

# 1 million Azerbaijanis protest Soviet troops

Kremlin forces kill many in Baku, shell harbor

BY SAMAD SHARIF

The attempt by the Soviet government to crush the Azerbaijani struggle against national oppression has sparked massive resistance as hundreds of thousands protest the occupation.

On January 19 an estimated 29,000 Soviet army and interior ministry troops attacked Baku from three directions and shot at "everything that was moving," an eyewitness told reporters. Troops used tanks to push through the barricades that had been erected throughout the city and met widespread resistance. It took them six hours to reach Lenin Square at the center of the city. The military commander of Baku put the number of people killed at 83, and said that 14 of them were soldiers. But many other accounts have put the number of dead far higher — into the hundreds and maybe the

*See editorial page 14*

thousands. Independent confirmation of casualty figures by journalists has been impossible because they have been barred from Azerbaijan.

On January 24 Soviet troops bombarded 50 Azerbaijani merchant ships, including oil tankers, that were blockading the harbor's entrance to Soviet naval vessels. The 40-minute bombardment was conducted by warships, tanks, and artillery.

Prior to these military operations, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed a decree on January 15 declaring a state of emergency in most of Azerbaijan. This action was immediately followed by airlifting 11,000 army and interior ministry troops to join 5,000 troops already stationed there. Later more troops, including reservists, were dispatched to the region. Washington publicly endorsed the measures taken by Moscow.

Mass protests against the military occupation of Baku and the killing of civilians started immediately after the assault. When the troops reached Lenin Square at dawn they were confronted by thousands of Azerbaijani demonstrators. In order to disperse them, soldiers fired into the air, but the protestors held their ground, chanting, "Freedom! Freedom!" Finally the soldiers retreated.

A general strike on January 22 brought Baku to a halt. On that day 1 million people mobilized to mourn the dead and demand an end to the military occupation of the city. As mourners marched through the city, sirens wailed from factories and ships in tribute to the dead.

The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet or provincial legislature voted unanimously at an all-night session on January 22 to call for a referendum on a proposal for the republic to secede from the USSR if the troops do not start withdrawing within two days. Azerbaijani Popular Front activists were invited to take part in this emergency meeting for which 226 deputies came from different parts of the republic.

The day before, an enlarged meeting of the city council of Baku had demanded that the state of emergency be lifted and army units removed. The council's action was a rejection of appeals by the Soviet military commander for the residents to join in "the rebirth of the city" under Moscow's control.

A Popular Front leader told reporters that 250 to 300 soldiers of several Transcaucasian nationalities, including Azerbaijanis and Georgians, were holed up in the city's Salyan barracks after refusing orders to shoot. Fighting between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in



Hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis joined in mourning on January 22 for those killed by Soviet troops. Above, the funeral march in Kirovabad.

the border areas of the two republics subsided, and there were reports that local ceasefire agreements had been reached between the two sides in certain areas.

On January 23 the Armenian national movement issued a statement condemning the Soviet invasion. While Armenians had called for protection, the statement said, "We did not mean large-scale bloody actions by the Soviet army, but civilized methods char-

acteristic of a state of law."

A leader of the Popular Front in Georgia stated the Kremlin intervened because it could not stand Azerbaijani calls for secession and independence.

Many people in the Soviet Union did not favor having their sons go to fight in what they feared might turn into another Afghanistan war. Thousands of people demonstrated,

*Continued on Page 13*

Machinists (IAM) members have explained for months that Eastern's scramble to rebuild as a smaller, nonunion carrier is being done at the expense of passenger safety. Several developments in January — including a fatal crash — indicate these concerns are well-founded.

• On January 11 the New York Daily News reported that a federal grand jury in

*800 attend funeral of murdered W. Virginia coal miner*

BY RONI McCANN

WELCH, W.Va. — Coal miners wearing camouflage and black armbands packed the Fanning Funeral Home and parking lot here on January 19. More than 800 attended services for John McCoy, a union miner murdered three days earlier on a picket line in nearby Worth, West Virginia.

One lane of Route 52, which cuts through this town of 4,600 people about 20 miles north of the Virginia border, was blocked off to provide parking as car convoys of miners and their supporters from at least five states began arriving for McCoy's funeral.

McCoy, a member of the United Mine Workers of America, was shot and killed when some 200 rounds were fired at about 60 union miners on a picket line in front of nonunion Rolfe Mining Co. No. 6 mine. Some of the gunmen shot from hidden positions on a nearby hill. Others were in pickup trucks.

Also shot were Darrell Morgan, who underwent surgery for a bullet wound and remains hospitalized, and Steve Morgan, who was hospitalized and released on January 18. "They're both going to be alright," said Everett Acord, UMWA District 29 president. "We were worried we were going to lose Darrell Morgan in surgery for a while but they're OK now."

All three miners were members of UMWA Local 1160, District 29, on strike against Robinson Phillips Coal Co., an A.T. Massey subsidiary, for five years. Members of the local were picketing the Rolfe mine to help union and nonunion miners get \$357,000 from Regency Development Corp. contractors in back wages and benefits owed them.

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## Eastern strikers warn of safety risks

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Machinists union members on strike at Eastern Airlines, pressing ahead to win new support for their fight against Frank Lorenzo, are gaining a wider hearing for concerns raised about the scab airline's safety practices.

Striking ramp workers, cleaners, mechanics, and other International Association of

Machinists (IAM) members have explained for months that Eastern's scramble to rebuild as a smaller, nonunion carrier is being done at the expense of passenger safety. Several developments in January — including a fatal crash — indicate these concerns are well-founded.

• On January 11 the New York Daily News reported that a federal grand jury in

vestigation into Eastern's aircraft safety and maintenance records at Kennedy International Airport in New York has been widened to include La Guardia Airport. The investigation is also expected to include Hartsfield International Airport in Atlanta, the paper said.

