

## Curtis fights to lift jail ban on books

BY MARGARET JAYKO

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has launched an international protest campaign against the decision by prison authorities to deny Curtis the right to receive magazines, books, letters, and other written material in any language other than English.

Officials at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa say prison policy is to deny all prisoners the right to receive material in any language other than their "primary" one — with the exception of English. They claim this is a "security" measure prompted by lack of prison staff to screen such non-English literature.

Curtis has been prevented from receiving the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* and the French-language magazine *Lutte ouvrière*. His request for an English-Spanish dictionary and *501 Spanish Verbs* has also been denied.

Other prisoners whose first language is Spanish are only allowed to receive literature in English and Spanish.

In addition, prisoners are prevented from sharing literature with each other except through the prison library.

The defense committee is urging all supporters of human rights and constitutional liberties to protest this "arbitrary and unfair" restriction.

Letters and telegrams can be sent to the warden asking him to:

- Reverse the undemocratic ban on Spanish and other non-English language literature.

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## Bush threatens Panama, calls for military coup

### Washington dispatches 2,000 more troops

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PANAMA CITY, Panama — Nearly 2,000 U.S. troops have arrived at Howard Air Force Base as Washington intensifies its drive to overthrow the government of Panama. The soldiers bring to 13,000 the number of GIs stationed here in violation of Panamanian sovereignty.

On May 15, at a news conference on Panamanian soil, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis called on "officers of the Defense Forces" of Panama to oust Gen. Manuel Noriega as their commander in chief. The call for a coup was echoed by Ricardo Arias Calderón, who was the vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Alliance for Civil Opposition (ADOC) in the May 7 elections here. Calderón told reporters, "We have friends within the military, people who want a change."

Washington devoted a multimillion dollar campaign to promote the ADOC presidential ticket and discredit the Coalition for National Liberation (COLINA) candidates, who called for implementation of the 1977 canal treaty. The treaty stipulates that all U.S. troops and the 13 U.S. military bases here be removed by the year 2000, and the canal turned over to Panama.

The current Panamanian government, Defense Forces, and General Noriega have pledged to fight for implementation of the treaty. The U.S.-backed ADOC campaign vowed to remove Noriega from power if elected.

The official voting results had not yet been reported May 10, when Panama's Electoral Tribunal announced it was nullifying the elections because of U.S. interference in the voting and numerous irregularities at polling places. The tribunal said its decision would "contribute to restoring peace in the country and protecting lives



Panama City, May 4. Wind-up campaign rally for COLINA candidates, who call for implementation of 1977 canal treaty. Government nullified elections May 10, citing U.S. interference. Sign at left reads, "Hands off Panama!"

and property."

Earlier that day, small groups of ADOC supporters had gathered on streets in the downtown area here and set fire to COLINA banners hanging from lampposts. While passersby stopped to watch the spectacle and some applauded, few joined in the actions.

A sharp clash ensued at Santa Ana Park between a group of ADOC supporters and members of the Dignity Battalions, the militias organized by the Panamanian government last year to help defend the country in the event of a U.S. invasion.

ADOC presidential candidate Guillermo Endara and Guillermo Ford, candidate for

the second vice-presidency, were injured in the fighting and an ADOC bodyguard killed. Five members of the Defense Forces were seriously injured, some by gunfire, and some Dignity Battalion members were hurt.

There are two different versions of how the violence came about. Endara and Ford insist they were peacefully protesting and were the victims of an unprovoked attack by the Dignity Battalions. But a statement released by the government Defense Forces charged that ADOC supporters opened fire on government troops, wounding several. It was then that the Dignity Battalions entered

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## New York: 'Canal belongs to Panama!'



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Some 100 people picketed the U.S. Armed Forces recruiting center in Manhattan during rush hour May 16 to protest U.S. threats to Panamanian sovereignty. Similar actions occurred in other cities.

## Eastern strike: big challenge to bosses' antiunion drive

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Since 8,500 ramp service workers, mechanics, air craft cleaners, stock clerks, and facility cleaners struck Eastern Airlines March 4 — and flight attendants and pilots walked out to support them — working people have been following developments in the strike with great interest.

This is the biggest union battle in recent years. Nearly 18,000 workers in about 100 cities are up against a major national corporation whose aim for years has been to break the unions.

There is growing understanding that the stakes in this fight are high and that what happens in the Eastern battle will affect the conditions under which workers in other industries will confront the employers in the weeks and months ahead.

Airline workers at other carriers — especially at United and American, where contract negotiations are now under way — know they're in a stronger position because the unions at Eastern are united and have kept the carrier's operations paralyzed for 11 weeks. Members of the International

Association of Machinists (IAM) who work in other industries know they will also be deeply affected by the outcome of their union's struggle against Eastern.

For those working to deepen support for the Eastern unionists' fight, it is useful to look at where the strike fits in to some of the major developments in the labor movement over the past 15 years. Understanding the conditions the strike grew out of underscores both how serious a challenge this fight is to the employing class and the stakes all working people have in supporting the Eastern workers' struggle.

### Employers' offensive

Faced with falling profit rates and stepped-up international competition, the U.S. ruling families began a systematic drive in the 1970s to squeeze higher profits from the labor of workers and farmers. This was the deepest assault on the labor movement since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

By the end of the decade, this drive tar-

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# Striking flight attendants issue appeal for funds

The International Association of Machinists struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the unions and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by the 5,900 flight attendants and 3,400 pilots at Eastern, the strike by 8,500 Machinists has crippled the airline's

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

operations since then. It has also won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

"Eastern Airlines flight attendants urgently need your help," says Transport Workers Union President Mary Jane Barry in a recent special fund-appeal letter. TWU members have "stopped fly-

ing the line in order to walk the line against Frank Lorenzo."

Texas Air Corp. Chairman "Lorenzo is a proven union-buster," the letter explains. "As he did at Continental Airlines, Lorenzo is again trying to use the bankruptcy courts... as a weapon against Eastern's Machinists, pilots, and flight attendants unions."

"Just as Lorenzo is counting on his friends and allies to back him up, we must count on our friends and allies to back us up," Barry stresses. "Our funds are being rapidly depleted. Thus we are making this direct appeal for financial support. Every dollar made payable to the Fight Frank Lorenzo Fund will serve as ammunition to help the Eastern flight attendants remain on the offensive against labor's arch enemy."

"It is your support, and that of people and organizations around the country within and outside the labor movement that will be decisive in helping us win. In unity there is strength. Please do what you can to help us. We will be most grateful for your support," the letter concludes.

Machinists and pilots on strike at Eastern receive strike benefits from

their unions. The flight attendants, however, do not have a strike fund. Contributions to the flight attendants can be sent to: Fight Frank Lorenzo Fund, 656 Minola Dr., Miami Springs, Fla. 33166.

A strike supporter in Atlanta reports that a number of bars in the city have started having "Eastern" nights. If you come in wearing a "Stop Lorenzo" T-shirt or other strike item, you get a discount on drinks and snacks. There are several thousand strikers in Atlanta, which was a major hub for Eastern before the walkout began.

On April 25 the National Organization for Women set up an informational table in the Miami Eastern strike headquarters to help build for an April 26 abortion rights demonstration at the Metro Dade Courthouse.

Striking Machinists' Local 702 member Zena McFadden staffed the table, along with another NOW member. Response to the table "was tremendous from members of all three unions," McFadden said. "One mechanic explained that he

personally does not support abortion, but feels that nobody has the right to tell a woman what to do."

One pilot was excited to see the table in the union hall. "This is great," he said. "I'm very upset about them trying to take this right away."

When the NOW members tried to hand a leaflet to one flight attendant, she said, "You don't have to explain this to me. I understand it, and I support a woman's right to choose."

While most strikers who came by the table supported abortion rights, some disagreed with the pro-choice position or thought that it wasn't a question the union should be involved with.

Throughout the day, groups of strikers stood around the NOW table, talking the question out and answering those workers who were opposed to abortion rights. The discussions were serious and open.

A pilot, a flight attendant, and four Machinists went to the April 26 demonstration, which drew more than 250 people.

On May 4 a TWU member and a member of the Machinists spoke before a well-attended Miami NOW executive board meeting.

The women's organization agreed to put the flight attendants' garage sale on its calendar and to encourage NOW members to donate food to the strikers' food bank.

Some 400 members of the New York United Federation of Teachers came to the Eastern Shuttle at La Guardia Airport May 9 for a strike support rally. "This is not just the Eastern Airlines workers' strike. It is everyone's strike," Machinists' Local 1018 President John DiPaola told the crowd.

Sandra Feldman, president of the 102,000-member UFT local, also spoke.

TWU leader Carmen Gonzalez thanked the UFT for its donation of \$35,000 to the strike fund. She also drew the crowd's attention to a resolution before the New York City Council calling on all New Yorkers to boycott Eastern and Continental.

After the rally, the teachers joined the picket line.

*Striking Eastern Machinists Local 1018 member Susan Annuth from New York contributed to this column, along with Liz Ziers from Atlanta.*

# Support shown for West Virginia ballot-access suit

BY JOANNE MURPHY

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Activists from around the state attended a meeting on the West Virginia State College campus in nearby Institute April 30, titled "Open Up West Virginia's Ballot."

The meeting was aimed at organizing support for the Socialist Workers Party's suit against West Virginia's undemocratic election law. The suit is now on appeal to the federal 4th Circuit Court of Appeals. Robert Bastress, a West Virginia Civil Liberties Union volunteer lawyer and law professor at West Virginia University, is arguing the case.

"I fully understand the importance of freedom to put your name on the ballot," West Virginia State College NAACP President John Richardson told the meeting. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter and Fair Ballot Appeal Fund were cosponsors of the event.

"My chapter of the NAACP thought it would be a great idea to open up our facilities as much as we could for your organization to hold your function and gather up more support," he continued.

### Part of battle to defend rights

Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Morgantown City Council in

the April 25 election, spoke about why the SWP considers the fight to widen access to the ballot an important part of the battle to defend and extend democratic rights.

"Election campaigns are a good opportunity for socialists to get our ideas out," McBride explained. "But elections aren't just an arena for discussion. They're an arena for fighting. We do want to kick down these ballot laws, so that we can get into this arena and use it to build solidarity with the striking Eastern workers and Pittston miners. There is a serious economic crisis developing, and we need this political space to fight back."

McBride's name was on the ballot in the recent Morgantown election. Although the signature requirement was small, getting a socialist candidate on the ballot at all marked a gain in the ballot rights fight in the state.

WVSC political science professor Gerald Beller described one aspect of the state's ballot law that is being challenged by the SWP suit.

"The way the law is set up in this state," Beller said, "if you want more choice in November, you can sign a petition [for an independent candidate], but you must agree not to vote in the Democratic or Republican party primary. So then you're not allowed to

### Part of the battle to defend democratic rights.

have any choice in the selection of the candidates of the Democratic Party, which pretty well runs the state.

"Our two major political parties, through the state legislature, run the electoral laws. Our whole election system is set up in such a way as to injure the operation of third and fourth parties. But," Beller continued, "West Virginia does not have to be this closed. I think we can open it up."

In addition to disenfranchising petition signers, the West Virginia law requires pre-primary filing of petitions for local candidates. It also stipulates filing fees, which would have amounted to nearly \$5,000 for the 1988 SWP presidential slate and four local SWP candidates.

### More state restrictions

The state Supreme Court ruled in 1980 that these fees must be waived for those unable to pay. After the SWP and several others managed to place candidates on the

ballot from 1980 to 1984, however, the state legislature amended the law to require four signatures on an additional petition in lieu of every dollar raised.

Also speaking at the ballot rights meeting were Don West, a poet and Appalachian activist since the 1930s; Henry Clay Moore, victim of a racist frame-up in Mingo County, West Virginia; and Marcya Cain, a member of Black United Students at Marshall University. Cain helped organize a response to recent racist incidents on the campus.

"There is a great deal of tension and apprehension towards anything that's different," Cain said. "You don't learn about the Socialist Workers Party, you just learn about Democrats and Republicans. You don't get any taste of what else is going on."

Messages to the meeting were received from Nancy Ross, director of the national Rainbow Lobby, and New Alliance Party 1988 presidential candidate Lenora Fulani. The NAP was the only third party to get on the West Virginia ballot in 1988.

For more information on the ballot rights effort, or to send messages of support and contributions, write to: Fair Ballot Appeal Fund, c/o West Virginia Civil Liberties Union, P.O. Box 1509, Charleston, W.Va. 25323-1509.

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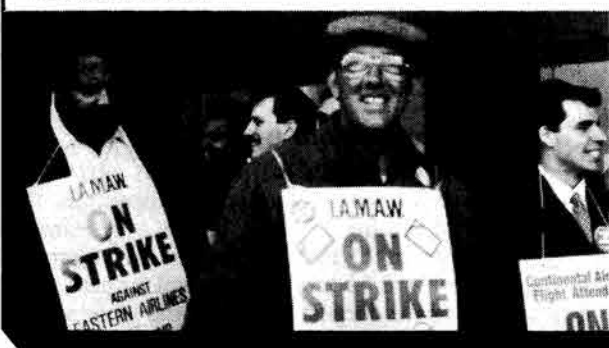
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Capital city of Beijing was scene of protests demanding free press and other changes.

## Student-led protests in China deepen rifts within regime

BY FRED FELDMAN

An estimated 80,000 protesters gathered May 14 in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China's capital city, to reiterate demands for democratic rights and other measures. The demonstration was called in the name of greeting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived in China that day for a visit aimed at normalizing relations with the Chinese government.

The protesters included about 1,000 university students who had begun a hunger strike in the square May 13, calling on the government to open up a dialogue concerning their demands.

"Welcome, Mr. Gorbachev, the true reformer," read a banner held aloft by the student-led protesters. Another banner read in Russian, "Democracy, our common ideal."

In the face of the action, the government shifted the official welcome to Gorbachev from the Great Hall of the People, located near the square, to another site.

Over the past two weeks demonstrations by tens of thousands of Chinese students, supported by a growing number of workers, have deepened the political crisis facing the Peking regime. Differences within the government and ruling Communist Party over how to respond to mounting economic and social problems have sharpened.

Moreover, the student protests emerged at a time when the government and party leadership confront the prospect of preparing a succession to the regime's central figure, 84-year-old Deng Xiaoping.

There are indications that the protests have tended to strengthen the position of the current party general secretary, Zhao Ziyang.

From Beijing in the May 15 *New York Times*, Bill Keller wrote that Chinese sources of U.S. and other diplomats say that Zhao "seems to be seizing the student unrest and Mr. Gorbachev's visit to establish himself as the leading Chinese progressive." The political star of Prime Minister

Li Peng, on the other hand, "is said to be waning," Keller wrote.

A Communist Party Political Bureau meeting held May 10-11 had endorsed Zhao's proposal to hold more discussions with the students and consider steps toward meeting a few of their demands.

The mobilizations coinciding with Gorbachev's arrival marked the end of a pause in the wave of student-led protests. On May 5 Wang Zhixin, the 21-year-old general secretary of the newly formed city-wide student association in Beijing, had called for an end to a boycott of classes that had begun 12 days earlier.

The beginning of the boycott was followed by a 14-hour march in Beijing April 27. A crowd of students and workers estimated as high as 150,000 peacefully rolled through lines of police and soldiers assigned to hold them back. Up to half a million people participated in one way or another, including many workers and other onlookers who showed their support from the sidelines.

Some students carried a large banner appealing for workers' support. "You work but you get nothing; your life is bitter," it read. They stopped by a large factory, where administrators had locked the gates to keep the students out and the workers in. A student gave a short speech:

"Dear workers, we are all citizens, and we all have the right of free movement. If anyone stops you from getting out and joining us, that's against the constitution."

### Intimidation fails

The outpouring was a blow to government efforts to intimidate the protesters and those inclined to support them. The day before the action, the *Beijing People's Daily* charged that the student leaders were conspiring to overthrow the government.

Party officials let it be known that Deng Xiaoping had said the students were "destroying China's hopes" and called on the

authorities to "shed blood" if necessary to restore order.

The huge demonstration took place as students continued the boycott of classes, centered in Beijing. The boycott had begun in the wake of a student-organized rally estimated at between 70,000 and 150,000 people on April 22. This gathering coincided with the state funeral for former party general secretary Hu Yaobang.

Until his death on April 15, Hu was identified as a strong supporter of the regime's reliance on market forces, expanded private farming and industry, and appeals for foreign investment to develop the economy. He was also identified as favoring expanded leeway for criticism of government policies.

Hu was forced to step down as general secretary in January 1987, as the government staged a crackdown on student protests and other expressions of dissent. He remained on the party political bureau. The current wave of student-led protests began when Hu's death became known. The actions initially took the form of expressions of mourning.

In the wake of the April 27 march, the regime agreed to open up a dialogue with the students "through appropriate channels."

The students' demands include respect for the right to demonstrate; freedom of the press; measures to end corruption, including a requirement that party and government leaders reveal their sources of income and those of immediate family members; more expenditures on education; and complete rehabilitation of Hu's views and reputation.

### Clash over dialogue

Tensions rose again when government officials refused to meet with representatives of the independent student federation formed by the Beijing protest leaders.

The authorities also revived accusations against the students. On May 3 government spokesman Yuan Mu charged that the demonstrations were being masterminded by "a handful of people." These included Fang Lizhi, an astrophysicist who has become a prominent critic of the regime, and the New York-based Chinese Alliance for Democracy.

According to the May 4 *Washington Post*, current party head Zhao Ziyang, in his first public statement on the unrest, "said the most important factor contributing to the success of the country's economic reform program has been social stability."

Party Political Bureau member Hu Qili adopted a harsher tone. He warned that granting the students' demands would lead to the appearance of "many Walesas" around the country, a reference to the head of the Solidarity trade union in Poland.

Student leaders responded by affirming plans for another march on May 4, the anniversary of student protests in 1919 that challenged repression by the former semi-feudal and imperialist-dominated regime.

### May 4 protest

More than 100,000 people again pressed through cordons of police to stage another march in Beijing. "The people love the people's police," they chanted as they approached the police lines. "Thank you, police," they cheered as they passed through after some shoving but no blows.

A demonstration of up to 20,000 was held in Shanghai, the country's largest city. More than 8,000 reportedly rallied in Changchun, and actions were held in other cities.

