel Abang-Ntuen, a South African refugee, applied for political asylum. The U.S. government is trying to deport him. Abang-Ntuen was born 30 years ago in Auguletu, Cape Town, in South Africa. He has been residing in Des Moines. If deported, he fears for his life and safety at the hands of the South African regime. "The South African government is extremely repressive. Going back to South Africa is very dangerous for me," he said in a recent interview. "I just came out from eight years of detention there during which I suffered numerous beatings and torture."

In January the Office of Asylum Affairs in the State Department issued an advisory opinion to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, indicating that Abang-Ntuen had not established a well-founded fear of persecution.

In a follow-up letter, INS District Director James Cole said the agency intends to deny Abang-Ntuen's request for asylum because he has "not provided sufficient evidence of conflict with South African . . . authorities beyond that level that is commonly experienced" and "thus failed to establish a well-founded fear of persecution upon return."

The INS has refused to grant Abang-Ntuen a work permit that would allow him to get a job and support his wife and their six-month-old daughter, who was born in Des Moines. Support from friends and others concerned with his case is making it possible for them to get by.

Abang-Ntuen was just three years old when his father was murdered by the South African police because of his political activities against the apartheid regime.

In 1978 his mother went to Zambia to visit a friend who was a member of the African National Congress. South African

troops attacked the ANC camp where his mother was visiting, and she was murdered.

After traveling to Zambia to try to find his mother, Abang-Ntuen, 20 years old at the time, tried to go back to South Africa but was detained by South African troops in Namibia. They beat, tortured, and shot him. He was denied medical attention. Then, the South African police threw him in a detention camp for eight years.

Eventually Abang-Ntuen came to the attention of a Christian missionary. In late 1986 he was released with the help of the missionary, with whom he traveled to the Caribbean.

One of the documents submitted as part of his asylum application is a medical affidavit that describes more than a dozen scars on his body, a result of beatings, stabbing, and bullet wounds inflicted on him by the South African police during his years of detention.

Abang-Ntuen is confident that he can win enough support in the United States to make a victory possible. That is why he decided to publicly denounce the denial of his rights and appeal for solidarity. "I think people with conscience will be willing to fight with me, for the apartheid regime is one of the most brutal ones ever. If people stood up to the Nazis, they will stand against the apartheid regime. I believe I can galvanize support," he said.

A petition is being circulated by his friends and supporters that reads: "We the undersigned, being opposed to the oppressive policy of apartheid by the government of the Union of South Africa support the



Militant/Sara Lobman

Daniel Abang-Ntuen — beaten, tortured and detained eight years by South African police — seeks political asylum in the United States.

efforts of Mr. Daniel Abang-Ntuen to gain asylum in America. We urge the United States Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to grant him asylum."

Mark Curtis, an imprisoned political activist framed up by the Des Moines police, said, "If Daniel Abang-Ntuen is forced back to South Africa, he will be jailed and tortured for the crime of being born Black in a white supremacist state. The U.S. government will be just as guilty as South Africa for the beating and possible murder Abang-Ntuen will suffer if he is deported.

"Apartheid has made all nonwhites illegal aliens in their own land. Justice demands he be allowed asylum here, especially after the years the U.S. government has helped the apartheid system."

Abang-Ntuen is asking that letters urging that he be granted political asylum be sent to: James Cole, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1008 Federal Office Building, 106 S. 15th St., Omaha, Neb. 68102. Copies should be sent to Daniel Abang-Ntuen, c/o Seventh Day Adventist Church, 2317 Watrous Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50321.

## ANC leaders bring anti-apartheid message to Australia

BY KATE BLAKENEY

SYDNEY, Australia—Thomas Nkobi and Steve Tshwete, leaders of the African National Congress (ANC), discussed the growing freedom struggle in southern Africa at a meeting of more than 200 people here April 13.

The meeting was part of an Australian-wide tour of Nkobi, treasurer general of the ANC, and Tshwete, a national executive committee member.

Tshwete stressed the importance of the recent developments toward independence in Namibia and its impact on the South African government.

Nkobi pointed to the battle at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola as the turning point in the struggle for independence in Namibia. In March 1988, joint Cuban, Namibian, and Angolan forces defeated South African troops at Cuito Cuanavale.

"This defeat of the apartheid regime was a tremendous victory for the people of the whole of southern Africa," Nkobi said, "and its significance is not lost on increasing numbers within South Africa."

"There are mass mobilizations, not just of Blacks, but many, many whites who are aware that the policies of the apartheid state are dangerous for them and who are becoming conscious of the need for a non-racial South Africa," explained Nkobi.

He pointed to the growing anti-apartheid movement among white South Africans, which has seen 143 jailed last year. There is also a growing movement in South Africa of mothers opposed to conscription.

The international anti-apartheid movement should step up its campaign to isolate the South African state, Nkobi urged.

Nkobi and Tshwete's tour was sponsored by the Australian People's Health, Education and Development Abroad, the aid organization of the Australian Confederation of Trade Unions.

## Grand Canyon Indians resist uranium mine

BY DAVID SALNER

PHOENIX, Ariz. — The Havasupai Indians are the traditional inhabitants of the South Rim area of the Grand Canyon. Through a long history of congressional acts, court interpretations, and outright robbery, the 500 remaining Havasupai have been driven into a much smaller reservation in the canyon itself. "We were forced down into the canyon, but we have never forgotten where our forefathers lived," said tribal council member Rex Tilousi.

Despite it all, the Havasupai have maintained access to Red Butte, Wii'igwiisa in their language, a sacred spot revered as the birth place of their people. The butte is in Kaibab National Forest just 30 miles outside the current borders of their reservation.

But in September 1986 Energy Fuels Nuclear, Inc. received permission from the National Forest Service to begin construction of a uranium mine at Red Butte.

"This mine . . . will destroy a vital part of our religion and the right to practice our religious beliefs as Havasupai," states an affidavit signed by tribal representatives. A suit based on this affidavit has been filed in federal district court here in Phoenix. It is aimed at stopping EFN from sinking a mine shaft into the heart of this sacred Indian land. In the court proceedings here, lawyers for EFN and the National Forest Service have questioned the legitimacy of the Havasupai religion. They also point to a 1985 congressional mandate to the Forest Service to approve all "reasonable" mining operations on federal land. Mining takes priority even in a conflict with tribal rights and other human needs, so long as it's "reasonable." A week in this federal courtroom provides ample proof that the religious rights of the Havasupai are under attack.

The U.S. government has a long history of weakening Indian tribal rights so mine and timber companies can strip away raw materials at budget rates.

The Big Mountain Joint Use area was an example. The Hopi and Navajo residents of this part of northern Arizona have seen their homeland stolen by the U.S. government with the approval of the Hopi tribal administration. As a result, 10,000 people, primarily Navajo, are being "relocated" to make way for a giant strip mine operated by Pea-

body Coal Co., which will reap a profit bonanza.