The violations unearthed in a Federal Avi-

*Continued on Page 6*

## Cuba suspends Angola troop withdrawal

BY CINDY JAQUITH

HAVANA — The governments of Cuba and Angola have decided to temporarily suspend the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola following a January 21 attack by U.S.-backed UNITA terrorists that killed four Cuban soldiers, and injured five others.

The assault took place in the town of Valle de Hanha and at a nearby water purification station being used by Cuban troops. Valle de Hanha is just north of Lobito, Angola. The Cuban troops are stationed north of the 13th parallel, in compliance with the December 1988 accords signed by the governments of Angola, Cuba, and South Africa for an end to the military conflict in Angola.

Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Relations, in a January 24 statement, said the UNITA

mercenaries had carried out "a deliberate terrorist act, with full knowledge they would encounter Cuban personnel" in Valle de Hanha. "The responsibility . . . ultimately lies with the government of the United States," the ministry declared, "which is the logistical supplier and political adviser of UNITA and which continues to provide UNITA with arms and ammunition, including highly sophisticated weapons."

It was the second time that Cuban troops had been killed by UNITA forces since the Cuban withdrawal began in January 1989. Six Cuban soldiers were killed last August when UNITA terrorists ambushed their truck.

After that incident Cuban President Fidel Castro informed the United Nations that

Cuba would not tolerate attacks against its troops in Angola and reserved the right to respond.

In compliance with the 1988 accords, 31,179 of some 50,000 Cuban troops have been withdrawn from Angola thus far. By April 1 a total of 33,000 are supposed to have left.

The Angolan and Cuban governments have now suspended further withdrawals, said the ministry, "until Cuba receives a satisfactory explanation of the [recent] events and is persuaded that the continued reduction of its troops in the Republic of Angola will not be used by the terrorist bands armed and advised by the government of the United States to attack Cuban military personnel and thus sabotage the accords."

# Coalfield team sells at every union mine in Utah

BY EILEEN KOSCHAK

In the course of five days a *Militant* sales team visited every union mine portal in Utah. Beginning January 10 the team traveled throughout

airlines workers met with an overwhelmingly friendly response from miners.

The Utah coalfield team was one of many to visit mining regions in



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

the southeast part of the state, in Carbon and Emery counties where vast coal deposits are concentrated.

Miners, their families and friends, and other workers bought 93 single copies of the *Militant*, 3 subscriptions, and 3 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. The sales team, made up of laid-off garment, packinghouse, and

the United States as part of the campaign by *Militant* supporters to boost the paper's long-term readership in coal communities and among union miners.

Through this effort nationwide, hundreds of miners who were met by sales team volunteers at mine portals across the country decided to buy a copy or a subscription to the *Militant*.

The majority of these miners hadn't seen the paper before and were attracted to its coverage on labor struggles. Out of the sales efforts made in the coalfields, many miners will join the increased number of unionists and other workers who read the paper regularly and over a longer period of time.

During the week's sales in Utah, the highest number of papers sold at one time was at the Utah Power & Light's Deer Creek mine portal. Miners and power plant workers bought 36 copies of the *Militant* at two shift changes. At the nearby Wilburg mine, also owned by Utah Power & Light, members of the United Mine Workers of America bought four single copies of the paper. In 1984 the Wilburg mine caught fire and 27 died, trapped underground.

The team also sold to nonunion miners and to union garment workers. At one unorganized mine a

worker said, "The only reason non-union miners have anything is because of the UMWA." He thought there were going to be more strikes in the future and a rebirth of the labor movement.

Information on the UMWA's strike against Pittston was in demand by workers following the fight, which is in its 10th month. A retired miner from East Carbon explained that he sent money to the Pittston strikers whenever he could. "They have to win," he said.

A woman in the Carbon County town of Price told team members, "The Pittston strike is the best thing the UMWA ever did — it's a fight for all of us and everyone should support it."

Knowledge of the Machinists strike against Eastern Airlines was limited, although workers were interested. One laid-off miner felt that the Eastern strike was important because, "We have to fight the

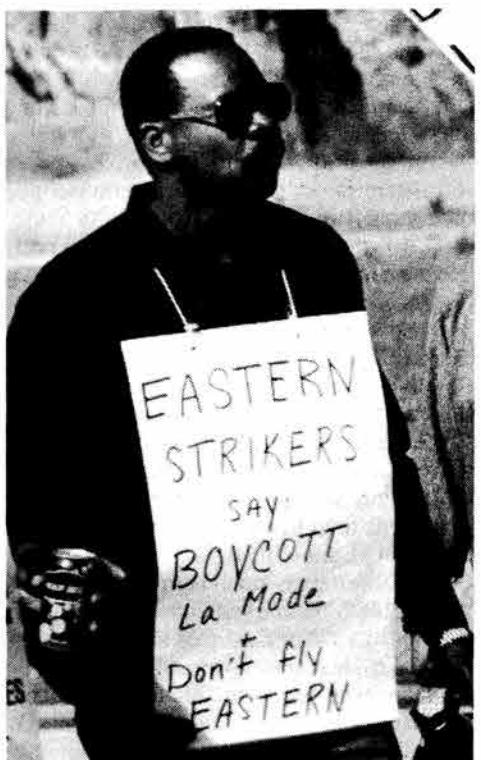
Lorenzo's of the world." He and other miners anticipated coming struggles as UMWA contracts expire this year. "The fight will happen in this area, too," he said.

The team made a special effort to discuss the case of framed-up packinghouse worker and union activist Mark Curtis. Fact sheets on his case and defense efforts were passed out at mine portals and in the communities. Many people readily understood the case and related incidents of friends, coworkers, and family members being harassed by cops.

One young worker ran into *Militant* team members in Helper. He had recently been fired from his job at a roof-bolt factory during a UMWA organizing drive. He responded strongly to Curtis' case and he and his wife invited team members to their house for an evening where they watched the new video documenting the case.