"While the nucleus of the crowd was still students," reported *New York Times* correspondent Nicholas Kristof from Beijing on May 4, "they were easily outnumbered by the young workers. . . ."

The students were also supported by hundreds of journalists, who rallied outside the official New China News Agency to denounce inaccurate reporting and moves against newspapers that sympathetically covered the demonstrations.

"I hope the student demonstrations will make the government do something about inflation," Kristof quoted Yuan Jun, a Beijing iron worker who came from out of town to demonstrate. "But even if the students don't bring up the inflation problem," Yuan Jun said, "I'll still support them. They demand press freedom, which is something we need, too. Now we have no freedom at all."

Many workers said that supervisors had warned them to stay away from the protest.

"The aim of the student movement," student activist Xia A. P. told Kristof, "is to give the Communist Party an outside push so that it can reform itself."

"In private," the journalist wrote, "students express almost no interest in socialism or communism as an ideology, and say instead that they favor whatever will make China strong and rich."

Growing economic difficulties in China include an inflation rate as high as 30 percent, the highest since the 1949 revolution; a drop in grain production last year; and the movement of several million impoverished rural people into the cities.

In March, fear of unrest resulting from these developments led the regime to impose tighter administrative controls over privately owned enterprises and regional economic bodies.

Tensions have been heightened by the growing gap between those businessmen and capitalist farmers who have accumulated wealth in recent years and the poorest sections of the working people.

The party leaders, who have put forward the slogan, "To get rich is glorious," also face growing outrage over evidence of widespread corruption, reaching into the top ranks of the party and government.

## 'Kiko' Martínez reinstated as lawyer

BY MAUREEN McDOUGALL

DENVER — The final chapter in the victorious struggle to defend Francisco "Kiko" Martínez was written May 1 when he won reinstatement to the Colorado bar.

A Chicano activist and lawyer, Martínez was framed up in 1973 on phony letter-bomb charges. He faced an atmosphere of government-inspired violent attacks against the burgeoning Chicano movement. A price was put on his head by local newspaper editors, who launched a hysterical campaign against "the mad bomber." When a shoot-to-kill order was issued by the Denver police, Martínez fled to Mexico.

A year later, his brother Reyes and five other Chicano activists were killed by two car bombs in Boulder, Colorado. The police never solved the case and even implied that the activists had bombed themselves.

On a trip back to the United States in 1980, Martínez was arrested by border cops. The felony charge of using a false name was added to the list of charges against him.

In a case that became a national cause, Martínez fought a long series of court battles to clear his name, while the Kiko Martínez Defense Committee worked to

get out the truth about the case and organize public support. Martínez was highly respected in the Chicano community for his defense of victims of police brutality and political frame-ups and for his support for the rights of farm workers.

After a series of acquittals, mistrials, appeals court rulings, and dismissals, Martínez was cleared of each of the three bomb charges and all related counts. One of the letter-bomb charges ended in a mistrial when it was revealed that the judge and prosecutor were colluding to guarantee conviction. Another resulted in acquittal. The third was dismissed in 1984.

"This is a reclamation day," Martínez told 50 jubilant supporters at a May 1 press conference at the Colorado Supreme Court when he regained the law license that had been suspended because of the charges against him.

"I am not only reclaiming the license for myself. I am reclaiming it for Reyes Martínez."

Martínez announced his intention to open a law practice in honor of his slain brother and vowed to "champion the cause of working people and the oppressed."

### In our next issue . . . Introduction to new book of speeches by Fidel Castro

The next issue of the *Militant* will feature the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters to a newly published selection of four speeches by Cuban leader Fidel Castro, *In Defense of Socialism*.

Waters describes the significance of the speeches given in December 1988 and January 1989 for presenting a course to confront the political challenges in today's world.



# Curtis fights for prisoners' rights to non-English books

Continued from front page  
 erature sent to Mark Curtis.

- Extend the right to all prisoners to receive non-English language material of their choice.

- End the restriction on prisoners' rights to share literature with each other.

Protest messages should be sent to:

- John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, N. High St., Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

- Copies should be sent to Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover St. Office

**Don't miss Margaret Jayko's May 15 interview with Mark Curtis on fight to lift prison book ban. In next week's Militant.**

Bldg., 2nd Floor, Des Moines, Iowa 50319.

- Copies of protest messages, and any response from Iowa officials, should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

## Teach-in

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist who was framed up on false charges of rape and burglary. In an unfair trial last September, he was convicted on both counts and sentenced to 25 years in jail. Curtis has been in the state prison at Anamosa since last December.

On May 13 supporters of the defense effort held a teach-in here to launch the international effort to ask the warden at Anamosa to reverse his censorship policies. The rally also hailed the federal civil rights suit filed by Curtis two days earlier. He is suing the police and Des Moines city government for \$300,000 for the beating he received at the hands of the cops when he was arrested on March 4, 1988.

Some 175 people attended the event. They came from all over the Midwest and as far away as California, Oregon, and New Jersey. Dozens of people from Des Moines participated, including several Black workers who had heard about the event from coworkers who are Curtis defense activists

or from leafleting teams that had blanketed the city.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee Coordinator Stu Singer co-chaired the rally along with committee Secretary Hazel Zimmerman. She introduced the editors of *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Lutte ouvrière*, Luis Madrid from New York and Michel Prairie from Montréal.

A broad speakers' platform linked Curtis' fight for justice and against censorship with other struggles. Some of the panelists had themselves been imprisoned for their political activity.

John Gaige spoke on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, the party Curtis is a member of. Gaige is the SWP's national farm work director and chair of the Iowa SWP. He is also a member of the defense committee steering committee.

## 'A worthy battle'

"I believe when history looks back on our fight for the rights of Mark Curtis and the other prisoners at Anamosa, it will be seen as a significant and worthy battle for human rights that goes well beyond Iowa and Anamosa," began Gaige.

"Mark stood up and fought when it seemed to many that it was difficult to stand up. Thousands more in the future will stand up in the fight against racism, sexism, and class injustice," continued the SWP leader.

The prison officials' claim that restrictions on non-English language literature and sharing of written materials among prisoners flows from "security" considerations is a fraud, said Gaige. The dictionaries and political magazines that are being withheld can't possibly pose a security threat, he pointed out.

The issues in this fight against censorship are at the political heart of the entire struggle for justice for Curtis, he said. Curtis was a packinghouse worker and political activist who defended the rights of immigrant workers as part of trying to unify working people to deal with the problems they face. To do that more effectively, he learned Spanish.

Curtis was arrested, beaten, and framed up hours after he had attended a meeting in support of 17 Latino coworkers who were rounded up on the job by immigration cops and thrown in jail for not having the correct papers. Curtis had spoken in Spanish at the meeting, emphasizing the importance of involving the union in fighting this victimization.

When the cops beat Curtis, they called him, "a Mexican-lover just like you love those coloreds."

"Now we've got something to add to the story about the so-called Mexican-lover — the fact that he's denied Spanish-language materials sent to him in prison. We need to mount an international campaign to build pressure on the authorities," Gaige stressed.

Curtis wants to be better able to speak with fellow workers in prison whose first language is Spanish, just like he tried to do at Swift. And he wants to speak Spanish better when he gets out of jail. He wants to be able to study speeches in Spanish by Cuban President Fidel Castro and Nicaraguan revolutionary leader Carlos Fonseca, said Gaige.

## Fight affects all prisoners

This fight affects all prisoners, the SWP leader explained. It helps anyone at Anamosa who wants to read something in a language other than their primary one.

Gaige quoted Curtis' preface to the new pamphlet published by Pathfinder, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, by Margaret Jayko. Curtis points out that working people behind bars are becoming as interested in politics today as working people on the outside.

To discuss politics, however, said Gaige, you need to "have normal human exchanges. But at Anamosa, you can't pass anything from prisoner to prisoner — not a book, a piece of defense committee literature, or even a cigarette." Doing so can involve penalties, including the threat of solitary confinement.

The purpose of this rule, said Gaige, is "to make each prisoner an island, to break down human solidarity and social intercourse, to

deny each prisoner his humanity." The goal is to keep the world out of the prison, stressed the SWP spokesperson, to turn prisoners away from politics, from struggles, and to focus them on the prison world and its rules and rhythms.

"It has taken mighty struggles to bring a measure of humanity to prisons, to win a degree of free expression for prisoners. There's no reason for us to go backward. If we do, the authorities will clamp down more," he said.

"We've conquered political ground already in the ongoing campaign to clear Mark's name, to expose his victimization, and to keep this case in politics and in the news," Gaige pointed out. "Their goal when they convicted him was to shuffle Mark off to prison and keep him quiet. But it's difficult for the authorities to simply let things be. So they made a big mistake and denied Mark these materials."

The immediate task, Gaige emphasized, is to go back to the thousands of endorsers of the defense committee and ask them to send a message to the warden. And there's an opportunity to reach many new people. The issues of censorship and book-banning are world issues, said Gaige.

Anyone who believes that human beings should have the right to read, study, communicate — whether they're in prison or not — can and should be approached, he stressed. All those who have protested book-banning in Grenada, the censorship of novelist Salman Rushdie, the banning of Pathfinder literature in Long Kesh prison in Northern Ireland — can be appealed to.

## Public defense is key

Lorenzo Ervin, a Black rights fighter who got out of prison in 1983 after serving 15 years, stressed the irreplaceableness of a public protest effort to fight for justice for political prisoners.

Ervin was in the Marion federal penitentiary with Indian rights fighter Leonard Peltier and Puerto Rican independence leader Rafael Cancel Miranda. They formed a defense committee for the Marion prisoners. Today, Ervin works with the Concerned Citizens for Justice in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The Curtis defense effort is so important, said Ervin, because it "sends a message to his keepers that he's not alone. . . . that you cannot do anything to this man. We are watching you. And we will fight the fight that he is not in a position to fight himself."

The "American way," said Ervin, is to frame people up on criminal charges. The authorities don't always imprison you on explicitly political charges. Sometimes they charge you with crimes such as rape or drug possession in order to drive away supporters.

"By doing that they defeat and slander the movement," he stressed. The objective of the rape charges in the Curtis case is to drive a wedge between Curtis, "a lifelong organizer, and his natural constituencies — the labor movement, Black movement, and women's movement."

When Ervin first went to prison, "to even



Militant/Sam Manuel  
 Des Moines Human Rights Commission Chairperson Alfredo Alvarez announced his support for Mark Curtis Defense Committee at May 13 teach-in.

have a copy of the Constitution of the United States would get you thrown in solitary confinement." But struggles by prisoners and their supporters won the right to have non-English language materials and revolutionary literature, said Ervin.

This censorship move at Anamosa can be reversed, he said, if there's a fight by supporters on the outside.

Another former prisoner who spoke was Héctor Marroquín, who works at the Firestone plant here and is a member of Rubber Workers Local 310. Last year, the Mexican-born worker won his 11-year battle for the right to permanent residence in the United States.

Marroquín spent four months in prison in Eagle Pass, Texas, in 1977 for the same "crime" that Curtis' 17 coworkers were arrested for — not having proper documents.

In prison, said Marroquín, they try to "re-form" you. One of their biggest successes in this, he said, is when they drive people to suicide. If you're a political prisoner, they try to make you commit political suicide, make you give up your ideas, principles, and activity.

But such an attempt can backfire, warned Marroquín. "It can strengthen your resolve."

Spanish is not a foreign language to Curtis, he stressed. "It's just another language people speak in this country and around the world." Curtis is trying to learn Spanish, the rubber worker said, for the same reason that Marroquín is trying to perfect his English — to be a better fighter. "What they don't want us to speak is the politics of working people."

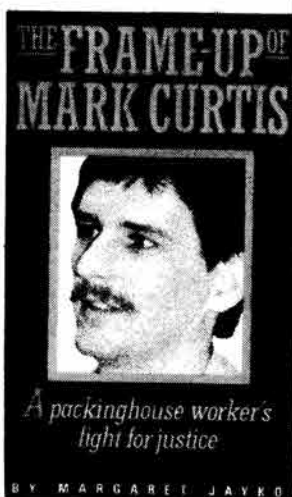
At the teach-in, Alfredo Alvarez, chairperson of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, announced that he was publicly endorsing the Mark Curtis Defense

Continued on Page 13

NEW from PATHFINDER

## The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$2.50.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

## Committee launches 4-month drive to raise \$100,000 fund

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has set a \$100,000 fund drive, to run for four months, to September 14. That's the first anniversary of Curtis' conviction on trumped-up rape and burglary charges.

Defense committee leader John Studer explained at the May 14 workshop what the funds are needed for:

- Increased legal expenses resulting from Curtis' filing of a federal civil rights suit, the appeal of Curtis' conviction for rape and burglary, and any legal moves that might be linked to the fight against censorship of literature at the Anamosa state prison.

- Stepped-up travel by defense committee activists to speak to people across the

United States and around the world.

- More defense committee literature. This includes material on the new fight against censorship, as well as a video on the Curtis case being produced by Hollywood movie writer and director Nick Castle, Jr.

- Moving expenses for the defense committee. Because of the success of the international campaign for justice for Curtis, the committee has outgrown the space it rents from the Pathfinder Bookstore in Des Moines and needs new premises.

Almost \$4,000 was donated to kick off the fund at the May 13 teach-in.

Contributions should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Larger, tax-deductible contributions should be made out to PRDF, Inc.

— M.J.



# Cuba, Nicaragua slam U.S. assault on Panama's sovereignty

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PANAMA CITY, Panama — The government of Cuba has warned Washington that there will be "an inevitable and explosive reaction by the peoples of our America if there is a U.S. military intervention against Panama."

The statement was issued May 12 by Cuba's Foreign Ministry and published in dailies here. It condemned Washington's military threats and interference in Panama's elections as "the continuation of the illegal policy the United States has pursued against this small isthmus country, based on a conception of limited sovereignty for the countries of Latin America and the right of the authorities in Washington to set themselves up as the supreme judges of the legality of the governments of our region and as interpreters of the will of the Latin American peoples."

Washington is not only "openly threatening to use force," said the Foreign Ministry, but is "preparing the actual use of force against little Panama."

"For the government of Cuba," the statement continued, "what is at stake is not the development of the electoral process in a country of our region but the pretensions of the United States to act as arbiter of the political processes of our countries."

"The government of Cuba rejects foreign interference in the internal affairs of Panama," the statement said. "The authorities and institutions of that country should decide its future. A violation of these sacred principles only favors those who want to prevent closer cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean and to prevent the strengthening of peace, security, sovereignty, and democracy for our peoples."

Speaking in Dublin, Ireland, May 12, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega denounced the sending of 2,000 U.S. troops to Panama as "absolutely illegal and inadmissible." In Nicaragua itself, the Sandinista People's Army was placed on maximum alert. Humberto Ortega, head of the army, warned that, as part of its anti-Panama drive, Washington was increasing provoca-

tions against Nicaragua by contra forces on both the Honduran and Costa Rican borders.

Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge issued a call May 10 to Latin American political parties to "defend Panama's right to self-determination" and "vigorously reject, without hesitation, intervention in matters that only the Panamanian people have the right to judge." Borge made the statement in his capacity as a vice-president of the Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties.

Borge warned that Washington's course "includes the probability of direct intervention and acts of provocation" aimed in part at "denying Panama its right to the canal zone."

"To achieve these objectives," he continued, "the U.S. government is pressuring some governments of the region to join in its interventionist campaign against Panama. To accept this arrogance would be to condemn the countries of the region to the crudest intervention in their internal affairs."

A few days later Peter Rodman, adviser to the U.S. National Security Council, said the events in Panama should serve as a warning to the Nicaraguan government.

Four national liberation groups engaged in guerrilla struggle in Colombia released a statement asserting that "U.S. imperialism doesn't have the slightest interest in the fate of the Panamanian people. It is only inter-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

"For a sovereign Panama," read this slogan on a Panama City wall. Cuban statement said: "At stake is pretensions of the U.S. to act as arbiter of our countries."

ested in consolidating [in Panama] the largest possible military fortress from which it can continue controlling, threatening, and invading the peoples of Latin America who are advancing with determination toward independence."

The Colombian groups called on "all democratic governments and fraternal peoples to mobilize and act against this new imperialist aggression."

"It is our firm decision," the guerrilla groups concluded, "to fight side by side with the Panamanian people if an invasion

or any other type of military aggression occurs." The statement was signed by the Simón Bolívar Guerrilla Coordinating Committee, made up of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, National Liberation Army, April 19th Movement (M-19), and People's Liberation Army.

The General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador also issued a statement, declaring it was ready to "fight alongside the Panamanian people and contribute to the defeat of the new U.S. aggression in Latin America."

## Bush sends troops, threatens Panama

Continued from front page  
the fighting, the statement said.

U.S. President George Bush ordered 1,900 U.S. troops to Panama the next day, stating, "I am concerned about the safety of U.S. citizens." But no threats of violence or actual physical attacks on U.S. citizens have been reported here, even by the U.S. military television station Southern Command Network.

Southern Command Network has sought to give the impression that U.S. citizens are in danger, however. On May 12, "Personnel Movement Limitation Charlie" was put into effect, raising the state of alert of GIs here. Southern Command Network broadcast instructions to U.S. soldiers to "stay in your home except when going to work. Wear civilian clothing." U.S. military families living off-base have been ordered to move onto U.S. installations permanently by July 1.

Virtually every Southern Command Network news broadcast for a week has featured edited film of the ADOC-Dignity Battalion clash May 10 interspersed with unidentified footage of General Noriega waving a machete.

The network also continues to announce areas of Panama City where it says political disturbances are occurring that endanger U.S. citizens. Over the weekend of May 13-14, the station told GIs to avoid the Amador Causeway, where it said a political rally was taking place. The "political rally" turned out to be a concert by the Cuban musical group New Generation.

Washington also pressured Latin American governments to call a meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) on May 17 to discuss the Panama situation. Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez will reportedly urge the OAS to demand General Noriega's resignation.

The government of Panama, backed by the government of Nicaragua, which is also an OAS member, has declared that the OAS has no right to tell Panamanians who should be in their government. Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter stated that the OAS and all other international bodies should instead "reject the U.S. threat to use force" against Panama.