Tilousi noted that the Havasupai will not be the only victims of EFN's Canyon Mine. "Over 3 million visitors come to the canyon each year. The dust from the drilling will go toward the Grand Canyon," he said.

The Grand Canyon has already been contaminated by the nuclear industry, as have Indian lands in Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico.

In 1979 the nation's largest radioactive spill dumped 93 million gallons of liquid and 1,100 tons of solid radioactive waste from a tailings pond of the Church Rock mine in northeastern New Mexico. Downstream waterways were poisoned, including the Little Colorado River and Grand Canyon. Also contaminated were the New Lands, the federally designated tribal homeland for Navajos relocated from the Joint Use Area.

Environmentalists point out that uranium from EFN's Canyon Mine will be trucked to the White Mesa mill near Blanding, Utah, for processing. This route crosses the Navajo and White Mesa Ute reservations. The danger to surrounding communities is obvi-

ous from an incident that EFN refused to report.

The fall 1988 issue of *Tribal People Survival* tells the story. In 1986 a truck leaving a North Rim ENF mine ran off U.S. 160 spilling 10 tons of uranium ore on Navajo land. EFN personnel were attempting to cover up the uranium when tribal police arrived. It was two weeks before the company finally cleared the radioactive mess from the interstate roadside.

Opposition to uranium mining in northern Arizona has brought many environmental activists to the side of the Havasupai. They point out that EFN, already mining widely on the North Rim, possesses thousands of claims on the South Rim.

An article in the *Sedona Times* by Maya Valverde reported that EFN is one of the chief lobbyists for a bill pending in U.S. Congress that would allow the U.S. government to buy \$750 million of processed uranium to boost its price per pound.

More than 50 environmental and antinuclear activists picketed EFN outside the Phoenix federal court house last February in support of the Havasupai suit.

## New Zealand picket at U.S. embassy supports abortion rights march

BY KATE GORE

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — More than 50 people picketed the U.S. embassy here April 9 to demonstrate their solidarity with the National March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives in Washington, D.C.

The protest was organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC), an organization that fights for the right to abortion. Other groups supporting the protest included the Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand, Women's Electoral Lobby, and the Socialist Action League.

Addressing the demonstrators, WONAAC spokesperson Di Cleary said that the picket had been called to show solidarity with women in the United States and to condemn the call by the Bush admin-

istration for the Supreme Court to overturn its 1973 decision legalizing abortion. Coat hangers were hung on the embassy gate to symbolize the danger women face from a return to back-street and self-induced abortions.

The New Zealand government was also condemned by WONAAC for its failure "to offer support internationally to women who risk butchery and death from back-street abortion." The government's Ministry of Women's Affairs had been approached by the National Organization for Women in the United States for support, but did not respond.

Condoms were blown up and floated in the air in protest at government restrictions in New Zealand against access to contraception and contraceptive information by those under 16.



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**The Fight to Defend Women's Right to Abortion.** Speakers: Jody Horn, co-chair Arizona State University Right to Choose; Elizabeth Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party; Nancy Best, National Organization for Women; representative of Arizona Right to Choose. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 29, 6 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

**The Origins of Women's Oppression and the Fight for Women's Emancipation.** Two classes. Sun., April 30, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1 per class. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Rally to Stop Deportations of the Los Angeles Palestinians.** Wed., May 3, noon. Federal Building, 300 N Los Angeles St. (corner Temple). Sponsor: Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations. For more information call (213) 413-2935.

**Community Update on Latest Stage of the Palestinian Deportation Case.** Fri., May 12, 7:30 p.m. Los Angeles Unitarian Church, 2936 W 8th St. Sponsor: Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations. For more information call (213) 413-2935.

### Oakland

**Mark Curtis Defense Committee Benefit.** Premiere performance of *Ain't No Use in Goin' Home, Jodie's Got Your Gal and Gone: Sayings from the Life and Writings of Junebug Jabbo Jones, Vol. III*, by John O'Neal, performed by Oakland Ensemble Theatre. Sat., May 6, 8 p.m. Alice Arts Center, 14th and Alice. Donation: \$20. For tickets call (415) 420-1165 or 282-6255.

**Nicaragua, Cuba, and Revolutionary Perspectives Today.** A discussion series for workers and activists held every Monday from 6 - 8 p.m. and Tuesdays 11 a.m. - 1 p.m. in May and June. 3702 Telegraph Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### San Francisco

**The Political and Human Rights Situation in El Salvador.** Speaker: Dr. Oscar Orellana, executive director of the Secretariat for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Tue., May 2, noon. Student Union, San Francisco State University. And Mon., May 8, 5:30 p.m. National Lawyers Guild, 1663 Mission St., 4th floor. Sponsor: MASPS. For more information call (415) 621-7048.

## CONNECTICUT

### New Haven

**Class on "The Communist Manifesto Today: A Tool for Change."** Sun., April 30, 2 p.m. Dwight Hall, Yale University Old Campus (near New Haven Green). Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Malcolm X: His Ideas and Their Meaning for Today.** A class series sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, held Saturday April 29, May 13, and 20, at 3 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

**Report Back on the April 9 March for Abortion Rights.** Speaker: Liz Ziers, Socialist Work-

ers Party candidate for mayor, member United Transportation Union Local 511. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: SWP Campaign Committee for Mayor of Atlanta. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa and the Fight for Namibian Independence.** Daniel Abang-Ntuen, South African living in Des Moines seeking political asylum in the United States; Shellia Kennedy, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

**Mark Curtis v. City of Des Moines and Cops.** Teach-in on suit filed by frame-up victim Mark Curtis against cops who brutally beat him in city jail after his arrest. Sat., May 13. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For time and location call (515) 246-1695.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Solidarity with the Palestinian Liberation Struggle.** Speakers: representatives of Palestine solidarity organizations and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Working People's Stake in the Fight Against Censorship and Thought Control.** Panel of speakers. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Corporate Mergers, Buyouts, Plant Closings: How Workers Can Fight Back.** Speaker: Pete Brandli, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 67. Sun., April 30, 6 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Exxon Oil Spill: The Fight to Protect Our Environment.** Speaker: Mary Roche, Socialist Workers Party, member of Teamsters Local 877 at Exxon in New Jersey. Slideshow on oil spill in Valdez, Alaska. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Brooklyn

**The Drug Trade: A Highly Profitable Capitalist Business.** Speaker: Marea Himelgrin, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

### Manhattan

**The Exxon Oil Spill: How Can We Defend Our Environment?** Speaker: Tom Fiske, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan borough president, member International Ladies'

Garment Workers' Union Local 66-40. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

**Casa Nicaragua Celebrates Ninth Anniversary of Its Founding with Grand Fiesta Nicaraguense!** Sat., April 29, 9 p.m. Casa de las Américas, 104 W 14 St. Donation: \$5. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