## Fighting workers need paper that tells the truth

When union miner John McCoy was murdered on a picket line in Worth, West Virginia, on January 16, the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and most other big-business dailies didn't write a word about it.



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg  
Eastern strikers join union garment workers on picket line. Discussing Eastern strike with coal miners and other workers can help win long-term readers.

Only in areas closer to where the shooting took place did local newspapers feel compelled to cover his murder and the wounding of two other pickets. The reports were less frequent the farther away from Worth one got.

"All the News That's Fit to Print," is the slogan written in the front-page left-hand corner of the *New York Times*, but obviously the editors didn't see fit to report on McCoy's death.

This isn't because the editors think that what happens in the coalfields between union coal miners and the coal bosses isn't important. They do place an importance on this and their articles, the content of them or absence of them, reflect the interests of the wealthy ruling class the *Times* speaks for.

What is of no importance to them, however, is the cost of human lives of coal miners.

The *Militant* on the other hand has been covering the resistance by union miners in the eastern and western coalfields, including weekly reports on the 10-month strike by the United Mine Workers of America against Pittston Coal Group. Our reporters are workers, unionists, and activists involved in the fight, and the articles reflect our backers — working people around the globe who appreciate being told the truth.

When the news broke that McCoy and two other unionists had been shot the *Militant* put a high priority on getting the facts. It sent a reporter to Welch, West Virginia, to McCoy's funeral to learn more and to talk to coal miners themselves about their response.

That's why many coal miners and other

unionists keep subscribing to the *Militant*. A growing number of these workers realize the importance of having the facts — from the mouths of fighting workers themselves — on struggles taking place worldwide.

### Renew today

On January 27 *Militant* supporters begin a four-week international subscription renewal campaign. Coal miners and other workers reading the paper will be interested in discussing the latest news in the 11-month fight by Machinists against Frank Lorenzo's sinking operations.

The Eastern strike, the coal miners' resistance, the fight to free anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela in South Africa, building socialism in Cuba — readers won't want to

miss a single copy of the *Militant* with news on these fights and others, along with its broader political news and analysis. The *Militant* urges readers whose subscriptions are about to expire to renew today.

The *Militant* is read by working people across the United States and in countries around the world. Weekly production and distribution costs keep rising — everything from paper to postage — forcing the *Militant* to raise its subscription rates.

A 12-week introductory subscription now costs \$5, a 58 percent discount off the cover price. Renewal and long-term subscription rates are as follows: \$10 for 12 weeks; \$19 for six months; \$35 for one year; and \$65 for two years. These new rates apply to subscribers in the United States and Canada.

## 'Militant' reporter in Cuba

*Militant* correspondent Cindy Jaquith is currently in Cuba, and our next issue will carry a firsthand report on recent developments in the Cuban working class. This includes the discussion about the rectification campaign and its impact on the trade union movement there.

Her trip coincides with the 16th national conference of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) being held in Havana January 24-28. She will cover the sessions of the conference open to the media, conduct interviews with individuals and contingents attending the meeting, and visit fac-

tories and other workplaces.

As a reporter for the *Militant*, Jaquith has traveled to Cuba before and was in Panama a couple weeks before Washington's invasion. One of her articles has just been reprinted in the Pathfinder pamphlet *Panama: The Truth About the U.S. Invasion*.

While in Havana, Jaquith will be collaborating with Michel Dugré from Montréal, a correspondent for *Lutte ouvrière*.

To help defray the costs of bringing eyewitness coverage on Cuba to our pages, send contributions to the *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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### The *Militant* features:

On-the-scene news of the coal miners' resistance, including the protest against the murder of union miner John McCoy.

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# Panama workers rally against occupation

## Union leader appeals for solidarity

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Responding to the growing attacks against their trade union and human rights, more than 1,000 Panamanian public workers demonstrated January 17 at the national government's office in Panama's capital city.

"One could say that this demonstration was the first public and open act by an important sector of the Panamanian working class against the U.S. invasion of our country," explained Héctor Áleman in a telephone interview on January 22.

Áleman is the general secretary of the 100,000-member National Federation of Public Employees (FENASEP).

While the world has been told that in Panama things are "getting back to normal," U.S. military forces still occupy that Central American country. Raids and detentions continue to take place, a curfew is still on, and hundreds of workers are being fired and laid off, explained the FENASEP leader. Áleman himself was detained the day following the December 20 invasion and later released.

Over the past month, "practically all the trade union leaders have been detained," explained Áleman. "Our homes have been raided many times by the U.S. army."

These raids, described the FENASEP leader, "are carried out as if they were military operations, as if the people inside were engaged in combat. They surround the homes of our trade union brothers with huge displays of military force and, using a loudspeaker, they ask them to come out with their hands raised over their heads. They have no regard toward the children and other family members who might be inside."

### International solidarity

But thanks to international solidarity, many have been released, Áleman pointed out. He cited the example of unionist Mauro Murrillo who spent 21 days in detention. "It was only after an international campaign that we were able to win Murillo's release," said Áleman. "Most of the workers federations throughout Latin America sent messages to the Panamanian government demanding his release."

Among the regional labor organizations that joined the campaign were the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin America, as well as religious and human rights groups and U.S. organi-

zations such as Americas Watch, Áleman pointed out.

"We would like you not to echo the figures the U.S. occupation forces are using to disinform the world about what really happened here," stressed Áleman. "Thousands of people have died here, there are thousands of wounded, and thousands are missing. More than 5,000 people were captured. And while we know they have been releasing some, they still hold thousands both in Fort Clayton and in Nuevo Emperador, the two places where the U.S. army has prisoners."

Nuevo Emperador or Empire Range is a U.S. training facility that was set up as a prison camp with makeshift tents surrounded by coils of barbed wire and guarded by U.S. military police.