ADOC called for a one-day "general strike" to coincide with the OAS meeting. The action was to protest the nullification of the elections and demand recognition of

ADOC as the winning presidential ticket. The National Council of Private Enterprise is also calling for ADOC to be declared the winner.

Supporters of Panamanian sovereignty are meanwhile discussing how to defend their nation from the escalating threat of U.S. intervention and resolve the political crisis here.

The National Federation of Public Employees released a statement May 12. "Our country now faces a new situation," the union said. "First and foremost is the threat of military intervention by the U.S. government . . . with the complicity of political forces that are trying to surrender the country to Yankee greed."

The public employees called on "all popular, patriotic, and democratic sectors, trade unions, women, and youth to close ranks against intervention." The statement said the nullification of the elections was "correct" in that it "prevents for the moment the shedding of blood among Panamanians."

"At the same time," the union said, "we will keep on defending the legitimate interests of public employees and we demand that the government permit our participation in the decisions that will be made in light of the new turn of events in Panama."

The public employees' federation has been prominent in opposing Panamanian government austerity measures to comply with International Monetary Fund demands. Through seven national strikes in the last four years, the union has thus far blocked a government proposal to lay off 30,000 public workers.

Carlos Duque, who was the presidential candidate of the COLINA ticket and is a leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), initially took a stand against nullification of the elections, arguing that COLINA had won the race. In a May 12 statement he said the nullification should be respected, however.

Duque said the PRD "deplored the attack with firearms" against the Defense Forces May 10 as well as "the physical attack on two prominent opposition figures and the lamentable death of one of their colleagues." He urged his supporters to avoid "acts of provocation that contribute to justifying foreign intervention."

Duque called for "dialogue" and "collaboration among all sectors that reject foreign intervention and want the full democratiza-

tion of the country."

The National Human Rights Commission of Panama, whose leadership includes trade unionists, peasant activists, community organizers, and Christian youth, released a statement May 12. "We denounce the U.S. aggression against the people and nation of Panama," the commission said.

"We also denounce the unpatriotic attitude of those sectors with economic power who have used the poverty, lack of information, and discontent of the youth, unemployed, and toiling majority to pit them against their own brothers. We furthermore denounce those sectors of the Defense Forces who abuse power in violation of international principles and the Constitution."

The commission called on the U.S. government to "respect the sovereign rights of Panama, halt the escalation of intervention, respect [the canal treaty], and stop using our territory to attack the peoples of Central America."

It called on "the international community to unconditionally support a peaceful, popular, sovereign solution" to the crisis here, "based on the slogan, 'Invaders' hands off Panama!'"

### NEW YORK CITY Eyewitness Report on Political Situation in Panama and Threat of U.S. Intervention

Hear  
Cindy Jaquith, Militant correspondent just returned from Panama; Esmeralda Brown, Latin American Women's Workshop; Olga Sanabria, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; representative, Casa de las Americas.

Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m.  
191 7th Ave. (at 21st St.), Manhattan  
Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 675-6740.

## Solidarity center opens in Nicaragua

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Several hundred people attended the recent inauguration here of "Casa Benjamin Linder" — The Benjamin Linder House.

Linder, a U.S.-born engineer, was murdered by the contras in April 1987 while working as a volunteer on a project to bring electricity to a rural area.

A number of U.S.-based solidarity groups with offices in Nicaragua have joined together to form Casa Benjamin Linder. Participating groups include the Nicaragua Network, TecNICA, and Architects and Planners in Support of Nicaragua.

Nan McCurdy Mitchell, spokesperson for the center, explained at the opening celebration that its purpose is to build unity among U.S. citizens and solidarity groups in Nicaragua "in the fight against military, economic, psychological, and propaganda aggression against the people of Nicaragua."

She criticized President George Bush for continuing to support the contras. She also called for an end to the economic blockade of Nicaragua and condemned Washington's denial of visas to Nicaraguan supporters of the revolution, preventing them from "speaking the truth" in the United States.

Sergio Ramírez, Nicaragua's vice-president, also participated in the inauguration and addressed the crowd. A letter from Linder's parents was also read to the meeting.

Casa Benjamin Linder encourages visits by activists in the solidarity movement and others traveling in Nicaragua. The telephone number in Managua is 664373.



# Panama coverage spurs discussion in drive's final stretch

BY FRED FELDMAN

"That's right," the young Black woman told a *Militant* distributor before purchasing a copy in Brooklyn May 13. "The U.S. should get out of Panama. The U.S. thinks it can invade any country it wants. We have enough problems here like jobs and homelessness."

"The canal belongs to Panama," said another woman who came to the table to buy a subscription when she read the *Militant* headline.

A number of Panamanians came by sales tables and voiced agreement with the paper's stand against the U.S. government's attacks.

The on-the-scene coverage by a *Militant* reporting team in Panama sparked interest and discussion in many places as the final week of the circulation campaign opened up. A major effort is being made in the last stretch of the drive to go well over the top and on time.

The campaign aims to sell a total of 8,000 subscriptions to the *Militant*, Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and French-language monthly *Lutte ouvrière*, and single copies of the Marxist journals *New International* and the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*.

In Los Angeles, *Militant* distributors sold single copies and subscriptions at a May 13 meeting addressed by Oscar Orellana, head of the human rights body associated with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

And they also distributed leaflets, along with several Panamanian youth, for a demonstration held May 17 to protest the U.S. government's attack on Panama.

A Panamanian couple bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at this gathering.

Distributor Betsey Stone described what she called a "mixed reaction" when she discussed the front page with workers and others on the streets of Los Angeles. They found some supporting the U.S. government's actions against Panama, while others were opposed or very suspicious about Washington's motives.

A sales team made up of U.S. and Canadian supporters of the socialist publications

has completed a three-week tour of the Maritime Provinces of Canada (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) and the northern New England states in the United States.

"This is like Christmas to me," said a Université de Moncton student, a French-speaking Acadian person from the Maritime Provinces, as he looked over the literature display. "I have been thinking about these ideas for a long time."

The team members sold 15 subscriptions in one day at the University of Maine at Orono, and 38 copies of the *Militant* to workers at the Boise-Cascade paper mill in Rumford, Maine.

Robert Simms of Toronto reported that the international team included, besides himself, Kate Daher from Pittsburgh and Annette Kouri from Montréal. They sold 49 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 3 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 6 to *Lutte ouvrière*, and 15 single copies of *New International* or *Nouvelle Internationale*.

May 13 was a big sales day in Des Moines, Iowa, as well, as *Militant* supporters mobilized to build a meeting on the issues involved in the frame-up of imprisoned packinghouse worker Mark Curtis.

Sixty-three copies of the *Militant* were sold, 2 of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 15 of *New International*. Four people obtained subscriptions to the *Militant* and 2 subscribed to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

"In the first 20 minutes after our arrival in the hollows just outside Man, West Virginia," wrote Toba Singer, "five new subscribers had eagerly signed up." The hollows in that part of the coal country are narrow strips of land, sandwiching the railroad track leading into the mine, where working-class families live in trailers or small houses.

The new subscribers were miners on strike against Pittston Coal, their family members, and neighbors who support the strike.

The final scoreboard for the subscription drive will be published in the next issue of the *Militant*. To be recorded, subscriptions should be in the hands of the business office by Wednesday, May 24, at 12:00 noon.

## Eastern Airlines unionists, others discuss struggles at New York forum

BY SANDRA LEE

NEW YORK — "There have been other strikes that have lasted 71 days," began Ernest Mailhot of the strike committee at Machinists' Local 1018, on strike against Eastern Airlines. "What is different about this strike is that we've been able to shut down the airline for 71 days."

"The context of the Eastern strike is that workers around the world are under attack," he continued.

Mailhot was speaking at Public School 41 at a *Militant* Labor Forum speak-out on the Machinists' strike. Inspired by the united union fight in stopping Eastern President Frank Lorenzo's union-busting efforts, the forum offered an opportunity for strikers to meet and discuss with each other. Other unionists in the audience were invited by chair Jon Hillson to speak about their struggles.

Steve Perozzi of the strike in New York against the Tavern on the Green restaurant and Louise Boise, a striker from Aeromexico, spoke.

Tavern on the Green is among the largest-grossing restaurants in this country, at \$28 million a year. Management threatened to cut off medical benefits if the workers voted in a union. Despite this the union was voted in by 96 percent. Medical benefits were cut, and subsequently the workers were locked out by the boss.

At Aeromexico, Boise explained, over a year ago the airline was "restructured." "Bankruptcy was declared," she reported, and "the company began operating as a

new company, with nothing new but the workers." She asked that Aeromexico be boycotted and for participation in strike rallies being planned against the carrier.

Yvonne Perez-Grajales of IAM Local 1018, who was among the panelists, explained how her thinking has evolved through the struggle. "I was taught to believe that we have constitutional rights. Solidarity has proven that there is strength in numbers. We will show not just Lorenzo, but all of America that the working class will fight to maintain a standard of living for ourselves and our children."

Lezlie Brooks from Transport Workers Union Local 553, the Eastern flight attendants' union, said that thinking about their struggle reminded her of the civil rights fighter Rosa Parks. She said that Parks' struggle was not about moving a few rows to a different seat on the bus in Montgomery in 1955. "It was about dignity," she concluded. She asked that people not fly Continental and not cross the Eastern picket lines.

"Our goal is to stop the breaking up of the unions," said Mailhot. Whether Eastern gets sold off in pieces, or whatever happens, he said, "The struggle is to keep the unions."

Perez-Grajales predicted, "While you in the audience may feel you're on the outside looking in, this is what they have in store for more and more of us in the future." She said that we must "get our heads together and prepare now how to fight."



*Militant* table at Tasman Pulp and Paper mill in New Zealand

## 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
UNITED STATES											
Portland, Ore.★	195	204	105	160	161	20	20	10	17	5	6
Seattle★	230	235	102	170	176	25	27	30	29	5	3
Price, Utah★	80	80	100	50	52	15	13	13	13	2	2
Des Moines, Iowa	200	195	97	140	143	35	37	20	14	5	1
Greensboro, NC★	120	116	97	90	90	15	11	13	14	2	1
Los Angeles	470	449	96	240	214	90	77	130	156	10	2
Houston	180	168	93	100	117	30	26	45	25	5	0
Charleston, WV	92	85	92	70	72	15	10	5	2	2	1
San Francisco	215	197	92	135	118	35	25	35	50	10	4
Brooklyn	345	310	90	190	168	60	77	65	52	30	13
New York	635	568	89	300	303	150	110	150	144	35	11
Cleveland	100	87	87	70	66	18	13	10	7	2	1
Miami	250	216	86	145	127	35	18	45	31	25	40
Phoenix	132	114	86	70	74	20	8	40	32	2	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	275	237	86	200	179	35	31	30	23	10	4
Morgantown, WV	115	99	86	75	90	25	8	10	1	5	0
Austin, Minn.	87	72	83	60	59	15	5	10	7	2	1
Chicago	320	262	82	200	156	50	53	60	50	10	3
Salt Lake City	120	98	82	80	66	20	17	15	13	5	2
Philadelphia	190	154	81	125	111	25	20	30	21	10	2
Newark, NJ	500	405	81	250	226	100	94	100	61	50	24
Atlanta	205	166	81	150	128	30	9	20	29	5	0
Kansas City★	115	92	80	75	68	20	15	15	9	5	0
Pittsburgh	165	132	80	120	102	30	21	10	8	5	1
Omaha, Neb.★	130	102	78	80	72	30	18	15	12	5	0
Oakland, Calif.	175	135	77	100	102	30	17	40	14	5	2
Birmingham, Ala.	170	129	76	130	99	25	23	10	4	5	3
Detroit	175	132	75	125	116	30	8	15	5	5	3
St. Louis	175	131	75	130	106	30	18	10	5	5	2
Baltimore	155	105	68	115	82	25	12	10	10	5	1
Boston	265	179	68	160	111	40	40	45	21	20	7
Milwaukee	130	82	63	80	63	20	9	27	9	3	1
Washington, DC	170	99	58	100	73	25	4	35	22	10	0
National Teams	—	107	—	—	98	—	5	—	2	—	2
Other U.S.	—	80	—	—	72	—	4	—	4	—	—
U.S. TOTAL	6,881	6,022	88	4,285	4,060	1,168	903	1,118	916	310	143
AUSTRALIA											
BRITAIN	30	34	113	17	13	4	8	8	13	1	0
London	150	153	102	95	111	30	17	20	25	5	0
Manchester	61	47	77	40	34	15	10	5	3	1	0
South Wales	59	45	76	40	36	10	4	7	4	2	1
South Yorks	60	34	57	30	24	20	3	10	7	—	0
Other Britain	70	60	86	25	23	25	22	8	9	12	6
BRITAIN TOTAL	400	339	85	230	228	100	56	50	48	20	7
CANADA											
Vancouver★	75	76	101	65	58	2	6	6	10	2	2
Toronto	270	251	93	150	139	50	42	50	55	20	15
Montréal	250	195	78	80	42	40	37	30	38	100	78
Other Canada	—	54	—	—	37	—	10	—	3	—	4
CANADA TOTAL	595	576	97	295	276	92	95	86	106	122	99
ICELAND											
NEW ZEALAND	15	8	53	15	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wellington★	115	114	99	90	89	20	20	3	5	2	0
Christchurch★	95	93	98	80	82	10	4	3	7	2	0
Auckland★	125	119	95	100	100	15	13	6	6	4	0
Other New Zealand	—	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
NEW ZEALAND TOTAL	335	330	99	270	275	45	37	12	18	8	0
SWEDEN											
PUERTO RICO	56	71	127	30	36	5	7	20	27	1	1
Other International	25	28	112	3	6	3	4	19	18	—	—
Other International	5	3	60	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	8,342	7,411	93%	5,150	4,905	1,417	1,110	1,313	1,146	462	250
Drive Goals Should be	8,000	7,000	88%	4,900	4,288	1,350	1,181	1,300	1,138	450	394

\*Single copies. Includes *Nouvelle Internationale*.

★Raised goal during drive.



# Eastern strike challenges antiunion drive

Continued from front page

ged the industrial unions in a major way, several years after public workers' unions had been dealt severe blows.

The warning shots were fired in 1977-78, when the rulers carried out a probe against the United Mine Workers. At a time when the word "giveback" was still a new one for most unionists, the coal operators went after the miners with demands for concessions on everything from wages and health benefits to the right to strike over safety.

Some 160,000 UMW members said no to the coal operators and walked off the job on Dec. 6, 1977. During their 110-day strike, the miners twice rejected proposed contract settlements urged on them by the union leadership and stayed on the picket lines. When then President James Carter ordered them back to work under the Taft Hartley act, they remained out. No coal was mined.

Only after an agreement was reached that forced the coal operators to retreat from their most onerous demands did the miners vote to approve the contract and return to work.

The miners' success in holding off the coal bosses through strike action — which they did again in 1981 — proved to be the exception, however, to what lay ahead for the much of the rest of the working class.

## Chrysler 'bailout'

The 1979 Chrysler Corp. bankruptcy marked the beginning of a period of retreat by most major industrial unions in face of the employers' demands. Some 131,000 auto workers agreed to accept years of lower wages and other concessions in exchange for a government "bailout" aimed at keeping Chrysler afloat.

Beginning in 1979, tens of thousands of auto workers were laid off, as automakers shut plant after plant to get rid of "excess capacity."

In 1981 the federal government crushed the strike by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers' union, signaling an acceleration in the rulers' antiunion offensive. This coincided with the beginning of a new recession.

A heavy blow was dealt to rail workers in 1981 when a \$200 million concession package was agreed to by rail union officials at Conrail, along with the layoff of thousands of Conrail workers.

Between 1981 and 1984, unionized meat-packers took pay cuts that brought their wages from \$10.69 an hour to \$8.24. In 1983 the United Steel Workers gave seven major steel companies a \$1.25-an-hour wage cut. More — and, in some cases, deeper — cuts followed in the 1986-87 contracts.

Airline workers were also hit hard. De-regulation of the airlines industry meant sharper competition among the carriers. Workers' wages, benefits, and working conditions went on the chopping block as the airlines fought to maximize profits by cutting costs.

In 1982 Braniff Airlines went "bankrupt" and tore up its union contracts. The next year, the unions were broken at Continental Airlines when owner Frank Lorenzo pulled a similar bankruptcy maneuver after the Machinists went on strike. A two-tier wage setup was agreed to in 1983 by the Machinists at United Airlines, and by unions at American Airlines. Between 1980 and 1984, workers at Pan Am took \$300 million in cuts.

choice but to accept these concessions. The employers' line — echoed by top union officials — that givebacks were needed in order to save jobs appeared as a lesser evil to even more massive layoffs and closed plants. Wages and conditions given up now would be returned in the future, the bosses said, when profitability was restored.

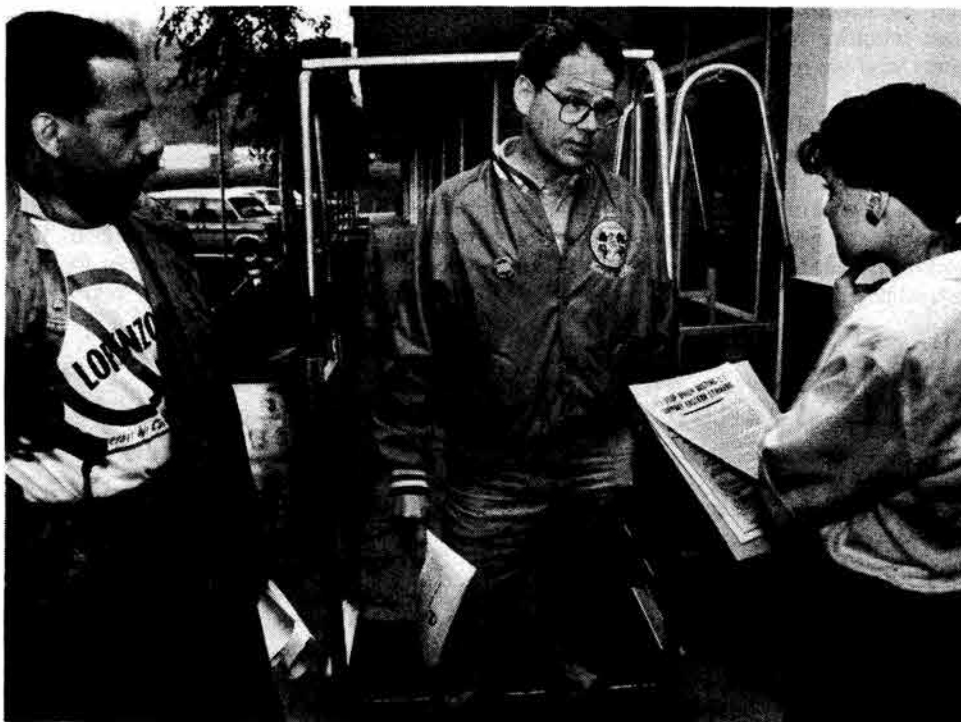
During this period, millions of workers had to accept frozen or lowered wages; brutal speedup; longer probation periods; slashed medical, pension, and other benefits; wage setups with two tiers or more; increasing health and safety hazards on the job; and more. Hundreds of thousands lost their jobs, as plants, mills, rail lines, and mines were closed — some for good, some to reopen later as nonunion operations.