**South Africa and the Struggle for a Free Namibia.** Speaker: Greg McCartan, Young Socialist Alliance national chairperson; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Capitalism in Crisis: How Can Working People Defend Our Interests?** A campaign meeting with Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sun., April 30, 6 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**AIDS: What It Is and How to Fight It.** Speakers: Jack Ben-Levi, AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP), Oberlin College Chapter; Jim Wright, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Report from Valdez: The Alaskan Oil Spill, an Exxon-Made Disaster.** Speaker: Janet Post, reporter for the *Militant* newspaper, just returned from one-week fact-finding trip to Alaska. Sat., April 29, 7 p.m. 2730 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Stop Police Violence and Frame-Ups.** Speakers: Benson Okoronkwo, president of the Nigerian Foundation; James Khyne, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers union; James Collins, representative from the Clarence Brandley Coalition and National Black United Front. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**The Banking Crisis.** Speaker: Greg Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**Open Up the West Virginia Ballot.** Speakers: Don West, United Mine Workers organizer in the 1930s; Gerald Beller, West Virginia State College professor; Roger Foreman, West Virginia Civil Liberties Union; Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Morgantown City Council; Henry Clay Moore, victim of racist frame-up in Mingo County; student activists from Marshall and West Virginia universities. Sun., April 30, 4 p.m. West Virginia State College Student Union, Institute. Fair Ballot Appeal Fund. For more information call (304) 523-9209.

## BRITAIN

### London

**U.S. Workers Fight Back: Eyewitness Report on the Eastern Airlines Strike and the Washington March for Abortion Rights.** Speaker: Marcella Fitzgerald, member of Amalgamated Engineering Union. Fri., May 5, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forum. For more information call 01-928-7947.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**Namibia: Independence Fight Threatened by South Africa.** Speaker: Michel Prairie, Revolutionary Workers League candidate for Québec National Assembly. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 29, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Nicaragua: After the Contra War, the Challenge Facing the Revolution.** Speaker: Harvey McArthur, reporter for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* newspapers in Nicaragua for past 3 years. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., May 6, 7:30 p.m. Alexandra Park Centre, 105 Grange Court (1 south of Dundas, 1 west of Spadina). McArthur will also present two classes: 1. Indians and Blacks in the Revolution: The Autonomy Process. Sat., May 6, 2:30 p.m. at address above. 2. The Peasants' Fight for Land. Sun., May 7, 9:30 a.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: Saturday dinner, \$5; \$3 each event, or \$7 all three. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum in Toronto and Montréal. For more information call (416) 861-1399, or (514) 524-7992 for transportation from Montréal.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Health Cuts: How They Affect Women.** Speakers: Janet Hamilton, Kathy Jackson, Women's Health Council; Kathy Jackson, Socialist Action League, speaking on fight for abortion rights in the United States. Sat., May 6, 6:30 p.m. Pilot Bookshop, 157 Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. For more information call 793-075.

## 63% of poor in U.S. pay more than half of income on rent

According to a recent study of federal data, 63 percent of the poor in the United States who rent housing pay more than half of their income for it, and many pay more than 70 percent.

Among homeowners, 46 percent of the poor pay more than half their income for housing.

The official poverty line was \$8,573 for a family of three in 1985, the year for which the latest detailed housing figures are available.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development guidelines consider housing "affordable" if it takes up no more than 30 percent of a family's income.

The study was cosponsored by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Low Income Housing Information Service.

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**Vancouver:** P.O. Box 69742, Station K, V5K 4Y7. Tel: (604) 873-8898.

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**Reykjavík:** Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

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**Christchurch:** 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

**Wellington:** 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

## SWEDEN

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**Fresh triumph for law and order** — Acting on confessions by Palestinian youth, Israeli police said they cracked an underground network of Palestinian university



**Harry Ring**

classes held in East Jerusalem high schools. Police said some 300 students were being taught by faculty members from three Palestinian universities shut down last year.

**Does seem like a waste** — According to the London Food Commission, baby's gripe water, a traditional remedy for colic, is closer to a gin and tonic. It said most contain 5 percent pure alcohol, and babies could be getting the equivalent of four gins a day.

**Big Apple landmark** — At capacity, New York's Staten Island landfill will include 50 million tons of garbage and stand 200 feet taller than the nearby Statue of Liberty. It's varied fragrances have been described as fishy, sickeningly sweet, and goatlike. In about 50 years, when the decomposition process is completed, the city plans to make it a park.

**The road to peace** — According to a new book, President John Kennedy once snuck off for a sexual liaison without telling the Secret Service or taking the list of codes he needed to order a nuclear strike.

**Sheer coincidence** — The Colombian and Costa Rican governments have objected to Pentagon plans for a \$120 million radar networks assertedly to monitor drug traffickers. After checking proposed locations, both countries concluded the actual purpose would be for surveillance of Nicaragua.

**Call Ollie** — Ron Reagan, Jr., says dad and mom are having pri-

vate-citizen trauma. At night, the White House butler turned off the lights. "Now they're at home, and they've got to turn off the lights. They don't know where the damn light switches are. They spent half an hour searching the house, trying to figure out how to turn off the lights."

**Surf 'n serf** — Ad for a near-the-ocean sublet in La Jolla, California: "Fully furnished and equipped. Private garden, patio and spa. Water and gardener included."

**Faster game** — The new board game, Fleece the Flock, is a variant on Monopoly. Instead of being real estate tycoons, players become

greedy evangelists who go after TV stations and theme parks, try to do in competitors, and keep sexual escapades classified.

**And was returned to "Go"** — Elizabeth Fuller, originator of Fleece the Flock, says, "I came up with the idea when Jimmy Swag-gart was caught in the motel."

**Doc-in-the-box** — MDs employed by walk-in clinic chains complain they're leaned on to inflate bills with unnecessary X-rays, lab tests, etc. One doctor was fired by Health Stop, biggest of the chains, because his bills ran \$7 below average. His boss told him, "This is not a charity."

## Palestinian uprising opened way for PLO initiative

Continued from Page 7

especially among Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed nationalities. It has undermined the portrayal of Israel in the big-business media as a democratic haven for persecuted Jews.

The PLO initiative is also deepening opposition in the United States to Washington's massive military and economic aid to Israel, which props up the regime.

The uprising and the PLO diplomatic moves have also generated criticisms of the Israeli government within the middle classes, the big-business media, and among politicians of both Republican and Democratic parties.

The U.S. government, which views the Israeli regime as a mainstay of imperialist domination in the Arab region, has had to take note of the shifts in public opinion in the United States. The result has been to sharpen the tactical differences between the

U.S. and Israeli rulers, and to force these differences more into the open.

The uprising has brought a new generation of young Palestinian workers and farmers into political struggle. Their experiences in battle will enable them to play a prominent part in forging a leadership for workers and farmers in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel for the even bigger battles to come.

Advances for the Palestinian people today mark a step forward for the struggles of both Palestinian and Jewish workers and farmers.

A more solid foundation is being laid from which to advance the revolutionary struggle to overturn the capitalist, settler state in Israel. This state is based on the expulsion, oppression, and denial of elementary democratic rights to the Palestinian people, and on the exploitation of Jewish and Palestinian workers and farmers.