"As time goes by, and through actions such as the January 17 demonstration, we continue to win more space to express ourselves freely," Áleman said, "and the whole world will realize the severity of what really took place here."

"Because what we are talking about here is not only the Hiroshima- and Nagasaki-type decimation of the entire neighborhood of Chorrillo," Áleman explained, "but the destruction of other areas as well. Thousands of Panamanians have been left without a home or any belongings. This is especially serious given the suffocating economic and social situation that our country was facing as a result of being subjected to the past three years of economic aggression by the U.S. government."

The neighborhood of Chorrillo was totally destroyed by U.S. bombs during the first day of the invasion, leaving some 12,000 to 14,000 homeless.

Panama is far from entering a period of economic bonanza as the media would like us to believe, said the FENASEP leader. For example, more than 2,000 workers who worked in the shops along Panama City's Central Avenue, he explained, have been laid off. The various state ministries have fired hundreds of workers as well.

"Workers are being fired and laid off with no respect for their legal rights," said Áleman. "Employers and the government are not even respecting the hard-won rights of maternity leave in their dismissals of women workers."

### Other protest actions

Workers in other cities around the country have also begun to organize opposition to the firings and to the U.S. occupation. In Colón, Panama's second city, Áleman pointed out, trade unionists were able to get radio time to denounce the continuing firings and the U.S. intervention. "In Chiriquí, Herrera, Meragua, and Los Santos, where there is a greater level of organization, we have been able to express our demands through statements," said the



Militant/Judy White

Fort Clayton, Panama. Union leader Áleman said the U.S. Army detained "practically all the trade union leaders" and "still holds thousands" of prisoners, many of them here.

FENASEP leader. "Some of the statements have been distributed clandestinely, but little by little we are forging an anti-interventionist movement that not only denounces the invasion, but also its consequences."

Though smaller than the January 17 demonstration by trade unionists, other actions have been taking place condemning the U.S. invasion and occupation in Panama. On January 9 some 150 students and others participated in a march protesting the U.S. occupation and commemorating the day in 1964 when 23 Panamanians were killed by U.S. soldiers.

On January 12 the National Council of Organized Workers (CONATO) condemned the U.S. military invasion and requested the immediate withdrawal of the occupation troops. In a communiqué, CONATO coordinator José Simiti said, "As Panamanians we condemn the U.S. invasion" because of its violation of sovereignty principles and "for its enormous human, social, and economic cost."

### Student demands

Though classes have been suspended in all learning institutions from the elementary to the university level, student organizations have issued statements of protest. The Student Association of the National Institute, Panama's most important high school, sent a letter to the minister of education asking for "the withdrawal of Yankee troops from the school facilities because their presence is humiliating and degrading to the Panamanian martyrs and to the school itself."

Carmen Miró, director of the National Science Institute, stated, "Many citizens are furiously opposed to the invasion and the present government." Miró predicted "protests will begin in the country once the Panamanians see that their expectations for free-

dom, democracy, and well-being, resulting from the U.S. army's invasion, are not coming true."

On January 16 a group of law students from the University of Panama filed charges against Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and Vice-president Ricardo Arias Calderón for allowing the U.S. military forces to occupy the campus, thus violating the university's autonomy.

As in many other state institutions, workers at the University of Panama have not yet received their biweekly pay check due January 15, explained Áleman. "It does not seem that they will be paid any time soon."

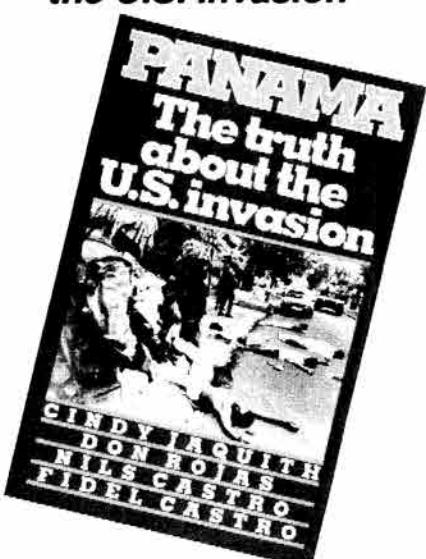
Also on January 16 the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), the main party of the overthrown Panamanian regime, held its first news conference since the U.S. invasion. The PRD leaders announced they were forming a "democratic opposition" to the Endara government. "Together we can seek Panamanian solutions to our problems," read the PRD call to Endara.

Áleman stressed that the Panamanian labor movement is asking for international solidarity. "The most important campaign we must promote is around the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from our country," he stated. "We should demand respect for human rights in our country and the end to all arbitrary detentions, not only of those associated with the trade union movement, but all Panamanians who are being held by U.S. forces as prisoners of war."

"A demand should also be made for the respect of trade union rights both in the private as well as the public sector," added Áleman. "These are the main things we think the U.S. trade union movement should take up to set the minimum conditions for Panama returning to its status as an independent nation."

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## Haiti government declares state of siege

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Gen. Prosper Avril, who heads the military government of Haiti, declared a 30-day state of siege January 20, following the shooting death of an army colonel. A police sweep of the capital, Port-au-Prince, was begun and numerous political activists and opposition figures were arrested.

Four articles of the constitution were suspended, including one barring the forced deportation of Haitian citizens. Under the state of siege, Haitians returning home from other countries must now obtain a visa "to prevent the infiltration of terrorist agents," according to the government declaration. Such a rule was also in force during the long dictatorship of François Duvalier and, later, of his son Jean-Claude who was forced by a popular upsurge to flee Haiti in 1986.

Among those detained were Hubert de Ronceray; leader of the Movement for National Development (MDN); Max Carré, secretary-general of the MDN; Louis Roy, founder of the Haitian Red Cross and coauthor of the 1987 constitution; Sylvain Jolibois, leader of the Jean-Jacques Dessalines Group; Serge Gilles of the Progressive National Revolutionary Party; Max Bourjolly, a leader of

the Haitian Communist Party (PUCH); and dozens of others.