Many employers tried to tie the workers into their profit-boosting efforts by pushing "employee stock ownership plans," "profit-

sharing" schemes, and the "team concept" of work organization, all of which only weakened the unions further.

There were important labor battles during this period, including the 1983-84 walkout by copper miners in Arizona and the strike by Greyhound bus drivers in 1983. These challenges — and the solidarity they won from other workers — showed the workers' capacity and willingness to fight. They were the exception, however, to the overall retreat, and most strikes ended in defeats or setbacks.

Overall, the number of strikes declined, along with the percentage of workers in unions. In 1974 there were 424 walkouts involving more than 1,000 workers; in



When Eastern held an "open house" in Charleston, West Virginia, May 1 to recruit scab flight attendants, Machinists' Local 656 members Norman Ferguson (left) and Jim Gotesky from Rhone-Poulenc/Union Carbide chemical plant, and other unionists, set up informational picket. Almost all women who came turned back after talking to strike supporters. Story on event appeared in *Charleston Gazette*.

1985, there were less than 60.

The employers' offensive revealed how weak the unions had become in the preceding years.

Out of these experiences, however, anger was growing, along with the realization that giving the employers concessions without a fight guarantees nothing about the future.

By the end of 1985, this anger began to be translated into a new mood of combativity and resistance, starting with packing-house workers.

For several years, meat-packing bosses had slashed wages, increased already dangerous production speeds to deadly levels, and busted some union locals.

Beginning in August 1985 with the strike by unionists at Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minnesota, a wave of strike struggles and organizing drives swept through meat-packing plants in the Midwest. More than 50 percent of the industry work force was involved in these battles over the next several years.

In the spring of 1987, miners in Colorado, Arizona, Montana, and other western states waged successful strikes against the coal operators' demands for concessions. A victorious 18-month strike by cannery workers in Watsonville, California, that year, struggles by farm workers in Washington State, and the 1987-88 battle by paperworkers against International Paper Co. were other examples of the new militancy.

At the same time, workers stepping onto the field of combat were confronted with the employers' ability to break strikes by hiring scabs and keeping production going. Meat-packers at Hormel and John Morrell, flight attendants at Trans World Airlines, auto workers at Colt Firearms, paperworkers at International Paper, and other unions suffered setbacks when their strikes were broken in this way.

## 14 years of attacks at Eastern

The current battle at Eastern comes after working people have been through quite a bit of experience in confronting their employers over the last decade. More workers are trying to find a way out of this period of retreat, and many have begun to sort out

what does and doesn't work in a fight with the bosses.

Eastern workers have their own experiences — as well as those of other unionists — to draw on in this fight.

After claiming it was bankrupt in 1975, Eastern won seven years of concessions from the unions, beginning with a wage freeze in 1976 and a wage giveback of 3.5 percent a year for five years.

At the end of 1983, the unions at Eastern agreed to more cuts for the following year: Machinists and flight attendants took an 18 percent cut, the pilots 22 percent. Non-contract workers were simply told that they were getting an 18 percent cut too. Together, the workers gave up \$360 million.

strikebreaking fund, Eastern began hiring and training scabs. Private security companies set up operations at all Eastern facilities, and guards appeared in offices and restrooms.

The company was ready to order non-union workers to perform IAM members' jobs, along with people from management. Some 200 management pilots were lined up, in addition to the 600 pilots that Eastern counted on to cross the picket lines.

So confident were the rulers that Lorenzo could finish off the unions at Eastern that President George Bush decided against a recommendation from the federal government's own National Mediation Board to intervene in the dispute — a request also made by union officials.

On March 3, hours before the midnight strike deadline, the pilots' union voted to back the Machinists. Early that day, Machinists were locked out by the company and given minutes to clear Eastern property.

## Fleet grounded

When the IAM set up its picket lines at 12:01 a.m. March 4 and flight crews began walking off planes, it soon became clear that something quite different was unfolding than what Lorenzo and others in U.S. ruling circles had banked on.

Unlike every recent airline strike, the unions at Eastern were in this fight together. Only a handful of pilots crossed the picket lines, and only a handful of flights got into the air. This has remained true throughout the duration of the strike: union power has kept the operations of the seventh-largest U.S. airline shut down.

This is especially important because the Railway Labor Act, which governs the airline and railroad industries and unions, is designed to throw every possible roadblock in the way of the unions ever taking strike action at all.

Because of the RLA, workers at Eastern endured 16 months of negotiations and a one month "cooling-off" period aimed at demoralizing them and wearing them down. Meanwhile, Lorenzo gained time to organize his antiunion campaign.

The strike broke through this demobilizing and disorganizing red tape.

Five days after the walkout began, Lorenzo filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in New York. Since then, the strikers have confronted the rulers' efforts to shift attention away from the picket line and solidarity actions to the bankruptcy proceedings.

The idea is to convince the workers that decisions about the strike will be made somewhere else other than on the picket lines, by someone other than themselves.

At the same time the strikers are confronting the challenge of fighting to defend their unions and winning a settlement they can live with, even if Eastern is carved up. Lorenzo is planning to sell the New York-Washington-Boston shuttle and other parts of the airline. This means the strikers must fight to defend the union both at Eastern itself, and at any parts that get sold off.

## Solidarity

The Machinists' fight has been met with an outpouring of solidarity from other workers, especially other unionists, who know from their own experience what the Eastern workers are up against. The opportunities to extend this solidarity are wide open, in part due to the AFL-CIO's support for the walkout.

More and more Eastern strikers are looking to the support of other workers as their main ally in this difficult fight. It is only with the solid backing of the labor movement that the strikers can fight to keep the airline union-organized, no matter how it's assets are disposed of.

Although this is the first strike for most Eastern workers, they came into this battle toughened by the previous years' experiences.

As the weeks pass, a growing layer of union members is gaining confidence and coming forward to take on more responsibilities in the strike — going out and speaking to other unions and organizations, organizing to keep up the picket lines, putting together food banks, raising funds, and so on. This makes the strike stronger and puts the unions in a firmer position to meet the challenges that are still ahead.

Having amassed a multimillion dollar



# Muslim clergy in Britain seek extension of blasphemy laws

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — The Muslim hierarchy in Britain has called for a demonstration on May 27 to demand an extension of blasphemy laws, to provide a legal basis for the prosecution of author Salman Rushdie for his novel *The Satanic Verses*.

The demonstration is being organized through the mosques by the British Muslim Action Front. The organizers hope to attract Muslims from the European continent and elsewhere. The march is to begin in the East London Mosque and wind up in a rally in Hyde Park.

Blasphemy against Christianity was considered a criminal offense in Britain until 1967 when it was made a civil offense under common law. Offenses are decided by legal precedent, and punishments are determined by judges, who have wide discretion.

In 1977 *Gay News* was convicted and fined under this law for publishing a poem about a Roman soldier's homosexual fantasies about the crucified body of Jesus Christ.

Muslim clergy are pressing to have the blasphemy law extended to include all religions. The archbishop of Canterbury, the highest official in the Church of England, supports that proposal.

Tony Benn, a Labour Party member of Parliament, has introduced a bill to bar any prosecutions for "schism, heresy, blasphemous libel, blasphemy at common law, or atheism."

The call for the May 27 demonstration is revitalizing the anti-Rushdie campaign that began late last year. Symbolic burnings of Rushdie's book took place in the towns of Bolton and Bradford.

## 'Deadend'

In a statement released May 9, Doreen Weppeler, a rail worker and Communist League candidate for the European Parliament, said, "Black people, including those of Asian background who profess Islam and constitute the majority of Muslims in this country, face racist attacks and abuse. They are denied education in their own lan-

## Anti-Rushdie campaign is revitalized.

guage," she said, "and discriminated against in jobs and housing because of their color. 'It is, however,' she said, 'a complete dead end to focus justified anger against such discrimination on calls to ban *The Satanic Verses* or prosecute Salman Rushdie. In fact, such mobilizations can only strengthen those wealthy ruling families and their agents who are responsible for discrimination."

"The steps called for by this demonstration will make the plight of Black people worse. It will help the government to achieve its goal of restricting and ultimately removing the political space necessary for working people to function politically in our own name."

# Pakistani-born journalist speaks out against attacks on Salman Rushdie

BY DOUG JENNESS

LONDON — The sustained campaign against writer Salman Rushdie, particularly the death sentence pronounced by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, has intimidated a great many people from speaking out against this attack.

One figure here whose criticism hasn't been muted is Pakistani-born journalist Tariq Ali. Sitting in the offices of Bandung Productions, which he is the director of, Ali declared, "No state has the right to pass a death sentence on a writer for what they write regardless of what one thinks of the literary merits of the work in question."

"These attacks against Rushdie come at a time of increasing censorship moves in Britain."

The government has spent millions trying to silence *Spycatcher* author Peter Wright," Weppeler said. "It has imposed a broadcasting gag on Sinn Féin and has tried to ban the TV documentary *Death on the Rock*. It has had a Pathfinder Press bookseller arrested and detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and has had many consignments of books imported by Gay's the Word bookshop seized by Customs on grounds of 'obscenity'."

"The International Press Institute last year bracketed Britain with South Africa and India as countries where media freedoms are at special risk."

"Demands to have *The Satanic Verses* banned or Rushdie prosecuted help legitimize this course," Weppeler continued. "Indeed, they provide a smokescreen for further encroachments on civil liberties, as



Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*.

with the further tightening of immigration laws and the deportation from Britain of Iranian students and other supporters of the Iranian government. Freedoms cannot be defended by the restriction of existing democratic liberties."

Ali has coauthored a play with Howard Brenton that deals critically with aspects of Islamic fundamentalism and blasphemy and implicitly defends Rushdie. The role of the play, *Iranian Nights*, Ali said, was "to clear the air, to show that you can put on stuff like this, and to break the circle of fear." A lot of people, "especially in the publishing world and the ranks of the intelligentsia are running scared."

Ali said the drama played at a West End theater to packed houses for 10 nights. Only one performance was disrupted, when "six Englishwomen in Muslim scarves jumped on the stage and chanted 'traitor to

your religion.'

"Some people actually thought they were part of the performance," Ali chuckled, "but when they saw they weren't they shouted at them to get down. The disrupters were removed, and the play went on. At least 50 percent of the theater was filled with Muslims or people of Muslim origin."

The play was filmed and will be shown May 20 on Channel 4's "Bandung File," a regular show produced by Bandung Productions. Television stations in other countries, including the United States, are negotiating to buy it.

Ali noted that the form "running scared takes for many is supposed concern with the offense caused to Muslim fundamentalists in this country" by Rushdie's novel *The Satanic Verses*. "But they don't care a toss about Muslims or anyone else," he said. "In spite of what they say, I don't believe these big publishers are concerned about this at all."

Rupert Murdoch's giant publishing conglomerate, William Collins, he said, turned down a book it had commissioned on Rushdie. "It was just going to be a straightforward collection of articles from the world press on the Rushdie affair, called *The Rushdie Dossier*. Contracts had been signed, and suddenly they turned it down, saying that it was unbalanced."

Ali also hit the Labour Party's silence on the attacks against Rushdie. "They haven't done anything. [Party leader Neil] Kinnock has made no statement at all. Nothing!"

Very few voices in Britain's Asian communities have spoken out publicly, Ali said. "But behind the scenes, there's lots of concern about the death threat. I've spoken to literally dozens and dozens of people in Bradford and Birmingham who criticized the anti-Rushdie campaign," he said.

Ali stated, however, that many young people from Indian and Pakistani backgrounds, who have grown up in Britain and hardly speak the languages of their parents, are "finding something in religion that can give them an identity and that can defend them against the encroachments of the sort of society they find alien because of the incredible degree of racism here."

Many of the kind of youths who got involved in radical politics in the 1970s, Ali said, are looking to religion today for some solution. "It's a fake solution, but there's that aspect to the situation, which we deal with in the play," he said.

A May 27 demonstration in London called by the Islamic clergy "has nothing to do with antiracism," Ali said. Its aim is to extend the blasphemy laws to include Islam. "They have a point. If there are to be blasphemy laws why not extend them to every religion. But I think that all blasphemy laws should be abolished."

# Changes made in Cuban union leadership

BY JON HILLSON

HAVANA, Cuba — The new organizing committee for the upcoming congress of the National Union of Sugar Workers (SNTA) has begun to function, following the removal of the top leadership of Cuba's biggest union.

The SNTA's first and second secretaries, along with two other members of the union's secretariat were relieved of all responsibilities in the 50,000-member labor organization at a meeting of the union's national committee.

Results of the two-day meeting were announced by the Cuban media on March 24.

Speaking before members of the 20th anniversary contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, a U.S.-based Cuba solidarity organization, Pedro Ross Leal explained that such changes are an example of "our democracy." Ross Leal is president of the Organizing Committee for the 16th Congress of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC).

"Some comrades," he said, referring to the SNTA leadership, "didn't use norms well. They violated norms, they abused union resources, and they were replaced."

In an interview the day prior to Ross Leal's May 4 remarks, the two top leaders of the SNTA at the 30th of November sugar mill in Pinar del Río Province and the provincial general secretary of the union described both the changes and the importance of the SNTA's congress. The date of the gathering was moved up a year by the same meeting that removed the union's top national officers.

Vidal Martínez Cruz, first secretary of the SNTA at the plant, and Ricardo Miranda, the union's second secretary, explained that efforts to reverse the functioning of the top leadership had been fruitless.

"We had tried to change the situation for a long time," Martínez Cruz noted. "We were unable to carry out the mandates of our last congress."

"The style and function of their work," Miranda said of the SNTA's executives, "was not responsive to the needs of the union. It was not effective."

SNTA leaders around the country, Martínez Cruz said, saw the need "for a renewal of the union," that is, a change of leadership.

This, he said, takes place in "the context of the rectification effort, which is always redefining our tasks."

Rectification is the process initiated by the Communist Party of Cuba at its third congress in 1986. It aims to advance and strengthen worker participation at all levels of society and government by openly confronting bureaucracy, inertia, and routinism through political means. This is to strengthen consciousness of the human factor in building socialism.

It was resistance to this process, a "bad orientation toward facing our tasks" at the executive leadership level of the SNTA that prompted its broader national leadership to act, Martínez Cruz said. The function of the committee's criticism, he said, was to make the leaders "more effective, not to destroy them."

Because their errors "were not those of principle," Martínez Cruz said, the former leaders have been employed by the Cuban government.

The 87-member national committee of the union, he explained, removed its four top members and dissolved itself. It selected four outgoing members, including Martínez Cruz, and four other SNTA members to constitute a congress organizing committee to draw up "theses" for the convention.

The 83 former members will stand for election at the congress. Both Martínez Cruz and Miranda said they thought half would be reelected.

The theses will "be discussed in factory assemblies and union meetings involving

every worker in the industry," Miranda explained. This process, he said, "will enrich" their final form.

Included for debate will be points on the role of the sugar industry in Cuba's economy, labor discipline and the functioning of supervision, conservation of technology and equipment, and worker training and leadership.

Horacio Cruz, SNTA provincial general secretary, noted that these and other themes respond to the necessity of involving every sugar worker "in the process of the discussion."

Cruz said he expected more younger leaders to be elected to the SNTA National Committee. The congress, he said, will strengthen rectification in the Cuban labor movement, which has already had a "deep impact."

Today, rectification is "a constant. It is permanent," he said. We are more and more "a totally political people."

HAVANA, Cuba — In answering a question about changes in the leadership of the national sugar workers' union, Pedro Ross Leal also touched on shifts in the top leadership of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC). The top two officials, including Roberto Veiga, were recently replaced. An organizing committee was set up for the CTC's 16th congress, headed by Ross Leal.

The congress is set for January 25-28. Veiga, a member of the Cuban Communist Party's political bureau, had been first secretary of the CTC for the past 15 years. The change was announced in the Cuban daily *Granma* on March 14.

"When a person doesn't work here, regardless of their post or their ideas or if this comrade works in the leadership of the party," Ross Leal noted, "they are changed if they don't work as they should. There is a rectification process here."



# 'The Last Speeches of Malcolm X'

New Pathfinder book makes available never-before-printed talks, interviews

May 19 is the 64th anniversary of the birth of Malcolm X, one of the most significant revolutionary figures in the United States in this century. To mark this occasion, we are printing the foreword to a new book of speeches and interviews, *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. This volume will be available from Pathfinder in June.

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BY STEVE CLARK

Having long been an uncompromising foe of the racist oppression of Blacks, Malcolm X went through a rapid political evolution to carefully thought-out anti-imperialist and anticapitalist positions during the last year of his life. That process was cut short by his brutal assassination on Feb. 21, 1965.

This political evolution places the works of Malcolm X on Pathfinder's list of published writings and speeches alongside those of Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, and Carlos Fonseca.

These leaders, too, each in their particular way, traveled the road through hard-fought national liberation struggles to broader internationalist perspectives and revolutionary action. In doing so, they led millions of workers and farmers in changing the world.

This has been a clear pattern of the world revolution since World War II. Malcolm X is thus far the outstanding representative of this pattern to emerge from the working class in the United States.

## Presenting Malcolm X's evolving views

Because of the importance of Malcolm X's ideas and activity to the renewal of revolutionary leadership on a world scale, Pathfinder moved quickly following his assassination in February 1965 to publish the writings and speeches in which he presented his rapidly evolving views.