Overturning the Israeli regime will open the road for the working people to forge a democratic, secular Palestine in which Arabs, Jews, Christians, and other people can live in peace, freedom, and equality.

This pamphlet seeks to place today's struggles of the Palestinian people in the context of the battles of the oppressed peoples of the Arab region — an area extending from North Africa through the Arabian peninsula — against colonial and imperialist domination.

More than 70 years of battle have transformed the political map of that part of the world. After World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire based in Turkey, which had dominated the Middle East for hundreds of years, the western imperialist powers extended their sway to encompass the entire area.

Today, the imperialist powers hold no significant colonial outposts in the Middle East and North Africa, and their dominant position has been greatly eroded.

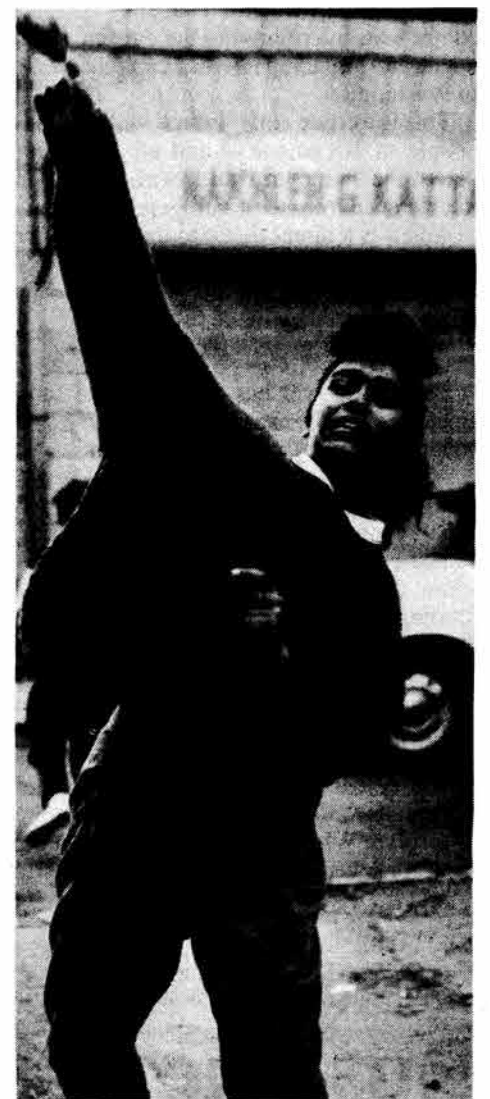
For the last four decades, the struggles of the Palestinian people against the Israeli capitalists' expulsion, superexploitation, and denial of national rights have been at the center of these battles. Struggles throughout the region have helped sustain and strengthen the Palestinian people as they have fought under very difficult conditions. And the Palestinian struggle will continue to be central in that region as long as the imperialist bastion of Israel exists.

### Population

Today there are estimated to be more than 5 million Palestinians. About 1.5 million live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under Israeli military rule. About 750,000 live across the "green line" in Israel and are formally accorded Israeli citizenship.

About 1.2 million live in Jordan, where, since the 1948 Israeli-Arab war, they have made up a majority of the population.

Another 1.5 million live, often as refugees, in Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, and other Arab countries. An estimated 200,000 Pal-



Impact Visuals/Neal Cassidy  
**Palestinian hurls rock at Israeli police in East Jerusalem.**

estinians live in other parts of the world. Some 6 million people now live in Palestine (consisting of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel). More than 2.2 million of them are Palestinians.

April 1989

## Iceland meeting celebrates speeches by Thomas Sankara

BY GYLFI PÁLL HERSIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — The publication by Pathfinder of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, was celebrated here at a meeting on April 5. The gathering took place on the eve of a strike by government and municipal workers, including teachers, hospital workers, and technicians. It was held at the union hall of unskilled women workers.

Sankara was a leader of the 1983-87 revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso.

Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir, who co-chaired the event, explained that the speeches and writings of Sankara were a tool not only for people who struggle against imperialism for national independence, but for workers and farmers around the world fighting for their rights against capitalism.

The importance of Sankara as a world revolutionary leader was emphasized in a message from Garcia Vaz Contreiras, Angolan ambassador to the Nordic countries, read by Grétar Kristjánsson. "Let's hope that the thinking of Thomas Sankara, once understood in the whole of Africa, Europe, and other parts of the world," Vaz Contreiras wrote, "continues to contribute to friendship, solidarity, and mutual understanding among peoples, against oppression, attempts of neocolonialism, and particularly against the dreadful system of apartheid."

### Emerged from reality of Africa

Nestor Bidadanure, a writer for *Coumbite*, a magazine published by young Africans in Paris, said that Sankara emerged from the reality in Africa, where 25 percent of children die before they reach the age of five. What he was accomplishing in Burkina Faso and what he wanted for all of Africa was to solve the fundamental problems that bring death and destruction to so many people, Bidadanure said.

Bidanure also stressed the importance of the struggle in Namibia today, saying that new Sankaras are emerging from

among those who face apartheid and are fighting for dignity.

Sigthrúdur Gunnarsdóttir, chairperson of the antiapartheid coalition in Iceland and a high school student, expressed enthusiasm for Sankara's writings, particularly the speech he gave in Harlem in 1984.

### Revolutionary ideas today

Doug Cooper, author of the preface to *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, represented the New York-based Pathfinder. Cooper stressed the difference between this book and others being published today that describe communism as "a historical aberration." He noted that "like other Pathfinder books, *Thomas Sankara Speaks* demonstrates the vitality and relevance of revolutionary ideas today. It reflects the fact that revolutionary and socialist ideas are being defended and reconquered, especially in the colonial and semicolonial countries, by those who have not found capitalism to benefit them."

Cooper emphasized that Sankara's Marxist outlook stemmed from the "real experiences of his own people. Sankara had tremendous confidence in the ability of everyday people to be transformed through the struggles they wage."

Icelandic Minister of Education Svavar Gestsson addressed the meeting, saying that not many people in the imperialist countries are concerned with ideals. He expressed admiration for the work Pathfinder is doing, both in Iceland and internationally.

The meeting received greetings from the African National Congress of South Africa representative in Copenhagen, Aaron Mnisi; Nicaraguan ambassador in Stockholm, Ricardo Pasos Marciaco; and a sailor on the east coast of Iceland, Ottarr Magni Jóhannsson, who has helped distribute Pathfinder literature in his part of the country.

Twenty people attended the meeting and \$100 worth of books were sold.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

May 4, 1979

President Carter's administration is using the military dictatorship of Kriangsak Chamanand in Thailand to carry out a large-scale covert intervention in the civil war in Kampuchea. The Thai regime is providing military supplies and other assistance to rightist Khmer Rouge gangs led by the ousted dictator, Pol Pot.

Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops backing the Heng Samrin government, which has the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of Kampucheans in the civil war, are driving the rightist bands ever closer to the Thai border.

The secrecy is intended to hide the U.S. government's role in aiding and organizing the rightists; the Thai army's role in helping them retain control of enclaves along the border; and the brutal measures taken to force refugees into areas controlled by the Khmer Rouge and other rightists.

**THE MILITANT**

Published in the interests of the Working People

**May 4, 1964**

Price 10¢

CHESTER, Pa. — Civil rights forces are catching their breath during a pause in a month-long series of ever-mounting demonstrations against school segregation. The demonstrations reached a climax last week when they forced the closing of the city's school system and forced the intervention of Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton.

There have been some 600 arrests since the demonstrations began March 27, and more than 20 demonstrators have been injured as the Chester power structure unsuccessfully tried to crush the protests with police violence and stiff fines and bail requirements.

The series of demonstrations began after the school board refused to eliminate de facto segregation either of teachers or of students.



## Behind new contra aid plan

All opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America should be alert to the real dangers of the April 13 congressional vote giving \$66.6 million to the U.S.-organized contras, thousands of whom are now in camps in Honduras.

This decision signaled solid bipartisan support for rejecting normalization of U.S. government relations with Nicaragua. It points instead to building an alliance of the contra leadership and capitalist political forces inside Nicaragua to bring down the government led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). This goal is also behind President George Bush's decision to pressure contra leaders who live in Miami to return to Nicaragua and take part in next year's elections.

It is not a revival of the badly defeated contra war that the U.S. ruling class is aiming for. But the Democrats and Republicans in Washington are aggressively attempting to accomplish the same goal they had in mind with the contra war: overthrowing the current government in Managua and replacing it with a capitalist regime subservient to Washington.

This is a crude and criminal violation of the right of the people of Nicaragua — and all of Latin America — to determine their own affairs, without pressure, threats, and interference from their belligerent northern neighbor.

And it is a direct threat to the democratic rights, political space, national independence, land reform, and other gains won by Nicaragua's workers and farmers through the revolution they made in July 1979.

The contra war has been over for more than a year, since a cease-fire was signed in March 1988 between the Nicaraguan army and the contra bands.

After years of bloodshed and destruction, Washington's attempt to use a mercenary army to overthrow the Nicaraguan government ended in defeat.

The collapse of the contra war policy was registered when Congress refused to approve renewed military funding for the contras in 1988. While the counterrevolutionary troops weren't disarmed in the wake of the cease-fire, their army was dealt a fatal political blow by the cutoff of military supplies by Congress, after having been badly mauled by Nicaraguan troops. Since then, the contras have progressively disintegrated as a fighting force.

The defeat of the contras posed a tactical crisis for Washington, which Bush and company have been trying to resolve. While there has been broad bipartisan agreement for several years on the need to overturn the Nicaragua

government, no substantial consensus existed in ruling circles on an alternative road to the contra war. The contra war had been the only coherent policy put forward by any wing of the U.S. ruling class for how to get rid of the government. But that failed.

This consensus is what the rulers are attempting to forge with the new anti-Nicaragua package cooked up by the Bush administration and the congressional leadership.

The plan renews financial backing for the contras, which has never been allowed to run out since Washington initiated the contra war in 1981. It provides \$66.6 million for the contras through February 1990, when national elections are scheduled in Nicaragua.

The vote in the House of Representatives for the aid was 309 to 110, and an even more overwhelming 89 to 9 in the Senate. Its passage by a big majority was assured by the public displays of unity around the bill in the weeks preceding the vote. Secretary of State James Baker, House Speaker Jim Wright (D.-Tex.), Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D.-Maine), and Minority Leader Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) all worked hard for its passage. Many prominent Democrats previously associated with opposition to contra aid voted for the plan, hailing it as a bipartisan accomplishment.

On April 25 a report from Washington in the *New York Times* revealed another piece of the U.S. rulers' efforts to get rid of Nicaragua's democratically elected government. According to the report, the president of the right-wing National Endowment for Democracy visited Nicaragua in April and told a government official that Washington will fund organizations opposed to the FSLN to the tune of \$2 million in the 1990 elections. The money was appropriated in October 1988 and released in March as a result of the bipartisan anti-Nicaragua plan.

Under this prodding from Washington, the contra leaders and the Nicaraguan opposition parties held their first formal meeting in Guatemala City, Guatemala, on April 10.

Working people internationally should oppose Washington's attempt to use economic and political pressure, backed up by military threats, to impose a pro-imperialist regime on Nicaragua.

We should demand instead:

- No aid to the contras!
- End the U.S. trade embargo!
- Massive aid to Nicaragua to rebuild its war-torn economy!
- Normalize diplomatic relations with Nicaragua!

## Rushdie in hiding: for how long?

Salman Rushdie remains under police protection and living at an undisclosed location in Britain — more than two months after Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the Iranian government, declared him sentenced to death, along with the publishers of Rushdie's latest novel, *The Satanic Verses*. There is no indication that he will soon be able to safely appear in public.

After initial rallies and picket lines by authors and others, actions opposing censorship of *The Satanic Verses* and the call to execute Rushdie have been few and far between. Even some of the book publishers who denounced the attack on Rushdie are participating in next month's Iran Book Fair in Tehran, with no indication that they will take the occasion to register further protests.

The governments of the imperialist countries, counted on by many to uphold democratic rights in this case, have let the issue drop or condemned *The Satanic Verses*. They despise Rushdie, who has often spoken out against them and for the rights of immigrants, in defense of Nicaragua, and on other issues.

U.S. Vice-President Danforth Quayle, for example, declared March 16 that Rushdie's book "obviously is not only offensive, but I think most of us would say, in bad taste."

The U.S., British, and other imperialist governments

got some mileage out of criticizing Khomeini's death sentence against Rushdie. They used this to legitimize attempts to further limit the rights of millions of immigrant workers and portray themselves as guardians of free speech.

But Khomeini's call for censorship actually dovetailed with the efforts of these governments to restrict democratic rights. The capitalist ruling classes are attempting to expand censorship, whether through blasphemy laws, "national security" regulations, the "war on drugs," or other means.

The employers need to chip away at rights in order to contain and suppress struggles against the effects on working people of the deepening capitalist economic and social crisis.

The fight for democratic rights is vital to preserving the political space that workers and farmers, and their allies need to advance the struggle to defend our interests and ultimately to put an end to capitalist exploitation and oppression.

We need to raise our voices in defense of Salman Rushdie and against censorship of *The Satanic Verses*. His case should not be allowed to be forgotten. He must not be forced to live as a hunted man for the rest of his life.

## Prochoice or proabortion?

BY DOUG JENNESS

Last week I took issue with the "historic compromise" on abortion proposed by *Nation* columnist Christopher Hitchens. He argued that women should agree to a social contract whereby they would forego abortions, except in cases of rape, incest, and where mental and physical health is threatened, if society guaranteed free contraceptives, prenatal care, and a government-sponsored adoption service.