De Ronceray and Roy were deported to Miami. De Ronceray, who is 65, told reporters in Miami that he had been kicked, clubbed with guns, and had a cigarette jammed in his eye. Roy, who is 74, told reporters he had also been beaten. Both de Ronceray and Roy spoke at a January 23 meeting in the Haitian community called to protest Avril's repression. PUCH leader Bourjolly was deported to France.

Avril said the state of siege was ordered "to protect democratic accomplishments against terrorism."

Many of those arrested, however, charge that Avril's move was aimed at canceling the elections announced earlier this month. Presidential elections had been set for October, to be preceded by municipal elections in April and legislative elections in July.

The state of siege follows an increase in repression against government opponents, political activists, and union leaders. In November Jean-Auguste Mesyeux, executive secretary of the Independent Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH); Marino Etienne of the September 17 Popular Organization; and Evans Paul from the Confederation of Dem-

ocratic Unity were arrested, tortured, and imprisoned. There they remain, despite international protests demanding their release.

The New York-based Committee Against Repression in Haiti reports that other attacks have also occurred this month. On January 12 soldiers and plainclothesmen arrested Naly Beauharnais, a leader of the Central Union of Haitian Drivers, affiliated to the larger Christian Democratic Confederation of Haitian Workers. He is being held without charges.

"On January 16, a popular satirist with the progressive Radio Caçique, Jean-André Destin, also known as Wilfrid Destin or 'Ti Wil,' was gunned down by a death squad while walking home from a late-night broadcast," the committee reports. "His program had made disparaging remarks about a recent trip by Avril to Taiwan." Earlier in the month Avril made a junket to Taiwan seeking aid.

In Miami hundreds of protesters took to the streets of Little Haiti January 20 to protest the imposition of the state of siege. In New York a demonstration of several hundred was held at the Haitian consulate on January 22. Further protests are planned for both cities on Saturday, January 27.

# Mississippi Black mayors back justice for Curtis

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Anamosa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information about the case or how you can

pose increasingly dangerous working conditions.

"Whereas: Mark Curtis was framed and falsely convicted on trumped-up charges by officials of Des Moines, Iowa, and was given a 25-year sentence, which he is now serving. We view this as an injustice to all people and a mockery of a democratic society.

"Now: Therefore, as Mayor of the

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, has been touring the South winning new support for her husband Mark Curtis. Mayor Jessie Banks of Tchula, Mississippi, presented Kaku with the following resolution of support at a meeting of the Mississippi Conference of Black Mayors held in Tchula January 13. Kaku was a special guest at the meeting which also unanimously passed a resolution of support.

"Whereas: Mark Curtis was a packinghouse worker, employed at the Swift plant in Des Moines, Iowa, until his arrest March 4, 1988. He was an active member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 431. He attempted to unite packinghouse workers, including defending the rights of Latin American and Asian immigrants in the face of an employer drive to slash wages, speed up production, and im-

Town of Tchula, Mississippi, and by the powers vested in me, I hereby give my support and endorsement to the defense and freedom of Mark Curtis."

"It is important for trade unionists to stand up and speak up when frame-ups and injustices happen in the United States," Nita Brueggeman told a meeting of more than 75 people who attended a Portland, Oregon, premier showing of the video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*. Brueggeman is secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Gene Lawhorn, a member of the Western Council of Industrial Workers Local 2949, spoke of the long history of the use of frame-ups against union activists and said that Curtis' real crime is "love and brotherhood towards his fellow humans and not keeping silent about injustices toward them."

"Abuses by the U.S. government are the same in many ways — in the United States, as well as in other countries," said David Linder, father of Ben Linder, the Portland engineer murdered by contras in Nicaragua.

"We can't be free here until people are free in other countries. We need to stick together should someone be wrongfully hurt, killed, or put in prison."

Sherien Jaeger represented the Santiago Ventura Freedom Committee. Ventura is a Mexican farm worker framed up for murder and is currently incarcerated in Oregon. Jaeger was one of the jurors in his case who has since become convinced that he is innocent. She talked about the lack of hard evidence in both Ventura's and Curtis' trials and explained how in both trials key information was withheld from the

juries.

Other speakers included Kirsten Bey, president of the National Lawyers Guild in Portland, and Brian Williams, a supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and member of ACTWU Local 188T. Participants in the meeting donated \$941 to the Curtis defense effort.

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442 in Atlanta viewed the video on Curtis' frame-up at their regular union meeting January 7.

Some members had already heard of Curtis' fight at earlier meetings,

where union officials encouraged Curtis' supporters to give short presentations and updates on the case.

The documentary provoked much interest in the case and four members endorsed the defense effort, including the local's business agent, who represents George A. Hormel & Co. workers, and two shop stewards.

Copies of the video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, can be obtained by writing the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines.

In December Curtis' supporters won new endorsers for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at the 15th congress of the Latin American Studies Association held in Miami.

Among them were Max Azizri from Edinboro University in Pennsylvania; K. Lynn Stoner from Arizona State University in Tempe; Arthur Galles from Managua, Nicaragua; and Jane Marcus, executive director of the NICA school based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Esteli, Nicaragua.

In a January 4 letter to the sales office of Pathfinder Press, Curtis reported that prison authorities had allowed him to receive the November 27 English-language issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, the newspaper of Cuba's Communist Party. Curtis is a new subscriber to the paper and said prison authorities had informed him that they would review each issue and would forward copies if they approve the issue.

Markie Wilson from Portland, Oregon; Jeff Rogers from Atlanta; and Jon Hillson from New York contributed to this week's column.