This publishing effort produced *Two Speeches by Malcolm X* (1965), *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* (1965), *Malcolm X Speaks* (1965), *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* (1967), *By Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews and a Letter by Malcolm X* (1970), and more recently the Spanish-language *Habla Malcolm X* (1984). These books largely exhausted the pool of writings and speeches by Malcolm from this period that were known to be available for publication.

Understandably, then, Pathfinder was pleased to be approached by Dr. Bruce Perry to publish several speeches and interviews that he had tracked down (by efforts described in his introduction to this volume) while writing a biography of Malcolm X that is scheduled to be published in 1990. Some of these items were transcribed from tape recordings obtained from James 67X Shabazz. Shabazz was a coleader with Malcolm X of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and

Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

There are no startling revelations in these new materials.<sup>1</sup> They do not appreciably alter the political legacy left by Malcolm X, nor could they. Like other great modern revolutionists, Malcolm sought a wide variety of platforms from which to explain his ideas to the widest possible public. And he sought to collaborate with and learn from others who were thinking and acting as revolutionists. Malcolm X's views can be read and studied in the collections cited above.

## Sheds light

At the same time, the new materials collected here are not just "more speeches" by Malcolm X.

This volume includes two of his last public speeches, given during the final week of his life. One was delivered in Harlem on February 15 to a meeting of the Organization of Afro-American Unity; the other the following night to an audience in Rochester, New York.

Two other items are important radio interviews from December 1964 that shed light on how Malcolm X began to articulate the evolution of his thinking in light of experiences during his second extended trip to the Middle East and Africa from July through November of that year.

It is easier to understand the development of Malcolm X's political perspectives during his final months by knowing something about the far-reaching conclusions he had already come to prior to his public break with the Nation of Islam in March 1964. Both the continuity and change are illuminated in two speeches, from early and late 1963, that are published here for the first time.

Many views that Malcolm X maintained to his dying day are presented powerfully in these 1963 speeches: steadfast opposition to Jim Crow segregation; fierce pride in the African roots of Black people; refusal to speak about himself as an "American" or about the U.S. government and armed forces as "our" government and "our" army; emphasis on the need to look at all events "in the international context"; recognition of the Democratic and Republican parties as organizations of the racist and imperialist oppressors; support for the right of self-defense against racist terror, including armed

1. The one partial exception is the important new information presented by Malcolm X in a Feb. 15, 1965, speech about the secret negotiations he entered into at the initiative of Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad with leaders of the racist and ultrarightist Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Councils. While these matters had been noted in passing in press coverage at the time, and are referred to in Peter Goldman's *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), what Malcolm X himself — from the standpoint of a direct participant in these talks — actually said about them on the only occasion that he publicly discussed this matter has never before been in print.



Malcolm X, February 1965.

self-defense where necessary; identification with national liberation struggles throughout Africa, Asia, and the Americas; repudiation of the illusion that justice can ever be advanced by relying on the good-heartedness of the oppressors and exploiters, or some common humanity shared with them.

## Broad range of questions

At the same time, reading these 1963 speeches in conjunction with the 1964 interviews and the two 1965 public talks serves to underline the changes that his political views had undergone in the months prior to the assassination. The reader will learn firsthand about Malcolm X's political evolution on a broad range of questions:

1. *Who are the racist oppressors.* In 1963 Malcolm X expressed the view that the "black, brown, red, and yellow" peoples of the earth "had an oppressor in common, an exploiter in common — the European," that is, whites, regardless of their deeds. In his Rochester speech, on Feb. 16, 1965, he presented a different view:

"We don't judge a man because of the color of his skin. We don't judge you because you're white; we don't judge you because you're black; we don't judge you because you're brown. We judge you because of what you do and what you practice. . . . So we're not against people because they're white. But we're against those who practice racism. We're against those who drop bombs on people because their color happens to be of a different shade than yours."

2. *Anti-imperialism.* During his final months, Malcolm X began to present a clear explanation of who he had in mind in speaking of "those who practice racism" and "those who drop bombs on people because [of] their color."

In his Dec. 27, 1964, radio interview, Malcolm X hailed those United Nations representatives who were "openly accusing the United States," as well as the European colonial powers, "of being an imperialist power and of practicing racism."

In his Harlem speech on Feb. 15, 1965, he expanded on this theme. "There's a worldwide revolution going on," Malcolm said. "[W]hat is it revolting against? The power structure. . . . An international power structure consisting of American interests, French interests, English interests, Belgian interests, European interests. . . . A structure, a house that has ruled the world up until now."

3. *Internationalism and Black liberation.* The evolution in Malcolm X's views on these matters led him to new political conclusions about the road forward for Black liberation. In his Rochester speech he summarized the position he had come to during the previous several months:

"Any kind of movement for freedom of Black people based solely within the confines of America is absolutely doomed to fail. . . . So one of the first steps that we became involved in, those of us who got into the Organization of Afro-American Unity, was to come up with a program that would make our grievances international and make the world see that our problem was no longer a Negro problem or an American problem but a human problem. A problem for humanity. And a problem that should be attacked by all elements of humanity."

(Malcolm X's views on marriages between Blacks and whites were another reflection of his evolving internationalism and changing outlook on who is responsible for racist oppression. In the Jan. 23, 1963, speech published here and in others given during that earlier period, Malcolm put substantial emphasis on the Nation of Islam's opposition to such marriages. During the last months of his life Malcolm publicly changed his opinion. In a January 1965 interview cited in *Malcolm X Speaks* (p. 197), he explained: "I believe in recognizing every human being as a human being — neither white, black, brown, or red; and when you are dealing with humanity as a family there's no question of integration or intermarriage. It's just one human being marrying another human being, or one human being living around and with another human being. I may say, though, that . . . I don't think the burden to defend any position should ever be put upon the black man, because it is the white man collectively who has shown that he is hostile toward integration and toward intermarriage and toward these other strides toward oneness.")

## 'A political vacuum'

4. *Political action.* Those who had split away from the Nation of Islam, Malcolm explained in the Rochester speech, "were the real activists of the movement who were intelligent enough to want some kind of program that would enable us to fight for the rights of all Black people here in the Western Hemisphere."

In the Nation, he said, "[B]ecause we were never permitted to take part in politics, we were in a vacuum politically. We were in a religious vacuum; we were in a political vacuum. We were actually alienated, cut off from all type of activity with even the world that we were fighting against. We became sort of a religious-political hybrid, all to ourselves. Not involved in anything but just standing on the sidelines condemning everything. But in no position to correct anything because we couldn't take action."

"Yet at the same time, the nature of the movement was such that it attracted the activists," Malcolm X explained. "Those who wanted action. Those who wanted to do something about the evils that confronted all Black people."

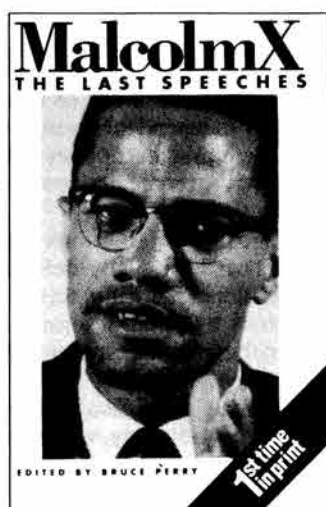
5. *Civil rights struggles.* This shift toward political action changed the approach taken by Malcolm X to the mass civil rights movement that, through a decade of hard-fought and bloody battles, succeeded in battering down the Jim Crow system of segregation by the mid-1960s.

In his October 1963 speech he was still referring to this movement in largely derivative terms. For example, he spoke of the mass August 1963 civil rights mobilization of 100,000 people in the U.S. capital as "the recent ridiculous march on Washington."

In his Feb. 15, 1965, speech, however, Malcolm X explained that the U.S. government was so upset about his break from the Nation of Islam because "all those militants who formerly were in it and were held in check would immediately become involved in the civil rights struggle, and they would add the same kinds of energy to the civil rights struggle that they gave to the Black Muslim movement."

Malcolm X himself had just returned from the civil rights encampment in Selma, **Continued on Page 13**

Available in June from Pathfinder



## Malcolm X: The Last Speeches

Six never-before-published speeches and interviews. Included are Malcolm X's final two speeches in print given in the week prior to his February 1965 assassination, two December 1964 interviews, and two 1963 speeches.

These newly available works shed light on Malcolm X's political evolution during the last months of his life and reaffirm his place among the outstanding revolutionary leaders of the 20th century.

\$8.95. Available in June at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$1 for shipping and handling.)



# Scores arrested for protesting austerity plan in Guyana

BY DON ROJAS

From being hailed two decades ago as the potential "bread basket" of the Caribbean, resource-rich Guyana (bauxite, gold, diamonds, forests, abundant water, etc.) has degenerated today into the economic "basket case" of the region. This decline has been caused by a combination of the aggressive economic policies of imperialism and the misleadership of an antilabor elite that carries the misnomer, the People's National Congress (PNC).

For more than a month, the only English-speaking country on the South American mainland has been gripped in the most profound social and economic crisis since it became politically independent of British colonial rule in 1966.

It had been simmering for years in this country of less than 900,000 persons, but the crisis came to a head in early April when the PNC regime imposed an austerity national budget that devalued the Guyanese currency by 70 percent. This sent prices skyrocketing for a range of items and services, including food and transport. Overnight, the hardships and sufferings of the Guyanese masses significantly escalated.

In a half-hearted attempt to cushion the devastating impact of the International Monetary Fund-conditioned 1989 budget, the government of President Desmond Hoyte simultaneously announced a 20 percent increase in wages and salaries for workers in the public sector, including the vital bauxite industry.

But this was insufficient to stem the swift and dramatic reactions to the budget. Workers in the sugar and bauxite industries immediately went on strike. Other workers in the commercial sector also walked off the job. Most, if not all, economic activity ground to a halt.

Opposition political parties organized massive demonstrations and street marches at which they condemned the budget as a "declaration of war on the Guyanese people."

Scores of striking workers and militant political activists have been arrested and prospects that the regime may soon impose martial law in an effort to curb the unrest becomes more likely as the crisis is in its

second month. Indeed, these prospects become more ominous in the wake of the arrests and arraignment of three People's Progressive Party (PPP) activists charged with treason May 3. The charges allege that they conspired to "overthrow the government of Guyana by force." The offense is punishable by death by hanging.

## What led up to strikes

Let's recount the chronology of the past several weeks leading up to the conflict.

On March 31, about one month after Guyana's neighbor, Venezuela, had experienced a large-scale rebellion in protest against austerity economic measures dictated to the Carlos Andrés Pérez regime by the International Monetary Fund, the PNC unveiled a similar austerity program in the Guyanese parliament. It justified its oppressive budget as a response to "the challenges of economic recovery."

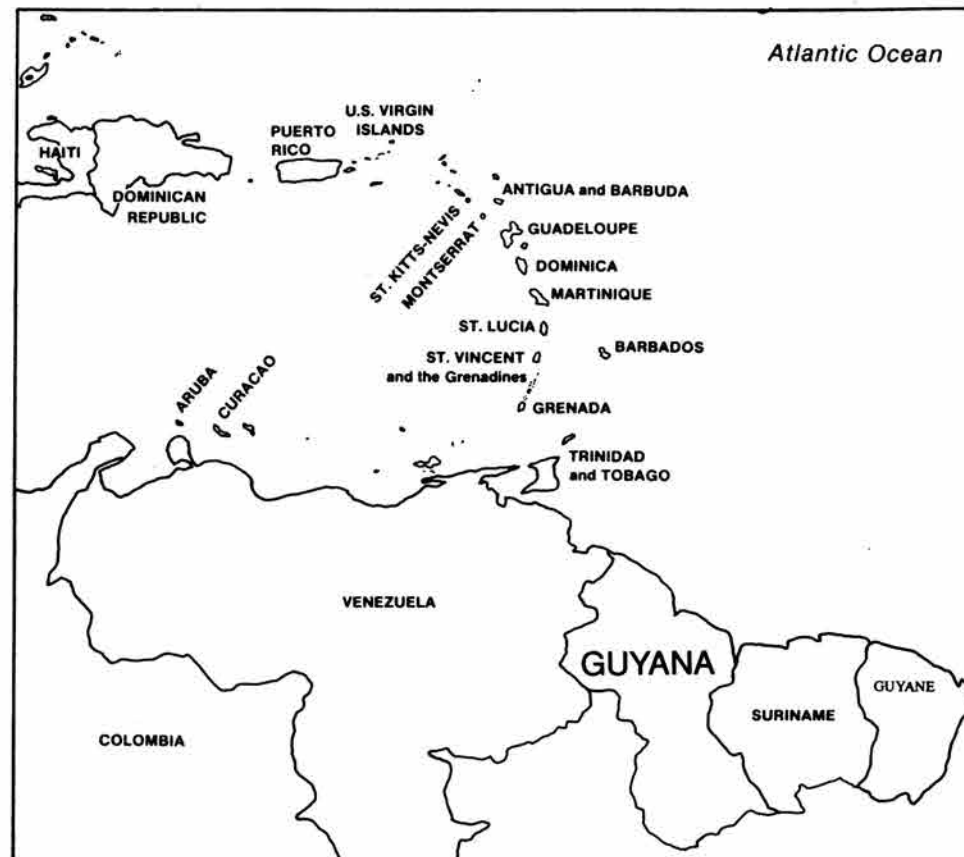
On April 3 bauxite workers on their own initiative walked off the job at Linden, Guyana's premier mining town 65 miles south of the capital, Georgetown. Their union later endorsed the workers' action.

The day before, Anglican Bishop Randolph George, addressing a synod of his church, said that resulting from the 1989 national budget the people of Guyana "are faced with impoverishment on a massive scale."

He spoke about gross inequalities developing in the Guyanese society and added, "The automatic operation of the free forces of the market makes the rich richer and the poor poorer."

On April 6 thousands of workers in the sugar industry stopped working. Two days later the University of Guyana Workers Union called a strike in support of the bauxite and sugar workers. On April 11 protests against the budget spread to the commercial sector with 2,500 members of the Clerical and Commercial Workers Union (CCWU) shutting down several big businesses. In the capital as well as in outlying districts parents and teachers encouraged students to boycott school.

In demonstrations outside the parliament buildings where the budget was being debated police arrested three priests and a



university lecturer who were protesting and hit them with "disorderly conduct" charges.

Reacting to the CCWU's one-day strike, the government fired 250 union members employed at state-owned entities.

There were reports in mid-April of fires in the sugar estates. A week later a large government-owned building in Georgetown was gutted. Hoyte and his home affairs minister, Stella Odie-Ali, claimed arsonists connected to the opposition People's Progressive party led by Cheddi Jagan of deliberately setting the fires and of carrying out "a campaign of violence." Jagan strenuously denied the charges and challenged the PNC to produce evidence.

The other progressive opposition party, the Working People's Alliance (WPA) warned against the introduction of violence "from any side" saying that playing with violence in Guyana is like "playing with radiation or toxic waste."

## \$1 million a day

As the strikes grew longer it was estimated that the economy was losing about 33 million Guyana dollars (US\$1 million) per day. On April 27 Hoyte warned that the sugar industry would collapse if the strike persisted. He stated further that Guyana would not be able to make its foreign earnings targets for the first half of the year because of cutbacks in bauxite and sugar exports. There were also predictions that the country would soon face a new round of fuel shortages.

Not surprisingly, support for the government's budget was voiced by the Georgetown Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the local organization of capitalists, which recognized that "measures of austerity are necessary for a turnaround of the national economy."

Towards the end of April, expressions of solidarity with Guyana's striking workers as well as concern for the stepped-up violations of their human and civil rights began to pour in from around the region.

The Caribbean Congress of Labour called on the Hoyte administration to negotiate with the independent federation of trade unions that the government has refused to recognize as the legitimate representative of some 60 percent of the country's organized workers.

The anti-imperialist Oilfields Workers Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago gave full support against "the wicked and inhuman IMF conditionality being imposed by the Hoyte regime."

## Remains adamant

The Guyanese president, however, remained adamant, insisting that his government is not going to abandon the IMF arrangement or the so-called economic recovery program since it is "the only road that offers us a real chance to improve our economic situation." These are the same arguments being heard from Carlos Andrés Pérez in Venezuela, Michael Manley in Jamaica and A.N.R. Robinson in Trinidad and Tobago, all of whom have recently capitulated to the onerous demands of the IMF and the transnational banks.

Echoing Hoyte's views was Guyana's Prime Minister Hamilton Green who said the 1989 budget provided urgent and un-

avoidable remedies and added there was no other "practical, sensible, and workable alternative."

The WPA member of parliament, Eusi Kwyana, took a decidedly different view on the budget. He did not mince words in describing it as a "death sentence on the people."

PPP leader Jagan speaking at a large protest rally on April 15 was buoyant when stating that Guyana was experiencing "a very eventful time" that reminded him of the early days of the country's struggle for independence.

"We will unite everybody in this country to fight against this murderous budget which is a declaration of war and violence against the people," he declared.

This is, indeed, a moment of historic importance for the working people of Guyana who trace their ancestry to Africa and Asia and who share a painful history of slavery, indentured servitude, and colonialism; a people who for the past 20 years have been oppressed by neocolonialism in the form of a corrupt and illegitimate regime that has held on to power through fraudulent elections and through various forms of calculated deception.

This current crisis could very well prove to be a decisive turning point in the course of Guyana's development. The choices facing Guyanese working people are being sharply posed. Either they accept the imperialist recipe for "economic recovery" as embodied in the PNC's austerity program or they reject it as not serving their fundamental interests recognizing that it is designed instead to benefit a minority—the capitalist exploiters—at the expense of the majority—the exploited working people.

## West German doctor jailed for abortions

In a case that has aroused controversy throughout West Germany, a doctor in Bavaria was sentenced May 5 to two and a half years in prison for performing abortions.

Horst Theissen was found guilty of giving abortions to more than 70 women without first obtaining the opinions of another doctor and of an independent consultative body, a legal stipulation that applies only in Bavaria. Theissen's medical license was also revoked for three years.

The women requested abortions on the basis of "social need." Usually defined as financial or emotional hardship, this is one of four conditions that permit termination of pregnancy in the first three months under a 1976 abortion law.

Application of the law differs widely between states in West Germany, where about 200,000 abortions a year are performed a year.