An editorial in the following issue of the *Nation* noted that Hitchens' "Minority Report," as his column is called, had provoked "a two-hour, in-house staff seminar and

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

critique, which in turn resulted in a 'Majority Report' that will appear in the magazine's letters column.

This response has not appeared yet, but in the May 8 issue of the weekly magazine, novelist Meredith Tax, in evaluating the April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., rebuts Hitchens' proposal. Tax, who participated in the massive march and is a partisan of abortion rights, objects to Hitchens' criticism of "feminists as proponents of 'disposable fetuses'" and his "sweet trust in the state."

"I don't know what benign state Hitchens is talking about," Tax wrote, "it can't be the one I'm living in. As for utopian fantasy, mine does not include handing over the rights to my body to any state."

Tax rightly points to the absurdity of women counting on the current government in the United States to guarantee the social measures Hitchens proposes. And she correctly rejects any compromise of the right of women to choose whether or not to have abortions.

But Tax gives Hitchens' proposal the back of her hand without probing into some of the questions it raises that deserve answers.

The problem with Hitchens' proposed social solution for eliminating abortions by attempting to do away with the need for them is that it assumes a very different society than the system of capitalist exploitation we live under today. It assumes a society where capitalist political rule and private ownership of production and the profit drive have been eliminated. It assumes that government priorities are set to advance human needs and working people are mobilized to control the state and chart the path of the economy.

Hitchens' proposals are impossible unless a totally different situation exists for women — where oppression is very far along the road to being eliminated.

But is it a "utopian fantasy" to think that such conditions can exist? I don't think so. In fact it is the view of socialists that as the conditions of life under capitalist society become more unbearable working people will mobilize to overturn capitalist rule and begin charting a course toward socialism. This will make possible many of the conditions Hitchens suggests.

There is no technical barrier, for example, to developing and providing safe, effective birth control measures, free on demand, to all sexually active women regardless of age. Or to offering adequate education about sexual reproduction and contraceptives.

Moreover, a society that truly respects the interests of women who want to bear children would not only provide free prenatal care, as Hitchens suggests. It would also guarantee accessible child-care facilities on a 24-hour basis and no loss of job, schooling, or income, or any other form of discrimination as the result of pregnancy and childbirth. It would eliminate forced sterilizations. And it would eliminate any social pressure to either have children or not have children.

When these conditions are created, then, and only then, will women have a genuine choice about whether or not to have children, how many, and when. When this situation exists, abortions will over time likely decline and may even disappear.

Because these conditions don't exist today women often have no choice but to terminate unwanted pregnancies by getting abortions. If going through the process of an abortion could be avoided, however, they would prefer it.

No matter how safe the conditions, abortion is a medical procedure that involves some physical risk. The decision to have an abortion often entails mental distress. Abortions are no substitute for adequate contraceptives; "proabortion" is not a position working people have ever rallied or should rally behind.

But the fight to establish the legal right to abortion and for free abortion on demand is essential and should not be compromised. As experience testifies, making abortion illegal won't eliminate it. Women will simply be forced to go to illegal abortionists or try to induce abortions themselves.

Moreover, the right to have abortions is essential for the struggle for equality for women. As I pointed out last week, it enables them to participate more fully in all aspects of social and political life.



## First Amendment

The First Amendment guarantees freedom of the press and speech, but it appears that journalists employed by the *New York Times* are exempted from these rights by a new "policy" statement printed in the April 16 issue.

While the *Times* never evidenced concern about its journalists' point of view for or against Operation Rescue and attacks against abortion clinics, it seems that the immense size of the April 9 Washington, D.C., prochoice march called for "clarification." This was particularly the case when the capitalist press bosses discovered that a large number of journalists in their employ were among the more than half a million marching in defense of the law of the land. This was viewed as "a conflict of interest" by the *Times*, and those who marched were threatened with being fired if it ever happened again.

One individual singled out as an example was Linda Greenhouse, who "covers the Supreme Court for the *Times*." It appears Greenhouse was in error when she "thought that marching anonymously among the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators would not violate *Times* policy."

Her boss, the head of the *Times* D.C. bureau, cleared this up when, among other things, he stated, "In the case of those who forgot about this on Sunday, we expect each of you to recuse yourself from any future participation in coverage of the abortion issue."

In this same issue, the *Times* offers an editorial on Salman Rushdie and *The Satanic Verses*, waxing eloquent about how important freedom of speech and the press is. The *Times* has also consistently demanded "freedom of the press" in Nicaragua and the right of journalists there to express their views.

Militant readers enjoy access to the truth, and many might find the new book co-authored by Noam Chomsky (*Manufacturing Consent*) of interest. Here, Chomsky details how the *Times* slants, censors, conceals the news, particularly on the issue of U.S. policy in Central America.

Paul Montauk  
Oakland, California

## Eastern strike I

I am really enjoying the paper's coverage of the Machinists' strike against Eastern Airlines and look forward to each new issue for more information.

From 3,000 miles away I can picture that eight-foot-high calendar that Machinists Local 1018 has on its wall — larger-than-life evidence of their desire to draw as many working people as possible into the organizing and developing of their own strike.

The photograph of the picket line also tells a story. It catches the Machinists' three demands: for wages, working conditions, and dignity. The fact is that the strikers are already displaying that dignity. They recognize there is every chance they will not get their jobs back, that their fight is about building for future generations. And still they are willing to stand up "for something we believe in, something that's right."

I welcome the chance to express my support for them. I have just renewed my year's subscription to the *Militant*.

Morag Knaggs  
London, England

## Eastern strike II

The strike by members of the Machinists' union at Eastern Airlines has had a big impact on airline workers at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. There are 80 Eastern strikers here.

Discussions about the issues in the strike continues nonstop. And the majority of workers are wearing red ribbons, union buttons, and "stop Lorenzo" buttons to show their support.

The 4,500 Machinists at United Airlines have followed the strike with particular interest as our contract with United expires later this year and whatever happens at Eastern will have a big impact on negotiations.

Many workers at United walk the Eastern picket lines. After the *Chicago Tribune* ran an antiunion column attacking Eastern's "overpaid baggage handlers," several Machinists' union members wrote replies describing the realities of our job and defending Eastern strikers.

The unity of the three unions at Eastern has helped to break down the divisions among workers at United. "The company doesn't even like to see us talking to each other," one United flight attendant pointed out.

United flight attendants, organized in the Association of Flight Attendants, set up informational picket lines March 31 and April 2 at the United terminal at O'Hare and 10 airports around the country to press their demands against the airline.

AFA members have been negotiating for a new contract for more than 16 months. The company is seeking 120 concessions in pay and work rules. Popular signs on the picket line were, "Eastern now! United next?" and "Record profits — where's our contract?"

John Lemon  
Chicago, Illinois

## Iran

I read your article about the current situation in Iran in the April 7 issue. I was surprised to see that in your lengthy article there was no mention of the People's Mujahedeen Organization of Iran (PMOI), not to be confused with the rightist Afghan mujahedeen.