Militant/Janet Post

## Bookstore chains will feature works of Malcolm X

### Black History Month displays reflect "renewed interest in the ideas and example of Malcolm X."

BY GREG McCARTAN

The largest bookstore chains in the United States will feature the works of Malcolm X during February, Black History Month. The special displays of books containing speeches and interviews by the outstanding revolutionary leader will greet customers in hundreds of bookstores.

In a press release issued by Pathfinder Press, director Steve Clark explains that the central place of Malcolm X in Black History Month displays "reflects the renewed and growing interest in the ideas and example of Malcolm X."

"The desire to learn more about Malcolm X," Clark continued, "is a fitting tribute to what he lived, fought, and died for. There is no better way to learn about Malcolm than to read his own words."

The bookstore chains promoting books by the revolutionary leader include Waldenbooks, which will feature *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* in its store displays between February 5-18.

B. Dalton Booksellers, which has produced its first-ever Black History Month catalog, will feature three books by Malcolm: *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, *By Any Means Necessary*, and *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*. In addition, Pathfinder's collection of speeches by the imprisoned

leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, is also featured. The collection, *The Struggle Is My Life*, was put together by the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

The National Association of College Stores has included *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* in a brochure of selected titles to 2,800 stores, while Barnes and Noble's college division has included all of Pathfinder's Malcolm X and Black studies books in a special offer to its 200 stores.

Pathfinder reports that more than 20,000 copies of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* have been distributed since it was published in mid-1989. The book includes previously un-

published speeches and interviews. Two of the speeches were given during the last week of Malcolm's life.

Malcolm X was cut down by assassins' bullets on Feb. 21, 1965, in New York's Audubon Ballroom. Since his death Pathfinder has sold more than 500,000 copies of books and pamphlets by and about him.

As part of the promotional efforts during Black History Month, Pathfinder has made available to bookstores three 11" x 17" posters: a color poster of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* as well as two blowups of photographs from the book.

Pathfinder bookstores will also be putting a special focus on the range of titles published by Pathfinder, which together make a con-

siderable contribution to the understanding of Black history and its place in the history of working-class struggles.

Other titles by the publishing house to be featured during Black History Month include: *Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87*; *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83*; *Fighting Racism in World War II*; and *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro.

Clark said that the availability of Malcolm X's works this year "appropriately marks the 25th anniversary of his assassination. His ideas on the fight against oppression, racism, war, and all forms of exploitation remain timely and necessary for anyone who engages in struggle today."

## British gov't expels Vietnamese in Hong Kong

BY MARTIN HILL

British authorities are seeking to remove from their colony of Hong Kong some 50,000 Vietnamese refugees. As part of this effort 51 refugees were forcibly deported last month.

Police and prison officers in riot gear woke them in the middle of the night. A convoy of buses and armored cars rushed the men, women, and children to the airport. There they were hustled onto a plane departing at 5:00 a.m., accompanied by twice their number of police.

The refugees in Hong Kong are held in appalling conditions. Many are living in canvas and bamboo shelters, without running water or sanitation. Protests have been waged against the lack of adequate rations and basic hygiene, which have caused outbreaks of cholera.

More than 6,000 refugees demonstrated at four of the detention centers, wearing white headbands, a Vietnamese sign of mourning. At the Chi Ma Wan camp more than 100 tear gas grenades were fired to disperse refugees protesting a police search. Police later announced that they were prepared to use CS gas and firearms "to protect themselves" against further protests.

The U.S. government and European Par-

liament both condemned Britain's action. In London, Labour Party foreign affairs spokesperson Gerald Kaufman called for better conditions in the camps and economic aid for Vietnam.

The British government has justified its action by claiming that most of the Vietnamese are not "genuine" refugees but "economic migrants."

Behind the desire of the Vietnamese refugees to seek a better life elsewhere lies the poverty of Vietnam, following the devastation wreaked by U.S. military forces during the war that ended in 1975. This has been made worse by the economic embargo imposed by the U.S. government and backed by other imperialist powers including Britain.

According to the London *Guardian*, "the blockade has generally discouraged Western and Japanese investment, keeping Vietnam impoverished and isolated from the world economy." International trade has been badly hit, and aid from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank has been blocked.

Meanwhile the British government has announced plans to grant British passports to 50,000 Hong Kong businessmen, colonial officials, and their families, enabling up to

225,000 people to settle in Britain if they so choose. Hong Kong is due to revert to Chinese rule in 1997, and the British government proposal is intended to ensure that personnel key to Britain's continuing exploitation of the colony feel secure enough to stay.

The massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square last year, where students and workers demanding democratic rights were shot down by Chinese troops, led to demands in Hong Kong for a wider right to British citizenship.

The passport plan was widely criticized in Hong Kong. "This plan gives choices to people who already have lots of choices," one local trade union leader was quoted as saying.

The plan was criticized in the British parliament by Kaufman as "elitist," because it favors Hong Kong's rich. But he made clear he was opposed to extending British passports to the poor.

Kaufman's speech was applauded by Norman Tebbit, a leading Conservative Party right-winger, who said he agreed with "every word." Tebbit is giving a lead to racists within the Conservative Party and beyond who oppose any immigration to Britain from former British colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.

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# New economic steps by Polish gov't spark resistance

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Resistance to harsh belt-tightening measures decreed by Poland's Solidarity-led government emerged as coal miners walked off the job in mid-January.

The strikes involved some 20,000 workers and occurred in two Silesian cities a dozen miles from the Czechoslovak border and near Katowice, a mining center 185 miles south of Warsaw, the country's capital. Miners demanded higher pay to compensate for skyrocketing prices on food, fuel, and other living necessities.

Government officials were able to convince most strikers to return to work after four days by promising not to close any mines in lower Silesia without discussing such plans with them. The government also agreed to maintain miners' access to special stores providing them with goods, including products from capitalist countries, that are hard to find elsewhere in Poland. Concessions made, if any, to demands for higher pay were not disclosed, but payment of year-end bonuses will be moved up.