During the trial, 79 former patients testified. One woman who explained that she was unemployed was told by the prosecutor that she would therefore have time to raise a child. Another woman who already had six children was told her husband earned enough money for the couple to have afforded another baby.

Theissen is appealing the decision.

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# 'Celebrating 10 years of victories'

## Head of Nicaraguan labor federation speaks to 40,000 on May Day

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Tens of thousands of union members turned out here to celebrate May Day, the international workers' holiday. They held marches and rallies in cities across the country to demonstrate their determination to continue the revolutionary process that began in 1979 when working people in the cities and the countryside united to bring down the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship.

"We are here celebrating 10 years of victories," Lucio Jiménez, head of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) told 40,000 people assembled in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution. "These years have demonstrated the firmness of our working

### Destruction caused by the war has worsened critical situation facing Nicaragua.

class in the fight to defend and consolidate our political power, conquered on July 19, 1979."

The CST leader was joined on the platform by Víctor Tirado, who also spoke, and by Tomás Borge. Tirado and Borge are members of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Contingents came from virtually all of the major factories in the Managua area. Also present were schoolteachers, health workers, soldiers from the Ministry of the Interior, members of the Sandinista Police, and office workers from government ministries.

#### Revolution's conquests

Jiménez chose the occasion to remind participants of the accomplishments as well as the sharp class conflicts of the first few years of the revolution, before Washington launched the mercenary war that brought death and destruction on a staggering scale to an already impoverished country.

"The revolution," said Jiménez, "put in the hands of the working people the property of Somozaism, the mines, and the natural resources. Illiteracy was reduced to 12.9 percent. Infant mortality was reduced. Polio was eradicated.

"More than a million students began to attend classes. A housing plan was developed, and urban plots were given out. More than 5 million acres of land were distributed to the poor peasants.

"Employment grew, and from the first months of the revolution more than 300,000 working people organized ourselves into unions. We set ourselves the task of reactivating the economy, which had been battered and trampled on by *somocismo* and dealt blows by the liberation war."

But, Jiménez continued, this produced a reaction from the capitalists' association known as the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP). Acting in alliance with "union groups of the right and others calling themselves left," he went on, the COSEP forces "called a strike and sabotaged production." This bosses' "strike" included extensive decapitalization of factories and farms, Jiménez explained.

In response, "we workers took to the streets until we won confiscation of the decapitalizers," he recalled. "Little by little, we won greater consciousness among our class brothers of the need to denounce the strike and create workers' management as a new revolutionary method of struggle.

"In this way, we firmly advanced the reconstruction of the country. In this way, we advanced the historic program of the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

#### 'Economic program postponed'

However, the contra war interrupted this forward march, Jiménez said. "We were forced to postpone our economic program to confront the war of aggression imposed on us beginning in 1981 by the Reagan administration.

"From then on the best of our people and all of our resources were devoted to protecting the people's conquests, confronting and

strategically defeating the mercenary forces."

The destruction caused by the war has worsened the critical situation facing Nicaragua, he continued. The toll of the economic crisis on workers has been heavy. "It has meant the firing of workers, temporary layoffs, a reduction in our economic demands, the freezing and deterioration of wages, and contraction of demand.

"These are the costs that we have faced, and that we will continue to face," he added.

#### Responsibility for crisis

The enemies of the revolution, Jiménez said, "accuse us workers of being responsible for these limitations." But the real responsibility lies with Washington, which is subjecting the country to "a mercenary war that still isn't concluded and that they are threatening to reactivate."

Responsibility also lies, he continued, "with the unjust international economic order, which forces lower and lower prices on us for the products that we sell, and higher and higher prices of the products that we buy.

"And responsibility also lies with those who decapitalize our businesses and who sabotage production," he said, naming COSEP, the opposition bloc of political parties, and the "so-called Permanent Council of Workers," a grouping of trade unions tied to antigovernment parties.

"What we workers are responsible for is having devoted all of our energy and creativity to contribute to the strategic defeat of the counterrevolution and giving essential support to the economy of our country."

## Nicaraguan leader speaks of effects of 'perestroika' in the Americas

Below are major excerpts of an interview with Víctor Tirado that appeared in the April 2, 1989, *Barricada*. Tirado is a member of the nine-person National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The interview was done by Roberto García of the Agencia Nueva Nicaragua. Translation is by the *Militant*.

*García. In your opinion, what is the significance of perestroika in terms of international relations?*

*Tirado.* Perestroika represents a revolution in the Soviet Union that has shaken up and transformed international relations. It is not my intention right now to take up what this means inside the country, but rather to look at the international impact.

It has created an atmosphere of relaxed tensions and peace throughout the world. In the past, for example, during the period

when Nikita Khrushchev was the head of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, a similar atmosphere was generated, but it was only temporary, it did not last.

Now all indications are that this is not a temporary phenomenon. The Soviet government has rejected the course of war, the arms race, and maintaining its national security through strengthening its military capacity. Now it is trying to defend its security through its standing in the world, through its economic development. And not only its external security but also its internal security.

Socialism has, for the moment, lost the battle between the socialist system and the capitalist camp. To put it another way, socialism has not been able to do better than advanced capitalism in the economic field. The Soviet leaders realize that their achievements in the military area have held back economic development, just as excessive centralization and the forced collectiv-

ization of agriculture have.

What they are trying to do now is redirect into economic development part or even most of the resources that before went to strengthen the military apparatus. In other words, to transform military production into civilian production, to put science, technology, and human resources at the service of production for individual consumption and for productive purposes.

This turn is changing relationships on a world scale.

*García. What effect does all this have on Latin America, Central America, and the so-called Third World?*

*Tirado.* . . . In Latin America, what has opened up is a period of reforms, of parliamentary, electoral, and trade union struggles, in which armed actions are not on the agenda.

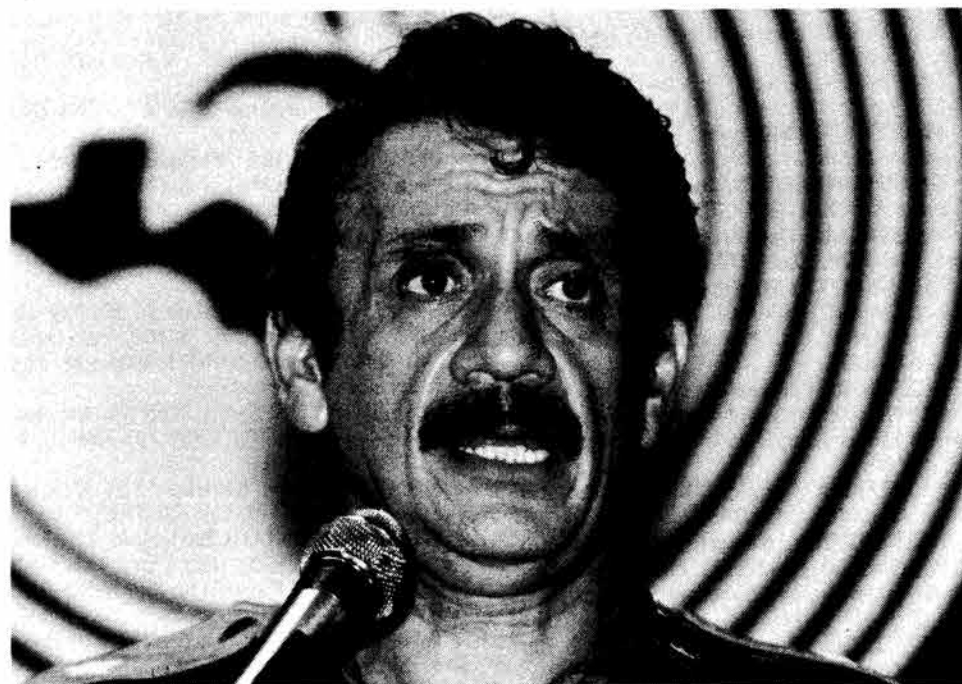
The forms, the methods of struggle are changing. Up to now revolutionary transformations have taken place in a very tense atmosphere, through wars, with whole regions militarized. In this kind of atmosphere a lot of human, financial, technical, and material resources are squandered, which only aggravates economic problems. We are entering a stage in which revolutionary changes can take place in an atmosphere of peace, through civic struggles.

So we have to change our strategies and tactics to fit the new realities, without losing sight of our main goal, which is the perspective of socialism, of a pluralist socialism, one without forced collectivizations, one that is decentralized, and one that is not attempted until social relations and economic development have reached an advanced level.

It has been shown that you cannot jump over historical stages with impunity, and thus that socialism cannot be established by decree. . . .

*García. What impact will perestroika have inside the United States?*

*Tirado.* This entire tendency toward re-



Víctor Tirado, member of National Directorate of Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua.

The first is a revision of the Labor Code, which dates from the days of the Somoza dictatorship. Among other things, the unions want stronger protection of job rights in the face of firings and layoffs.

A second union proposal is a new law providing for "workers' participation" in management in businesses, both state and private.

#### 1990 elections

Jiménez challenged the parties opposed to the government to participate in the elections scheduled for February 1990. "Publish your programs, gentlemen," he said.

"Put forward your proposals for how to end the war. Put forward your proposals for how to reactivate the country's economy. And put forward your program for how to deal with the unjust international economic order."

Nicaragua's working people will enter the elections "stronger than ever before" and will "renew and multiply the votes for the Sandinista National Liberation Front," he vowed, to cheers and applause.

A rival May Day demonstration organized by the Permanent Council of Workers and other opposition unions drew 2,000 people here. Alvin Guthrie, president of the procapitalist Federation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), denounced what he called a lack of democracy in Nicaragua. Conditions for free and honest elections don't exist, he said.

Guthrie also called on the U.S. government to lift its economic embargo against Nicaragua, a position not shared by many of the groups participating in the action.

Continued on Page 13



## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Rally Against Racism.** A gathering to condemn the April 20 defacement of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., monument in Kelly Ingram Park; denounce growing neo-Nazi white supremacist "skinhead" youth gangs; demand more intensive investigation and prosecution of those who commit racist acts. Sat., May 20, 11 a.m.-2 p.m. Kelly Ingram Park, (6th Ave. N and 16th St. N) Sponsor: Birmingham chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mayor's Commission on the Status of Women; Alabama chapter, National Organization for Women; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression; Young Socialist Alliance; students from Parker, Ramsay, Vestavia Hills, Berry, Huffman, and other high schools; others.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Report Back from Des Moines.** Mark Curtis Teach-In. A panel discussion with participants, including a report by Nick Castle on progress in producing video on Curtis defense. Tues., May 23, 7:30 p.m. 1464 Ridgeway. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Los Angeles Supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Solidarity with Eastern Airlines Strike.** Speakers: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Geoff Mirelowitz, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Demonstration at South African Consulate.** Speakers from African National Congress of South Africa and South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia. Sat., May 27, 12 noon to 3 p.m. 50 N La Cienega Blvd., Beverly Hills. Sponsor: Friends of the ANC.

**Ten Years After the Grenada Revolution:**

**The Caribbean and Central America Today.** Speaker: Don Rojas: secretary for propaganda and information, Anti-Imperialist Organizations

of the Caribbean and Central America; former press secretary to Grenada's assassinated prime minister Maurice Bishop. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 2. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. First African Methodist Episcopal Church, 2270 S Harvard. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**Nicaragua, Cuba, and Revolutionary Perspectives Today.** A discussion series for workers and activists held every Monday 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.

**U.S. Hands Off Panama!** A panel of speakers, including Porfirio Acevedo, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-395. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### San Francisco

**Why They Can't Bury Malcolm X.** Speaker: Wayne Schiller, Young Socialist Alliance, member International Association of Machinists Local 1781. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: YSA. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

**Justice for Dolores Huerta!** Town meeting. Thurs., May 25, 7 p.m.-9 p.m. Horace Mann Middle School Auditorium, 3351 23rd St. (at Valencia). Sponsor: Justice for Dolores Huerta Coalition. For more information call (415) 621-8931.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Namibia: New South African Attacks on the Struggle for Independence.** Speakers: Fiso Makatini, African National Congress; representative, Antonio Maceo Brigade. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**The Legacy of Malcolm X.** Classes. Sat., May 20, 4 p.m., video on the life of Malcolm X. 7:30 p.m., "What We Can Learn from Malcolm X Today," by Miesa Patterson. Sun., May 21, 3 p.m. "Race Prejudice, How It Began and When It Will End." 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$5 for weekend series, \$2.50 for each event. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**U.S. Hands Off Panama!** Speaker: Ed Fruit, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 9140. Sat., May 20. Dinner 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3; program \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

**Malcolm X: His Ideas and Their Importance for Today.** Celebrate the anniversary of Malcolm X's birthday. Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 27. Dinner 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner \$3; program \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**The U.S. Role in Bringing About Change in South Africa: Are Sanctions Working?** Speaker: Rev. Tshenuwani Simon Farisani, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in southern Africa, lecturer and visiting scholar at Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary in San Francisco Bay Area. Sat., May 20, 7 p.m. Hartford Memorial Baptist Church, 18700 James Couzens (just off Lodge Freeway, between 6 and 7 Mile). Sponsor: Michigan Coalition for Human Rights. For more information call (313) 832-4400.

**Why the Third World Debt Should be Canceled.** Speakers: Robbie Sinclair-Smith, trade unionist and Central America solidarity activist just returned from Argentina; Peter Leh, spokesperson, Students Against Apartheid, University of Windsor; José Batista, Puerto Rican Solidarity Organization activist in Ann Arbor. Sun., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Decent Housing Is a Right.** Sun., May 21, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**U.S. Hands Off Panama!** Speaker: Dean Athans, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Palestine in Revolt: Eyewitness Report from the Occupied Territories.** Speakers: Ned Rosch, traveled to West Bank and Gaza in February as member of Oregon Witnesses for Peace delegation; Adnan Hamideh, Palestinian activist; Floyd Fowler, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 20, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. Spon-

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**Socialist Educational Weekend.**  
**In Defense of Communism: Perestroika and Capitalism, the Growing Imperialist Crisis, the Cuban Revolution and Marxist Leadership Today.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Lobby Ballroom, Holiday Inn downtown, 600 Kanawha Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum.  
**Cuba's Place in the World Struggle for Socialism.** A class by Doug Jenness. Sun., May 28, 10 a.m. Call (304) 345-3040 for location and information on conference.

sor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**Open Up the West Virginia Ballot.** Report on fight to end restrictive ballot laws. Speakers: Bob Bastress, American Civil Liberties Union attorney in Socialist Workers Party challenge to West Virginia ballot laws; Dick McBride, recent SWP candidate for city council. Sun., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

## BRITAIN

### London

**International Rally: Justice for Mark Curtis!** Speakers: Errol Smalley, Guildford Four Campaign; Julio Ricardo, Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua; Graham Till, secretary, Midland District Council National Union of Railwaymen; Bobby Gilmore, director Irish Chaplaincy Scheme in Britain; John Gaige, Mark Curtis Defense Committee in U.S. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. (nearest tube: Holborn). Sponsor: Supporters of Mark Curtis Defence Campaign.  
**Socialist Educational and Activist Conference.** Sun., May 28-Mon., May 29. "The Fight for a World Communist Leadership," Sun., May 28, 10 a.m. - 4 p.m. followed by classes 4 p.m. - 6 p.m. "Cuba and the Transition to Socialism," Mon., May 29, 9 a.m.-1 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Sponsor: Communist League. For more information call 01-401-2293.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Which Way Forward for the Labour Movement?** Speakers: Matt Robson, New Labour Party; George Fyson, Socialist Action League. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Pilot Bookshop, 157 Symonds St. For more information call (9) 793-075.

### Christchurch

**Justice for Mark Curtis, Framed-Up Unionist and Political Activist from Des Moines, Iowa.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, leader of Mark Curtis Defense Committee and wife of Mark Curtis. Fri., May 26, 7:30 p.m. PSA House, cor. Madras and Armagh. For more information call (3) 656-055.

### Wellington

**Fighting Apartheid.** Speaker: Genile Mebule, African National Congress of South Africa. Sun., May 28, 4:30 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. For more information call (4) 844-205.

## VANCOUVER, Canada

### Socialist Educational Conference

May 27 & 28

V.C.C. Langara Campus, Student Union Building  
100 West 49th Ave., Vancouver, B.C.

### Eyewitness Report on Political Situation in Panama and Threat of U.S. Intervention

Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, Militant correspondent just returned from Panama. Sat., May 27, 2:30 p.m.

### The Eastern Airlines Strike: The Stakes for Working People

Speaker: Ernest Mailhot, member Eastern strike committee of International Association of Machinists Local 1018 at New York's La Guardia Airport, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New Jersey State Assembly. Sat., May 27, 7:30 p.m. Social to follow.

### The Coming Recession and the Myth of the Free Trade Threat and the Road Forward for Labor

Speaker: John Sreele, leader of the Revolutionary Workers League. Sun., May 28, 10:00 a.m.

Sponsored by supporters of the Militant newspaper. For more information call Vancouver (604) 873-8898; Seattle (206) 723-5330; Portland (503) 287-7416.

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**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** 5534 Troost Ave. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 444-7880. St. Louis: 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

**NEBRASKA: Omaha:** 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. New Brunswick: c/o Keith Jordan, 149 Somerset St. Zip: 08903. Tel: (201) 828-1874.

**NEW YORK: Brooklyn:** 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. Mid-Hudson: Box 1042, Annandale. Zip: 12504. Tel: (914) 758-0408. New York: 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

**NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro:** 2219 E

Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

**OHIO: Cleveland:** 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Columbus: P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

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**Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS: Houston:** 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

**UTAH: Price:** 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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**WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston:** 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

**Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN: Milwaukee:** 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

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Sydney: 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor, Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Syd-

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

## NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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

Stockholm: P.O. Box 5024, S-12505 Älvsjö. Tel: (08) 722-9342.



**Many are blessed** — Losing your job may be just what the doctor ordered, says John Davis, a job agency operator. "Millions of people remain in boring jobs for a weekly paycheck and security," he observes. And they "need to be prodded into changing their lives."



**Harry Ring**

Now, if the issue was free enterprise — Bowing to right-wingers, some advertisers withdrew

from "Roe vs. Wade," an NBC dramatization of the high court decision legalizing abortion. Said one ad agency huckster, "I don't believe that advertisers have a moral obligation to put their products on the line for the benefit of freedom of speech."