Since June 20, 1981, when their peaceful demonstration demanding democratic freedoms was crushed by Ayatollah Khomeini's guards, they have been engaged in an armed struggle to overthrow Khomeini and the kind of repressive, exploitative, and reactionary system that he represents. The majority of the approximately 90,000 people executed and 140,000 political prisoners taken since that confrontation took place have been supporters of the PMOI.

It was through this persistent exposure of Khomeini's atrocities that last December the United Nations General Assembly, for an unprecedented fourth year condemned Khomeini's regime for its violation of human rights and demanded once more that its prisons be opened for investigation. Unfortunately, some countries fell prey to Khomeini's worthless anti-imperialist rhetoric and voted no to the condemnation resolution. Those countries included Cuba and Nicaragua.

Khomeini's acceptance of the cease-fire with Iraq was due to his fear of the PMOI forces advancing into the Iranian capital. It was only two weeks after the capture of the border city of Mehran, along with 1,500 of Khomeini's officers and guards by the PMOI, that Khomeini gave in to his top advisers and accepted the cease-fire.

Khomeini was smart enough to know that given Iraq's repeated demands for an end to the war, the acceptance of the cease-fire would result in the closing of the borders, and hence, fence off the PMOI inside Iraqi territory.

It was two weeks after, in late July, that the PMOI launched its largest offensive against Kho-



meini's forces. The regime's initial claim that it was an Iraqi invasion was later discredited by the Iranian press, which reported on how the PMOI planned to reach the capital.

Finally, you quoted the *Iran Times* stating that more than 3 million people attended Khomeini's ceremony celebrating the 10th anniversary of the revolution. I personally believe that if Khomeini had that many supporters in Iran he would be fighting Iraq for another eight years.

He used the war as a pretext, as he has before, to not only tell the Iranian people they had to put up with all the wartime shortages and inflation, but also to crush all opposition outside and inside the government.

Shahin Etemad  
Endicott, New York

## Enjoy immensely

I am a new subscriber to your publication, and I have enjoyed the issues I've received immensely. I highly value the perspective of the *Militant* as opposed to the doublethink journalism offered to us by the mass media.

April Poppe  
Niagara-on-the-Lake  
Ontario, Canada

## Pathfinder

While reading the *Militant* in my prison cell, I spotted the article about the rather unusual and scary situation that happened to a Pathfinder London representative, Peter Clifford.

I'm writing to explain my support for Pathfinder publishers. I want to be able to distribute the writings and speeches of revolutionary figures to any country or to any person anywhere.

I'm a Black American who is very interested in a revolution that will bring about change for my people and for anybody who is not equal. I've been reading about Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Malcolm X. If you have any pamphlets on Malcolm X free of charge, could I please receive them? Also if you have any books by Malcolm X, such as *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, or any other books by any Black activists or revolutionary leaders.

A prisoner  
Huntsville, Texas

## Prison hunger strike

The indefinite hunger strike begun on March 15 by prisoner rights activists Alberto Aranda and myself is now entering its fourth week. We will be relieved April 12 by activists Domingo Cantú, Enrique Bugarín, and Alvaro Luna Hernández.

At least 15 other Texas Department of Corrections prisoners have volunteered to continue the indefinite strike, two at a time, each team for two weeks, in the fashion West German political prisoners have been doing since early February.

The strike is carried out by the Texas chapter of Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education (PURE). It originally began after a national call by Resistance Conspiracy defendants Marilyn Buck, Alan Berkman, Susan Rosenberg, Linda Evans, Tim Blunk, and Laura Whitehorn. They called for a 24-hour strike in solidarity with some 300 striking South African prisoners at Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Diepkloof prisoners, and at least 50 political prisoners in West Germany.

No less than 600 prisoners nationwide responded.

PURE decided to extend the strike indefinitely for its own demands, which include an end to "sensory deprivation" and other psychological and physical torture and mistreatment. Such mistreatment violates standing court orders by the federal court in *Ruiz v. Lynaugh*, a landmark Texas prison-reform lawsuit that began in the early 1970s and is still being litigated.

There has been a de facto reversal of important *Ruiz* provisions by the Texas Department of Corrections. Letters of protest are urgently needed. Send to TDC Director James A. Lynaugh, P.O. Box 99, Huntsville, Texas 77340; Gov. Bill Clements, State Capitol, Austin, Texas 78711. Letters of support to the striking prisoners can be sent to: Domingo Cantú, No. 924, Ellis I Unit, Huntsville, Texas 77343; Enrique Bugarín, No. 471735, Ellis I Unit, Huntsville, Texas 77343; and Alvaro L. Hernández, No. 255735, Core Unit, P.O. Box 38, Huntsville, Texas 77349.

Ana Lucia Gelabert

Gatesville, Texas

## Nicaragua and Cuba

I appreciate getting your paper. I especially like reading about Nicaragua and Cuba. And also about the mural. Even though I do not uphold it, I enjoy reading Marxist-Leninist literature. The *Militant* also has excellent write-ups on El Salvador, Burma, and U.S. labor unions.

Joe Ivens  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Concessions

After two consecutive concessionary contracts, Local 7886 of the Steelworkers' union at Eastalco Aluminum Co. in Frederick County, Maryland, agreed to a new three-year pact in late March.

The old contract wasn't due to expire until October this year, but union officials felt early negotiations would be beneficial, and company officials believed an early settlement would help erase some of the bitterness that lingers from an 84-day lockout in 1986.

Contract gains include lump-sum payments to be given every six months for the length of the contract. A \$3,000 "signing bonus" virtually assured a quick ratification. In fact, the two ratification meetings held lasted approximately 30 minutes each.

The general feeling in the local is that small local unions left to fight big companies on the picket lines can easily be broken. Local 7886 members have learned through experience that the cops and courts are on the side of the companies.

What is most frustrating is that even when union members gain something on a contract, it is the company dictating the terms and conditions. It is easy to blame local union officials, but the real blame has to be placed on professional union people who have lost their will to fight and only want to keep their cushy positions.

Bill Sagle  
Sharpsburg, Maryland

## 'War on drugs'

Gun-toting agents of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) attacked the home of Ramón and Juana Ferreira Hernández here April 5 in a vain search for narcotics, an action which illustrated what Washington means by its so-called war on drugs.

The federal cops confused the name of an alleged drug dealer, Roman Hernández, with the current occupant of the Queens apartment.

The agents crashed in the Ferreira Hernández' door, throwing them and an adult relative to the floor after handcuffing them.

Ferreira Hernández showed the agents his passport, to no avail. The three were arrested, taken to jail, and strip-searched. Two were released. Ferreira Hernández spent six days in jail until the DEA dropped the charges.

Jon Hillson  
New York, New York

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.