The walkouts came within days of the government's January 1 launching of sweeping measures that will lead to slashing workers' living standards and induce massive unemployment.

#### Farmers protest measures

At a December congress of the independent farmers' union Rural Solidarity, members ousted the head of the organization in favor of one who would be more critical of the government. Farmers demanded the government guarantee minimum prices for their produce. They were worried that they would face ruin because of the proposed belt-tightening measures. "Opinions are getting more radical in the countryside," one deputy from a rural area warned parliament.

Among the steps taken by the government were:

• Scrapping price controls and state subsidies for almost all basic goods and services. Officials acknowledged that inflation, already raging at about 900 percent, would rise dramatically as a result. The Finance Ministry announced that the price of coal, the country's chief heating fuel, would be jacked up by 400 percent for industry and by 600 percent for households. Electricity prices will soar 300 percent for industry and 400 percent for households. Railroad fares were increased by 250 percent. Widespread shortages of basic food staples swept the country at the beginning.

ning of the year as shoppers wiped out supplies in anticipation of price increases.

- Introducing tough controls on workers' wages to prevent any increases from keeping pace with rising prices.

- Allowing state-owned companies to declare bankruptcy, legalizing an expected rash of enterprise closures triggered by price hikes. Polish officials predict bankruptcies and the resulting industrial havoc will lead to hundreds of thousands being thrown out of work.

- Revamping the country's banking system to deny credit and loans to enterprises deemed "unprofitable." Funds will be routed to enterprises considered profitable and efficient.

- Devaluing Polish currency by 32 percent and making it convertible on the world market in the hope of attracting foreign investments. The move allows investors from capitalist countries to take home profits.

- Setting up an unemployment insurance system for the country which has not expe-

#### Government wants to "jump start" run-down economy by introducing capitalist methods.

rienced massive unemployment for more than 40 years. The system would provide a declining portion of laid-off workers' lost income, which would level off at 40 percent after several months. The average Polish worker earns less than \$50 per month.

The International Monetary Fund and imperialist bankers from the United States and Western Europe insisted on such actions as a precondition to releasing loans and other financial assistance to Poland. In December IMF spokesmen indicated that a \$700-million loan would be released to Poland as a sign of the institution's support for the government's course. The World Bank also set into motion plans to lend Poland \$1.7 billion over the next 18 months. A \$1-billion aid package was approved January 2 by Washington and 14 other imperialist governments.

#### Evolution of Solidarity

The independent trade union Solidarity arose out of a massive worker-led rebellion in 1980-81 to improve living and working



Coal miners in Katowice, Poland. Some 20,000 miners walked off the job in this mining area, opposing government's proposed belt-tightening measures. These include scrapping price controls and subsidies.

conditions and to have more say in the political and economic life of the country. After several years of martial law and government repression imposed in December 1981, the organization declined from 10 million members in 1981 to 2 million in 1989.

The leadership, which incorporated diverse political views, fragmented under the blows, pulling the organization in different directions. Some looked toward the organization becoming a political party to compete against the Polish United Workers Party (the Stalinist Communist Party) for control of government posts.

Last year, after being unable to crush workers' resistance, the PUWP-led government was forced to legalize Solidarity and hold open elections. Solidarity, which still enjoyed broad popular support, fielded candidates who trounced the discredited PUWP in June and assumed a majority of government posts in August.

The privileged bureaucratic caste, which had until then dominated Poland through the PUWP, retains its power, however, and its army and police forces remain intact. This caste hopes Solidarity's ministers, capitalizing on their popular support, can convince working people to accept the economic and social measures that will adversely affect them.

#### Introducing capitalist methods

Solidarity's ministers want to "jump start" the run-down economy by making adjustments that introduce capitalist methods, including the use of market mechanisms, permitting the development of capitalist enterprises, privatizing certain industries, cutting back social programs, and introducing competition and unemployment among workers. They hope these steps, together with

a massive infusion of capital from the imperialist banks to soften the blows to working people, will help spur economic growth and stabilize society.

This process is being closely watched by the governments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as in the capitalist countries.

Politicians, journalists, and others in capitalist countries, and some leaders of Solidarity, are hopeful that this perspective will lead to the restoration of capitalism in Poland. Other Solidarity leaders hope the structural changes will revive Poland's nationalized economy. These hopes hinge on the assumption that a shift in government policy through decree or legislation can fundamentally change Polish society or solve its economic and social problems.

#### Industry nationalized

Capitalist property relations in Poland were overturned in 1946, when the capitalist class was expropriated and key industries — the mines, mills, factories, and transportation — were nationalized. About 90 percent of industry is now state owned. While some 75 percent of Poland's fields are farmed privately, the distribution of seed, fertilizer, and farm machinery is controlled by the state.

These steps opened the door to freeing working people from the worst effects of capitalist anarchy and eliminating mass unemployment. They were also the prerequisite steps for Polish working people to engage in the worldwide fight to build a new socialist society, where the solidarity and cooperation of working people could replace the competition and exploitation of capitalism.

Working people in Poland were not, however, mobilized and politically led to assert their power over the country's political life and the management of the nationalized economy. Instead, from the beginning, a bureaucratic caste imposed a massive police-state apparatus, using force and terror to prevent workers and farmers from engaging in political action and to rob as much of the value created by working people for its own consumption.

The existence of this parasitic social stratum is the fundamental problem causing the economic stagnation, declining labor productivity, mismanagement, corruption, and waste that has brought Poland's economy to the brink of collapse over the last years.

The introduction of capitalist mechanisms by the Solidarity-led government does not solve this problem, nor can it bring about capitalist restoration.

Capitalism is a social system that rests on the existence of a capitalist class, its private ownership of productive property and capital, and the exploitation of the labor of working people to secure profits. For capitalism to be restored in Poland would require a bloody civil war or an invasion from an imperialist country. Only then could the nationalized economy be dismantled and capitalist social relations restored.