**Progress report** — The Denver City Council voided a 36-year-old zoning ordinance that made it illegal for unmarried couples to live in some of the city's "better" neighborhoods.

**Outrageous** — Adnan big-bucks Khashoggi is in a Swiss slammer pending U.S. extradition on swindling charges. He does get mail on the prison fax machine, and his meals are catered. Yet it's a

painful experience. Says his lawyer, "We are talking about a gentleman who is used to a certain style of life sitting in a tiny cell."

**Try that one on the foreman** — A New York artist offers specially created clocks, \$2,500 to \$5,000. The various designs have a common feature — no minute hand. Says the artist, "It's not necessary to know the exact time."

**Right on, sisters!** — Six New York nuns charged in a suit that the law barring the hiring of undocumented workers violates their religious beliefs. They operate a center that aids refugees and the homeless, placing some in jobs. They said it would be "hypocritical and a violation of religious conscience"

to aid the undocumented, but deny them jobs.

**A touch of frost** — "When sitting next to a known fascist, does one have to make polite conversation?" The question was posed to "Miss Manners" by a student who got stuck at a dinner table with an extreme right-winger. "The correct posture for such a situation is coolness," Ms. M responded. But, she hastened to add, "Miss Manners is trusting you not to abuse this technique."

**Cure the pooch's bad-breath complex** — "Petrodex brings you and your dog Home Dental Care, a canine toothbrush and toothpaste kit. The paste is said to neutralize mouth odor while con-

trolling tar buildup. Kit, \$17.99." — Ad in *Montreal Magazine*.

**No more grind-and-miss** — An electronic pepper mill. One-touch control. Plus a tiny flash so you can take aim at the plate in a blackout or at a candlelit dinner. \$150.

**The man does have a golden voice** — We were always puzzled by the hype about the "Great Communicator." But the Fujisankei Communications Group, a major Japanese corporation, apparently hears something we don't. They're hiring the ex-prez to do two speeches and stay awake through some ceremonies. The reported fee, \$2 million.

## Never-before-published speeches of Malcolm X

Continued from Page 9

Alabama. As he told the audience in his Harlem speech to the OAAU, "I promised the brothers and sisters in Alabama when I was there that we'd be back. I'll be back, you'll be back, we'll be back."

**Need for secular political organization**

6. *Religion and political organization.* These conclusions convinced Malcolm X that — while he himself remained a devout and practicing Muslim and continued his work in the Muslim Mosque, Inc. — a new kind of independent and secular political organization had to be constructed.

This organization had to be open to all Blacks, regardless of religious or other secular beliefs, who agreed on the need to organize a fight around common political goals.

Even while still in the Nation of Islam, he said in the Rochester speech, those who shared his dissatisfaction had become less and less "concerned with the religion of the Black man. Because whether he was a Methodist or a Baptist or an atheist or an

agnostic, he caught the same hell."

With this in mind, the Organization of Afro-American Unity was launched in June 1964. The OAAU, as Malcolm X explained in the Rochester speech, "is a nonreligious organization . . . structured organizationally to allow for active participation of any Afro-American, any Black American, in a program that is designed to eliminate the negative political, economic, and social evils that our peoples are confronted by in this society."

7. *Women's political and social advancement.* Just as Malcolm X's evolving perspective necessitated reaching out to fellow fighters on a political basis regardless of their views on religious matters, it also meant recognizing the need to involve women on an equal footing in the battles.

In his 1963 speeches, Malcolm X was still presenting a view of women as subordinate to men, with their place restricted to hearth and home. By December 1964, however, he had this to say:

"One thing I noticed in both the Middle East and Africa, in every country that was

progressive, the women were progressive. In every country that was underdeveloped and backward, it was to the same degree that the women were undeveloped, or underdeveloped, and backward. . . . [I]t's noticeable that in these type of societies where they put the woman in a closet and discourage her from getting a sufficient education and don't give her the incentive by allowing her maximum participation in whatever area of the society where she's qualified, they kill her incentive. . . . So in the African countries where they opt for mass education, whether it be male or female, you find that they have a more valid society, a more progressive society."

Many other examples of Malcolm X's political evolution can be traced through these pages. Readers will also need to go to other collections of his writings and speeches to learn about the development of his views on a number of additional important matters: his growing anticapitalism, his decision in the last months of his life to no longer define his viewpoint as "Black nationalism," the question of alliances between political organizations of Blacks such as the OAAU and other organizations of the oppressed and exploited.

**Important addition**

The speeches collected for this volume by Bruce Perry, then, make an important addition to our knowledge of the political ideas of Malcolm X and the experiences that shaped their development.

The importance of making this material available was well explained some 23 years ago at a March 1965 memorial meeting for Malcolm X sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in New York City. Appropriately, the speaker was James 67X Shabazz, who provided a number of the speeches published here.<sup>2</sup> He said:

"Malcolm's body lies in a grave. His words lie neatly couched on papers and mysteriously captured on recording tapes, but Malcolm's thoughts, like invisible seeds, have been planted in the minds of oppressed peoples in America, in Africa, in the Middle East and in Europe. And many men in different places, at different times, and in different languages will clothe these thoughts in the garments that are necessary for them to fit the different conditions. Malcolm's thoughts will only die when all people — especially of African origin — are free as Malcolm wanted us to be."

2. Shabazz's speech was printed in the March 15, 1965, issue of the *Militant* newsweekly published in New York. Excerpts from a speech by Jack Barnes given at the same meeting are available in the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

## Curtis fights to lift book ban

Continued from Page 4

Committee. Alvarez has been a fighter for the rights of immigrants and against anti-Black racism in Des Moines, and has come into conflict with Des Moines Police Chief William Moulder over racism and sexism in the police department.

He saw how the frame-up of Curtis was being used to divide fighters for the rights of women, of Blacks, and of Latinos. After examining all the materials related to the trial and the case and talking to friends about it, Alvarez said, he decided to back this fight.

"We need to reach out to people with the facts," he said. "People need to understand what is at stake." He urged everyone to go out from the rally and "start working together harder than you've ever worked in your life."

Jerry Oliveira, a striker at Eastern Airlines and political director of the Virginia International Association of Machinists, has been to El Salvador several times. He linked the fights for justice of the Salvadoran people,

Eastern strikers, and Mark Curtis. The audience and speakers expressed their solidarity with the Eastern strike.

Other speakers included: Hollis Watkins, a longtime Mississippi civil rights activist and board member of the Foundation for Children and Youth; Sammie Roberts, president of the Alabama National Organization for Women; Harold Dunkelberger, an Iowa farmer who was recently foreclosed on and a member of the American Agriculture Movement, Inc.; Julia Terrell, defense committee treasurer; and Hakika Assad, a board member of the Malcolm X Memorial Foundation, in Omaha, Nebraska.

Support messages were sent to the rally from all over the United States, Canada, and Sweden, as well as from Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife. She is currently traveling throughout the South Pacific, winning support for Curtis' fight for justice.

Greg McCartan, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, an office formerly held by Curtis, was introduced from the audience.

## Nicaraguan leader on 'perestroika'

Continued from Page 11

laxing tensions, slowing down the arms race, emphasizing economic development, expanding democracy — all this will have an impact on the United States. Faced with this new situation, the United States will have to become more democratic too.

In that country, the multiparty system is almost a fiction. To all intents and purposes the Democrats and Republicans are just one party. The political system in the United States is closer to a single-party system than a multiparty system. Social, ethnic, and political minorities do not have a direct voice in the administration or in Congress. Thus, an outstanding and charismatic politician like Jesse Jackson cannot become a

major party candidate for president or vice-president for the simple reason that he is Black.

This is another sign that democracy is limited, in this case by racial prejudice, and that elections are not as free as the ruling circles in the United States boast.

The United States must also democratize its relations with the rest of the world and especially with Latin America. In the new conditions that exist today, a U.S. foreign policy based on force, aggression, threats, repression, blackmail, and financial and trade boycotts, has no future. It is an anachronism, a policy that the world in general and most Latin American governments will not accept. . . .

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

May 25, 1979

President James Carter says the energy crisis is "the moral equivalent of war."

That's the way the oil trust sees it — as a war against American working people. The gasoline crisis now gripping the country is the latest offensive in that war.

The rip-off at the gas pump has outraged workers. That anger has even forced the curtain to be lifted a bit on what's going on:

- Sen. Thomas Eagleton said 16 major oil companies had made profits on domestically produced crude oil ranging from 144 percent to 389 percent of the cost of production.

- The Federal Trade Commission admits it has evidence that oil companies have not made full use of available supplies of crude oil and that "the current gasoline shortage may be contrived."

But Carter insists working people are to blame and that the only thing to be done is to give the oil giants the profits they are demanding. Workers should "use less and pay more."

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

May 25, 1964

In letters from the Near East and Africa, Malcolm X has reported enthusiastic welcomes given him by peoples who have but recently obtained their political indepen-

dence from imperialism. The letters from the black nationalist leader were released to the press by the Muslim Mosque Inc., which Malcolm X and his followers in New York recently founded.

"In the Muslim world they loved me once they learned I was an American Muslim, and here in Africa they love me as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims," reports a letter released May 11. "Africans in general and Muslims in particular love militancy."

In Africa, his latest letter continues, "the 22 million American blacks are looked upon as the long-lost brothers of Africa. Our people here are interested in every aspect of our plight, and they study our struggle for freedom from every angle."

Concluding this letter from Lagos, Nigeria, Malcolm X says: "Despite Western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love us, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long 'sleep' and are developing strong love for them."

An earlier letter from Jedda, Saudi Arabia, reported Malcolm's feeling at being accepted, for the first time, as a brother by the pilgrims of many countries and "of all colors" who came to perform Islamic ceremonies in the Holy City of Mecca. They "were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe could never exist between the white and non-white. . . ."

"You may be shocked by these words coming from me, but I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and knowledge unfold it."



## Blow to prisoners' right to read

The May 15 ruling by the Supreme Court expanding the power of prison wardens to control what prisoners may read and whom they may see is a move that should be vigorously protested by those who defend civil liberties.

The Court ruled, 6-to-3, that wardens may censor certain publications that they feel are "detrimental to the security . . . of the institution."

In an opinion by Justice Harry Blackmun, the Supreme Court said that a publication received by an inmate can quickly circulate throughout the prison and cause disruption. "In the volatile prison environment, it is essential that prison officials be given broad discretion to prevent such disorder," Blackmun added.

Although this ruling codifies what is already the practice in the U.S. prison system, it emboldens prison wardens and other prison authorities to use their power to extend this and other abuses of prisoners rights.

These rulings have nothing to do with the issue of prison security. They are an attempt to further isolate and dehu-

manize those behind bars.

The Supreme Court ruling barring literature, for example, was in response to a prisoner's suit challenging the exclusion of 46 publications. Among these were publications that condemn the brutal treatment of those incarcerated in federal prisons. The decision also prohibits literature that contains explicit homosexual material.

Those who are behind prison walls should have the right to read and circulate material of their choosing.

Today, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is engaged in an international campaign to protect precisely those rights. Curtis is serving a 25-year sentence on trumped-up charges of rape and burglary in the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa. He is fighting a decision by prison authorities to bar literature that is not in English to prisoners whose primary language is English.

This campaign is an opportunity for all those who defend constitutional rights to protest this Supreme Court ruling and the Anamosa prohibition.

## Reopen Palestinian schools!

Palestinian educators have appealed for worldwide protest against the ongoing shutdown of West Bank schools by the Israeli occupation forces. The appeal deserves the strongest support.

Palestinian schools have been shut since almost the beginning of the uprising in December 1987. Some 300,000 students are affected, from kindergarten to the university level. There are about 280,000 students in 1,200 public schools, and 18,000 enrolled in five West Bank universities and the Islamic University in Gaza.

In an appeal addressed to all foreign consulates in Jerusalem, the Palestine Higher Council of Education noted that the shutdown is a violation of international law as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which declares every human has the right to an education.

The educators branded the closures a form of collective punishment. They rejected the spurious Israeli claim that the schools have been shut for "security" reasons.

The council also protested the Israeli army's practice of harassing and disrupting home teaching, as well as university efforts to conduct off-campus makeup seminars. Last month, Jerusalem cops boasted they had cracked an "underground ring" of 300 university students who were trying to continue their studies in several East Jerusalem high school classrooms.

The educational council also initiated a petition to the United Nations and other international bodies to join the fight for the release of Palestinian students and faculty members now in prison. More than 300 school teachers and university faculty members added their names.

Meanwhile, in an added international appeal the General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank asked for condemnation of the compulsory unpaid vacations that the already low-paid Palestinian school teachers are forced to endure with the school shutdown.

Historically, the most oppressive rulers have always harbored a particular fear of education among those they oppress. One need only think of how U.S. slaveholders would flog and otherwise severely punish slaves who were caught trying to learn to read, or participating in underground classes.

Working people in this country, and elsewhere, should demand of the Israeli regime that the Palestinian school system be reopened at once, that teachers receive the back pay they have been unjustly denied, and that academic freedom be insured by releasing all students and teachers now jailed.

This is a particularly relevant issue for teachers' unions, but the entire labor movement has a stake and an obligation to speak out.

The reactionary school closure also underlines why there should be a strong demand for a halt to all U.S. aid to the Israeli regime. The billions of dollars poured into supporting that regime finance the savage repression of the Palestinians — the beatings, the jailings and torture, the killings.

And U.S. aid also finances the occupation troops that keep the Palestinian schools shut.

## Why Grenada gov't bans books

On April 11 the U.S.-imposed government in Grenada escalated its widely condemned practice of book-banning and censorship when an order handed down by the cabinet of Prime Minister Herbert Blaize declared 86 titles officially barred from the country.

The majority of the prohibited books are published by Pathfinder. Several are published by Grove Press and International Publishers of New York and Progress Publishers of Moscow. They include titles by Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Karl Marx.

In the wake of this attack on the democratic rights of the Grenadian people, international protests against the book-banning have escalated. Novelist Graham Greene and U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums are among the prominent political figures and public personalities from several countries who have urged an end to the ban.

National and international organizations of writers, artists, journalists, publishers, and lawyers are also protesting Blaize's move. Labor leaders in Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, and other Caribbean countries have added their voices to the growing campaign of condemnation.

The fight to reverse this book-banning policy continues inside Grenada itself. Terry Marryshow, the leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement who had ordered the forbidden books for educational use by his organization, has filed suit in the Grenada courts challenging the constitutionality of the witch-hunting law invoked by the Blaize government to justify the ban.

The book banning goes hand in hand with the Grenadian regime's policy of barring Caribbean and North American political activists from participating in political events inside the country.

Why is the Blaize government so determined to keep Grenadians from having access to books read by millions of other working people the world over, and from meeting

political activists from other countries?

Because Grenada's rulers are afraid of the people of that country reading, discussing, and acting on the ideas of Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and other revolutionists whose works Blaize is trying to suppress — ideas which are becoming more relevant as the economic crisis wracking Latin America and the Caribbean deepens.

Such fear is well founded. In 1979 a popular revolution took place in Grenada that brought a workers' and farmers' government to power, led by Maurice Bishop. The economic, social, and political conquests of that revolution set an example for toilers around the world.

The revolution expanded democratic rights. No book or individual was ever banned by the Bishop-led People's Revolutionary Government during its four and a half years of existence.

Today, Grenada stands out among the Caricom (Caribbean Community) countries as the only one of 13 member states with an active policy of political banning. The Blaize government is also the most openly proimperialist in the region. Indeed, it owes its very existence to the illegal U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada in October 1983 and its continued political submission to Washington.

The government Washington imposed on the Grenadian people in the name of "defense of democracy" has now become infamous for trampling on their democratic rights.

The international campaign against Blaize's banning policies continues to gather momentum. We urge our readers to contribute to this effort by sending letters and telegrams of protest demanding immediate withdrawal of all official lists of banned titles and individuals. Write to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, Botanical Gardens, St. George's, Grenada.

## Drugs, pregnancy, and abortion rights

BY DOUG JENNESS

For apparently the first time, a mother is being prosecuted for involuntary manslaughter after her baby was born with drugs in its system and died.

Melanie Green of Rockford, Illinois, was charged May 8 with manslaughter following the death of her two-day-old daughter in February. She has also been charged by the state attorney's office in Winnebago County with delivery of a controlled substance to a minor. This is a charge nor-

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

mally leveled against drug pushers. The maximum penalty Green faces for the two charges is 14 years in jail.

Thousands of babies born each year have been affected by addicted cocaine or other drugs their mothers were taking. Many of these infants die relatively soon; others are brain-damaged or maimed in some other way. Those that survive often remain on life-support systems for weeks.

In general, drug addiction not only leads to the increased degradation of the victims, but to deteriorating health and weakened resistance to disease. This is an especially severe problem for pregnant women and the unborn babies they are carrying.

What can be done about this social scourge? Increasingly, many government officials are saying that more repressive measures need to be applied against the mothers, most of whom are poor and from the most oppressed sectors of the working class. This includes tossing them in jail, a "solution" that is part of the broader campaign being whipped up these days to arrest and jail more drug offenders, denying them bail and extending mandatory sentences.

Another punitive action that is being taken against pregnant women who are drug users is to deprive them of custody of their babies. A few days before Green's arrest, a court ordered another woman in Rockford to give up her three-month-old child because she had taken cocaine before the infant was born.

But punishing drug addicts as criminals, rather than treating them as human beings who require medical care, is not going to resolve anything. It will only inhibit more of the victims from seeking rehabilitation for fear of being arrested, ensuring that even more children will be born impaired.

The government's obligation should be to provide easily accessible and adequate rehabilitation at no cost for any addict who seeks it. And there is a special responsibility to guarantee free, high quality prenatal care to pregnant women. Moreover, education about the ill effects of drugs on the fetus is crucial.

The prosecution of Green takes place in the context of stepped-up moves by state legislatures and courts to give the government more power to determine the terms and conditions of a pregnancy. For example, state officials in Minnesota are calling for drug testing of pregnant women.

The consequences of giving the state the right to control the way women take care of themselves — and their fetuses — during pregnancy is staggering. Should the government be allowed to say what kind of food pregnant women can eat or how many hours they can work? These are not matters for the courts or legislatures.