## Blow to affirmative action

### Court in Alabama rules to end 'consent decree' in steel

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

GRANITE CITY, Ill. — The 15-year old "consent decrees" mandating affirmative action programs in the basic steel industry were ordered terminated by a U.S. district court judge in Birmingham, Alabama, on March 3.

The consent decrees were the product of the civil rights and women's rights struggles and battles by Black steelworkers in particular against discriminatory barriers to jobs and promotions. Under this mass pressure, the U.S. government, nine major steel companies, and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) "consented" in 1974 to implement affirmative action programs. These programs included specific goals, timetables, and implementation review committees involving Black and Hispanic union workers.

Consent Decree I mandated the end of departmental seniority, which was used to trap Black and female workers in certain departments that were lower paying and/or

more dangerous. For example, in 1973 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill, the construction labor and cinder and refuse disposal departments, blast furnace and coke ovens, were from 75 percent to 100 percent Black. The pipe-fitting and lubrication departments and the pattern shop were 100 percent white. The sheet metal shop was 98 percent white.

#### Decree I

In 1974, with Consent Decree I, the steel companies had to abide by plantwide seniority, which gave all workers the same rights in bidding on jobs throughout the mills. Decree I also mandated that in apprenticeship and training programs 50 percent of the openings had to go to women and minority workers until their percentages in skilled jobs were equal to their numbers in the plant. Craft jobs and apprenticeships were almost completely white male.

Consent Decree II set affirmative action

goals for hiring of workers who were Black, Hispanic, or female. The decrees struck down the use of arbitrary qualification requirements and tests that were used to discriminate against Blacks, Hispanics, and women in hiring and promotions to semiskilled jobs.

As a result of these decrees, thousands of workers who had previously been excluded from jobs because of their race or sex came into the work force and the union.

The consent decree affirmative action programs were challenged in 1977 by a white steelworker, Brian Weber, who claimed he was the victim of "reverse discrimination" when Blacks and women with less seniority were placed in an apprenticeship training program. He filed suit that went to the U.S. Supreme Court in December 1978.

Through a mobilization of the unions, civil rights, and women's groups, which included public protest actions as well as legal moves, the courts ruled against Weber and the affirmative action programs were maintained.

However, in the intervening 10 years an employers' offensive against workers, including in the steel industry, has been waged. Dozens of steel mills have been

shut down and restructured. More than 200,000 jobs have been lost in the steel industry.

In addition, the government and companies are attempting to turn back gains that Black, Hispanic, and women workers have made that have helped unify the working class.

#### Government, companies seek overturn

It is in this context that on Nov. 15, 1988, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U.S. departments of labor and justice filed a termination motion in the federal court in Birmingham. The steel companies filed a letter supporting the government. The USWA opposed ending the decrees.

In a press statement issued by the union on March 8, the USWA condemned the judge's decision as a "betrayal of the rights of all women and minority workers." Leon Lynch, USWA international vice-president was quoted as saying, "By attacking the decree, the government and the steel companies have cynically attacked the basic rights of all of our members."

Ellen Haywood is a member of USWA Local 16 at National Steel in Granite City, Illinois.

## Workers at Harris Beef Co. vote to end their strike

BY PETER THIERJUNG  
AND TAMAR ROSENFELD

SELMA, Calif. — Striking packing-house workers here voted 73 to 45 to end their eight-week strike against Harris Ranch Beef Co. on April 22.

The company demanded big concessions from United Food and Commercial Workers Local 126. These included dropping the pension plan in favor of profit sharing; paying workers lump-sum bonuses instead of wage raises; and making union membership voluntary by getting rid of the closed shop.

A decade of demanding and getting concessions had emboldened the company to demand more, and this is what prompted the members of UFCW Local 126 to say "enough is enough" when they voted to go on strike.

Most of the workers who struck Harris are Chicano and *mexicano*. Very few Black or women workers were employed at the plant.

During the strike, the company hired several hundred scabs and called them "permanent replacements." Many of them were Black and female. Court injunctions were obtained by the company to prevent strikers from blocking entrances to the plant.

Production remained low during the first weeks of the shutdown. Only 300 to 500 head of cattle were being slaughtered as opposed to 750 before the strike.

But as time wore on production increased, and nearly 650 cattle were slaughtered in a day. At the same time, the company took further steps to break the spirit of the strikers by firing nine of them, including some members of the negotiating committee, for alleged misconduct on and off the picket line. At one point company thugs attacked the picket line with tire irons, clubs, and knives injuring one of the strikers.

Economic pressures also bore down hard. Meager union strike benefits failed to compensate for the lack of income, and the state's delay or refusal to grant many strikers unemployment benefits took their toll.

Many workers and unionists throughout California knew about the strike against Harris and identified with the cause. Individuals often showed up on the picket line to offer encouragement. Other unions and UFCW locals sent representatives to the line, but organized solidarity was slow in coming.

Confronted with these obstacles, a layer

of strikers began to waver and a few dozen crossed the line and went back to work. Others found employment elsewhere. With their numbers reduced many strikers recognized they were in danger of losing their strike and losing a union at Harris. This prompted the vote to end the strike and accept a contract.

Some gains were made in the new contract. The three-year agreement provides raises from nine to 59 cents for killfloor workers and some boning room workers. Other departments will receive a combination of lump-sum bonuses and a 15 cent raise after two years.

New hires will now be entitled to health benefits after three months. Harsh absentee rules were relaxed a little.

#### Closed shop lost

The pension plan, however, was lost to profit sharing. Moreover, the closed shop was lost and the company refuses to guarantee in writing jobs for the strikers now that it is over. Members of Local 126 will now be placed on a "preferential hiring list" in order of seniority and by department. When a job opens up the company is obligated to fill vacancies from the list.

The nine strikers fired for alleged misconduct will not be placed on the list. Their cases will go to arbitration where, if the workers are found innocent, they will be placed on the list.

At a press conference with union officials after the membership vote, company spokesperson Jay Jory admitted the strike had interrupted the company's expansion plans. While not committing the company, Jory said that he anticipated that almost all of the strikers would be called back to work within a month.

Discouraged by the results of the strike, some union members blamed each other. Others raised important questions about how to reach out to Blacks who because of high unemployment rates in the Black community were used by Harris as scabs.

Several workers felt that fighting was better than not taking a stand at all. "If you look at it in strictly economic terms, it looks as if it wasn't worth it," said a negotiating committee member. "But we had to test it to the limits. I'm not sorry, and we have nothing to be ashamed about. At least we took a stand and showed that company that we have had enough. We can hold our heads up high when we walk back in there. I think we learned a few things and we'll be stronger next time."

## 3,000 march on Earth Day in N.Y.



Impact Visuals/Catherine Smith

NEW YORK — A crowd of about 3,000, overwhelmingly young, demonstrated on April 22, in front of the Exxon building. The Earth Day march protested the government's and Exxon's inaction in the cleanup of the oil spill in Alaska and called for a ban on chemicals that deplete the earth's ozone layer. Similar rallies were held around the country and in several foreign countries.