This is not to say that pregnant women or others for that matter have a right to use addictive drugs. This is no more a right than inflicting self-injury or committing suicide are rights.

But women do have a right to determine if and when to get pregnant and how best to care for themselves, give birth, and nurture their infants.

Perhaps the most ominous aspect of the growing campaign to use the courts and jails to cut drug abuse by pregnant women is that it opens a wedge against the right of women to have abortions. Melanie Green has been charged with manslaughter for abusing a fetus. This is what the opponents of a woman's right to choose are attempting to get written into law — that destroying a fetus is murder.

If the courts are to rule that a woman is guilty of murder if her child dies as a result of drug use during pregnancy, isn't it also murder if she has a doctor actually remove the fetus and destroy it? This is the line of argument pursued by the antiabortion rights crowd.

Justifiably, there is a great deal of concern about the large number of infants born as addicts. But government officials and reactionaries are maliciously taking advantage of this to undermine support for abortion rights and to get acceptance for adopting undemocratic and repressive measures.

They are attempting to divert attention from a woman's right to control her reproductive functions. This right, however, is essential to increasing the participation of women in all aspects of social, economic, and political life. It is necessary for women to advance toward full equality with men.



# Joel Britton: 'Why I ran for mayor of Los Angeles'

The following are excerpts from "Why I Ran for Mayor of Los Angeles" by Joel Britton, reprinted from the March-April issue of *The Union Bulletin* published by the Chevron refinery unit of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547 in Lawndale,

## AS I SEE IT

California. Britton was the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the April 11 election.

"Alky" refers to the Alkylation section of the refinery where Britton works as an operator.

The *OCAW Reporter* is the national magazine put out by the union.

Anthony Mazzocchi was elected secretary-treasurer of the union at its convention last year on the "Alliance for Progress" slate with the incumbent president and vice-presidents.

### BY JOEL BRITTON — ALKY MAYORAL CHALLENGER

In the November-December *OCAW Reporter*, Secretary-Treasurer Anthony Mazzocchi wrote, "It's time to reflect on what the future holds in store for ordinary Americans. The recent election campaign failed to crystallize the issues." He noted that it was "impossible for the electorate to make clear choices [and that] a record number of voters stayed home [on election day]."

Brother Mazzocchi wrote, "It is my intention to encourage the broadest discussion among our membership about the political facts of life. Our goal must be to develop a political program to advance our interests."

The secretary-treasurer pointed to how real wages (corrected for inflation) "have been declining for 15 years, good-paying jobs are declining," and the burden on working people of the Pentagon budget. And he pointed to the coming struggle over "Who is going to pick up the tab?"

Finally, he wrote that, "Our political education must begin to structure an agenda that deals with our interests as working people [and] I welcome all of you to participate in this vital debate."

I believe my campaign for mayor of Los Angeles has been a contribution to this discussion and debate. No doubt Tom Bradley will be reelected and an agenda serving not working people but the big-money interests will continue to be carried out. In the next four years we can expect to see more homelessness; more cutbacks in medical and other social services; and continued high rates of unemployment, especially among Black youth and immigrant workers.

There are other things as well, such as further attacks by corporate management on hard-won wage levels, working-condition issues, health and safety standards, union rights, and a stepped-up assault on our democratic rights.

All of the preceding attacks have happened already to one degree or another, though some of us have been a little more shielded from the effects of this offensive. Millions of less protected workers and working farmers have been devastated by what has been coming down from Washington, Sacramento, and City Hall as well as the corporate board rooms from Wall Street to Century City.

Since both Republican and Democratic politicians have fostered this offensive against us, and since basic economic trends point towards this offensive deepening, we had best look to developing the fighting capacity of our side.

We are in a weakened position when millions in this country are unemployed, we're divided between those with jobs and those without. That's why I have been putting forward the demand for legislation that would shorten the workweek with no cut in take-home pay. That would increase the penalty on employers for overtime hours to double time. Such legislation would force the creation of millions of new jobs and greatly strengthen all

workers in their fight for a greater share of the wealth we produce.

A massive public works program should be initiated to put additional millions to work building needed mass transit rail lines, affordable housing, and all the other things we need. The money is in the Pentagon's war budget. Working people should not be taxed to pay for such programs.

Two other measures are necessary to move toward uniting working people here and around the world against what is coming down on all of us. One is strong affirmative action measures to end discrimination in the hiring of workers who are minorities and women.

The other is cancellation of the crushing debts owed by developing countries to the bankers in New York, London, Tokyo, etc. so the working people of these countries can get out from under the harsh austerity measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund. The general strike in Trinidad last month, led by the Oilfields Workers Trade Union, points toward the massive struggles against the debt that we should be in solidarity with.

Resistance to the antiworker offensive in this country has stiffened a couple of notches with the united battle that has been mounted by the Eastern Airlines machinists, backed by the Eastern flight attendants and pilots followed by the Continental attendants. This inspiring example of labor solidarity points the way forward for our side and deserves the most immediate and serious solidarity from unionists and all others with a progressive agenda.

I have walked the Eastern/Continental picket lines and have learned a great deal from these brothers and sisters.

I'd like to thank those Chevron coworkers who have wished me well, encouraged me on, chipped in a few bucks, and those who have taken the time to read the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis and given me feedback — positive and not so positive.

I'm on the 'non-partisan' ballot as Oil Refinery Worker and I am the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

## LETTERS

### Unemployment

I am writing to raise a factual point about the statistic you cited on the true jobless rate in New York, Baltimore, and Detroit in the preface to the second printing of the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, (Militant April 28).

You wrote that in those three cities, "50 percent of working-age residents are either unemployed or have become too discouraged to keep on looking for work." I am very curious about the source of this figure because the number is so very high, and I haven't seen it reported anywhere else.

The January 1989 edition of *Employment and Earnings* of the Department of Labor reports unemployment rates for the metropolitan areas of New York, Baltimore, and Detroit as 4.9 percent, 5.2 percent, and 6.8 percent respectively, as of October 1988.

Of course these figures understate the true jobless rate because they do not include discouraged workers who have given up looking, nor do they include persons working part-time involuntarily. I could not find metropolitan area specific statistics for discouraged workers, although the total U.S. number as reported by the government is approximately 950,000.

Even if the reported jobless rate for these cities were doubled or tripled, they would not approach a level of 50 percent. Can you tell me how you obtained the 50 percent figure?

Jim Sarsgard  
Baltimore, Maryland

Editor's reply:

Standard government unem-

ployment figures report only the percentage of those counted as being in the labor force who are without jobs. The large number of workers aged 16 and over who are not in the job market remain unaccounted for.

The figures cited in the preface to the *Action Program* were taken from an article in the Aug. 3, 1988, issue of the *New York Times*, based on a report by the U.S. government's Bureau of Labor Statistics. The article reported that "nearly half [45.3 percent] the city's working age residents are neither employed nor looking for work, a Federal report says." The article reports that this is "worse than the 34.5 percent of their peers across the nation who are outside the labor force. . . the Labor Department said it recorded nonparticipation rates at the end of last year of 56.4 percent in Baltimore and 53.1 percent in Detroit."

The article concludes: "To be sure, economists said they always expected some people — including those with severe disabilities, full-time students, and mothers who stay home with their children — to remain outside the labor force. . . Experts agreed yesterday that the low rate of participation in the New York labor force, particularly among teen-agers, was a sign of deep economic and social troubles."

### World population I

I'd like to throw in my two cents on the world population debate. I think that the place to look for guidance on population questions is in natural or nature-based societies (what some people would refer to as "primitive").

Marx and Engels, while they recognized the brutal nature of capitalism, simply didn't have any information on primitive societies. Capitalism at that time didn't study the primitive societies it was slaughtering. They also didn't publicize the fact that these massacres were taking place.

By contrast, scientists, especially in the last two decades, have made a great deal of effort to study the last remaining natural societies left on the planet and have made important contributions to the sci-

ence of anthropology. I don't think anyone could fault Marx and Engels for not having this information.

In natural societies, which depend on hunting and gathering food from their environment, population control is virtually always necessary for any long-term survival. This is because people in those societies can't make a self-sustaining social contribution until they are in their mid-teens, at least.

These "primitive" societies had extremely rich and complex cultures, including complex rituals, mystical beliefs, taboos, and social structures. They often had traditions of "oral history" in which certain people could recite small details of their history from the past century or more.

Of course, the central focus of these societies was to coexist with their natural environment. They had taboos against depleting their environment of the plants and game their lives depended on, for instance. There were often social controls and norms on a couple's love life, or an individual's sexual activities, for instance, if it was necessary to control their numbers without resorting to things such as intertribal war and infanticide.

We can see numerous examples of distortions that take place when their environment, culture, and way of life is destroyed by colonialism. Environmental destruction, dependence on their colonial masters, and rapidly expanding populations are examples.

I think that restoring natural balances is entirely within the scope of socialism.

Daniel Priest  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### World population II

Having been a *Militant* reader for several years I'm always astonished when I read articles expressly written to support the continuous world population growth. This seems to be a contradiction of your position.

Socialism's main objective is to increase the quality of life of the millions of exploited people on this planet. You refuse to admit that this world's resources are finite and that it is a problem when the world population has more than doubled from 2.5 billion people in 1950 to more than 5 billion just 39 years later.

If this trend continues, there will be no quality of human life regardless of the political system.

While I'm in agreement with

many of the positions of the *Militant*, I believe you are way off base on the population question.

John-Michael Eggertsen  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Always wanted

Wish I had subscribed earlier! The *Militant* is so much of what I've always wanted in a news source.

D.H.  
St. Paul, Minnesota

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

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



Wright

## Correction

In the article "Panama government warns of U.S. threat," in the May 19 *Militant*, it was reported that between 1968 and 1986 Panama's infant mortality rate dropped from 40 to 19.4 percent. The rate actually dropped from 40 per thousand to 19.4 per thousand.



## Nat'l labor board attacks strikers

### Pittston miners seek wider support

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The Pittston Coal Group is continuing its offensive against 1,700 members of the United Mine Workers of America who have been on strike for six weeks.

On May 15 the company announced that the National Labor Relations Board has issued an unfair labor practices complaint against the union. It charges the UMWA with blocking company facilities, damaging vehicles belonging to the company and to scabs, and following Pittston employees. A hearing on the case is set for June 5.

Westmoreland Coal Co., a Pittston subsidiary, has also filed a \$2 million lawsuit and an NLRB complaint against the union. Westmoreland had been filling Pittston's orders during the strike, which has virtually shut down the coal production. Citing a contract provision that allows 10 "memorial days," 700 Westmoreland miners joined picket lines at Pittston mines the last week in April.

On May 1 Westmoreland broke its contract with Pittston and the miners returned to work. The company's suit contends that the miners engaged in a secondary boycott in violation of federal labor laws.

In an attempt to break the unity of the strike and sway public opinion against the miners, Pittston has been running a series of full-page and half-page ads in the Charleston daily papers. One ad cites Department of Labor statistics that 80,000 coal miners have lost their jobs since 1980 and claims that Pittston's contract proposal would create 20 percent more jobs for miners.

Another ad states that the Pittston offer "is much better than the UMWA negotiators gave the A.T. Massey miners after their long and bitter strike." One says that the company and the union "share a common ground" and reads in part, "Our miners, supervisors, and their families have worked

**On May 10 hundreds picketed outside Pittston's shareholders' meeting.**

together, prayed together, and lived side-by-side for generations. . . . This common ground is the basis upon which the labor dispute can be resolved."

A full-page ad on May 16 plays on the recent NLRB ruling and on a sweeping injunction handed down against the union during the 1984-85 A.T. Massey strike. Featuring pictures of burned homes, smashed windows, and wrecked coal trucks, it reads, "It's time to restore the common ground of law and order we share in this community. Please let UMWA President Richard Trumka know that you join him in asking striking miners to stop the violence. . . . Tell Mr. Trumka this community will no longer tolerate these acts of illegal 'civil disobedience.'" The ad lists President Trumka's phone number in Washington, D.C.

The miners are continuing their efforts to win support also. Bishop Walter Sullivan of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond, Virginia, issued a statement backing the strike and said he believes Pittston is trying to undermine the UMWA. On May 12 a number of Catholic nuns were arrested at the Moss No. 3 coal-processing plant picket-line.

On May 10 hundreds of striking miners picketed outside Pittston's annual shareholders' meeting in Greenwich, Connecticut. Inside the union was waging a proxy fight around three resolutions that are not directly related to the strike.

A union official stated that the goal of the resolutions was to return the company to "good corporate governance." The strikers also confronted Pittston's Chairman Paul Douglas at the meeting, asking him to participate in negotiations and to meet with union leaders while they were in Greenwich. Douglas refused both requests.

Arrests of picketers and their supporters are continuing. More than 2,000 charges have been filed in Dickenson and Russell counties. The union says the cases will be appealed if they result in convictions.

Officials in Virginia are discussing how to deal with prosecuting this massive number of cases. Gov. Gerald Baliles is considering sending special prosecutors and retired judges into the coalfields.

A public debate among Virginia officials has erupted. A Virginia State Police official told the press he was angry over a statement made by Virginia Attorney General Mary Sue Terry. Terry said she was "enraged" by the violence used by state troopers in arresting miners and instructed them to use "less force" in future arrests.



Youth, singing 'Solidarity Forever,' joined May 4 rally at Dickenson County, Virginia, prison to back striking miners. Militant/Steve Marshall

## Candidate in Britain backs job action

LONDON — Legal papers and a £1,000 (US\$1,700) deposit were filed with electoral authorities May 15 to ensure ballot status for Doreen Wepler, a rail worker and Communist League candidate in the European Parliament elections. The elections are set for June 15 in the 12 countries of the European Community (Common Market).

It was a day in which transport workers across London were engaged in industrial action over pay and conditions. Drivers on the Underground (subway) and bus drivers, conductors, and engineers across London were out on strike. Rail workers in a growing number of stations and freight yards surrounding the capital have taken action varying from slowdowns to bans on overtime.

As a result thousands of workers were not able to get to work. Telecommunications engineer John Shrapnell said that half the 400 workers at his depot didn't get to work. "In all about 2,000 of the 5,000 British Telecoms workers in the Central London area didn't get to work."

Supporters of Wepler's campaign visited bus workers' picket lines with election literature and talked with strikers. One striker at the Peckham bus garage said that the job action "shows what's possible when we unite. From today we intend to get greater links with other transport workers."

Another said that his father, an engineering worker in Manchester, had described the transport action as an example to all.

On May 16, an election debate was held in Brixton, which is located in London's South Inner constituency where Wepler is running. The debate was sponsored by the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). On the platform were the candidates of the Green Party, Social and Liberal Democrats (SLD), and the CPGB. Labour Party candidate Richard Balfe, who is the incumbent member of the 518-deputy European Parliament, sent his apologies for his absence.

Jonathan Silberman, a Wepler supporter, was given 10 minutes to speak after the main presentations. Car worker Tony Hunt, another Wepler backer, spoke for a few minutes in the discussion.

Green Party candidate Penny Shepherd said that she opposed the Common Market because she was against economic growth. She urged, instead, efforts to protect the environment and improve roads and transport, and opposed upgrading of NATO nuclear weapons.

She called for canceling the foreign debt of the world's poorest 40 nations. For the rest, she said, the debt should be renegotiated. A vote for the Greens, she said, would ensure that all these issues would be raised.

SLD candidate John Pinder called for an "open, democratic, greener Europe."

CPGB candidate Nigel Power called for strengthening the "progressive voice" in the European Parliament to ensure a "social Europe, where workers' rights would be protected." He urged ending "Britain's special relationship with the United States," "stopping moves toward militarization," and ensuring an improved environment.

Power called for renegotiation of the debt of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Wepler's campaign supporters said that the election gave working people the opportunity to discuss a program of action for fighting back against the employers and their government. It would be through uniting in struggle, not by voting for "political

representatives" to act in their behalf, that working people would defend their interests.

Silberman explained that workers had nothing in common with bosses, whether in Britain or in the rest of Europe. Thousands of foreign-born workers in Britain, he said, showed the rich interconnection between working people in Britain and those in Third World countries and the possibilities for establishing a united struggle. That's why demanding the cancellation of the foreign debt of semicolonial countries in its entirety is so important, he said.

Wepler's campaign committee has announced that Pete Clifford, the manager of the Pathfinder Bookshop in London, will be the press and publicity director for the campaign. Clifford was arrested last November while on a sales trip to the north of Ireland on behalf of Pathfinder. The protests against this arrest and Clifford's return to Ireland to visit Long Kesh prison and deliver books to prisoners received considerable publicity.

## Framed up for strike role, miners appeal to high court

BY JIM LITTLE

PITTSBURGH — "I am still fighting because there is no other way to gain my freedom. If I lay down for even one minute in this grave they have me in, I'll be buried alive," writes Donnie Thornsby, president of United Mine Workers Local 2496, from federal prison in Ashland, Kentucky.

Thornsby, acting as his own attorney, has filed an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. He asks that his conviction and those of three other coal miners — Arnold Heightland, James Darryl Smith, and David Thornsby — be overturned. The unionists were convicted Dec. 17, 1987, on charges of killing a scab coal hauler and interference with interstate commerce. This was a U.S. government-orchestrated frame-up that grew out of the bitter 1984-85 Mine Workers coal strike against A.T. Massey Coal and Massey-related mines in southern West Virginia and Kentucky.

The coal miners are now serving sentences of from 35 to 45 years. The legal grounds of the miners' appeal is that the federal court never had jurisdiction because

interstate commerce was never involved. The FBI frame-up was based on a company-staged provocation. Evidence in court showed that mining company security men staged an ambush of a coal truck and blamed it on the union.

No one disputes that the coal truck involved never crossed a state line. However, applying a new law, the government argues that because the coal eventually crossed state lines federal statutes apply.

Thornsby argues, "The Fourth and Fifth Circuits as well as the U.S. Supreme Court have ruled counter to the government arguments."

The Kentucky miners lost their appeal to the Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. They were then prevented from exercising their right to a rehearing by the same court.

Besides their court fight, Thornsby writes that he plans to encourage a public campaign of letter-writing and petitions to support justice for the miners. To send letters of support to the miners, write to Donnie Thornsby 12458-032, Unit D, Box 888 FCI Ashland, Ashland, Ky. 41101.