The steps by the Solidarity-led government will only further disorganize the economy, deepen inequalities, and squeeze workers and farmers already hard hit. The coal miners' strikes and the ferment in Rural Solidarity are signals that workers and farmers will defend themselves and show that their conquests will not be legislated away without a fight.

## Hundreds back Cuban museum in Miami

BY DAN FEIN

MIAMI — Hundreds turned out at the Cuban Museum of Art and Culture on January 19 to support the museum's right to exist and to see the paintings of Cuban artist Nicolás Guillén Landrián.

The museum was founded by Cubans who wished to establish a cultural center for the exile community. It became the center of controversy after a 1988 show that included the works of Cuban artists who either supported or had not publicly broken with Cuba's revolutionary government.

At that time there were more right-wing

pickets outside the museum than there were persons inside viewing the exhibit. The protesters threatened those who went inside the museum and screamed "communist" at them. There were no pickets January 19.

On December 14 the Miami City Commission voted unanimously to evict the museum from the city-owned building, citing lease violations, including having sold small paintings and drawings without permission from the city.

A few days later City Manager Cesar Odio sent the museum a letter canceling the \$1-a-year lease it has had on the building since 1982 and giving it 30 days to get out. An outcry protesting this as an attack on freedom of speech and artistic expression may force the city to back down.

On December 29 at a well-attended news conference, the American Civil Liberties Union announced legal action would be taken to defend the museum from eviction. The ACLU's written statement said, "It is apparent that Miami's claim of technical lease violations is merely a pretext for the elimination from city-owned property of a group that expresses neopopular artistic ideas disfavored by the city and certain pressure groups."

Even the conservative daily, the *Miami Herald*, ran an editorial December 29 opposing the eviction notice.

#### Supporters of freedom of speech confront city officials.

Attending the January 19 opening were members of the ACLU and National Organization for Women and supporters of the Pathfinder Mural, as well as other political activists who came to express solidarity with the museum.

The previous day Miami City Attorney Jorge Fernandez told city commissioners that they would lose in court if they persisted. A month ago Fernandez advised the city commissioners to pursue the eviction.

The museum is sponsoring two forums to build support. On February 1 Max Castro, Loli Espino, Sergio López Miró, and Vladimir Ramírez will speak on "Miami and Freedom of Expression." The forum will be in Spanish.

On February 8 Robyn Blumner, Carl Hiaasen, María Cristina Herrera, Ronald Rolle, and Charles Senatore will speak on "The First Amendment and Freedom of Expression." This forum will be in English.

Both events will be held at the museum, 1300 S.W. 12 Avenue, Miami.

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# Strikers confront Lorenzo at Cleveland airport

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 prestrike daily flights. Since July Eastern has been trying

tition in the airlines industry, Eastern's plan to rebuild as a non-union carrier is faltering.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico, Canada, Sweden, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.



## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

to restart operations and is currently scheduling roughly 800 daily flights.

In November the Air Line Pilots Association and Transport Workers Union, which represented striking Eastern flight attendants, ended their support for the strike.

The Machinists' walkout remains solid. Under the blows of the strike and stepped-up compe-

Some 150 unionists, led by Cleveland Central Labor Council President Dick Acton, joined Eastern strikers for a lively demonstration against Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo on January 16.

Lorenzo was at Hopkins International Airport, trying to hold a news conference to discuss his plans to expand Continental Airlines' operations in that city. The Cleveland City Council recently approved a bond

issue to finance Continental's expansion at the airport.

"The press complained with a smile that the demonstrators' chants made it impossible for them to hear Lorenzo," reported the January 17 IAM strike bulletin.

Texas Air Corp. is the parent company of both Eastern and Continental airlines.

the new rising star of the airline industry, Eastern Airlines, where fast growth, great benefits, and a HOT location are only the beginning."

Strikers from IAM Local 796 went to the hiring session, held at the Radisson Mark Plaza, to tell would-be applicants the truth about working for Frank Lorenzo and Eastern.

Only four applicants showed up, however, and all of them stopped to talk with strikers.

"I'd never take a job at Eastern," one mechanic said. "I worked at Pan Am for 13 years. Then I worked for Presidential and they went bankrupt. Cross your picket line? Never. I'm only here because the unemployment service says I have to come."

Eastern strikers and supporters from Washington, D.C.'s National Airport picketed an Eastern scab hiring session in Alexandria, Virginia, on January 4.

The "new" nonunion Eastern is having a tough time finding qualified mechanics to replace the Machinists' union members who went on strike nearly 11 months ago. As a result, the company is on a nationwide search for mechanics to work at its Miami and Atlanta stations. For the last few weeks, Eastern has been running ads in newspapers across the country headlined, "Reach for the stars and the Florida sun."

"Imagine what it would be like to be part of the fastest growing airline in the industry," the ads say. "Join

with Eastern strikers to speak before 11 union meetings during the Miami visit. They also appeared on two radio programs.

IAM Local 702 President Frank Ortiz introduced the two miners at a special meeting for Local 702 members that drew 100 Eastern strikers.

The two miners also participated with Eastern strikers in events commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Miami area.

Wherever they spoke, Holbrook and Gordon explained that the Eastern strike could and would be won and that labor solidarity and unity was how to do it.

"The United Mine Workers of America is totally committed to the strike against Eastern Airlines, to the labor movement, and to the social justice movement," explained Holbrook at one event. "You can't have one without the other. We've formed a special bond with the Eastern strikers that will never be broken."

*IAM Local 702 member Jeff Miller from Miami and IAM Local 796 member Nancy Brown from Alexandria, Virginia, both on strike at Eastern, contributed to this column.*

## Eastern strikers warn of Lorenzo's safety risks

### Continued from front page

ation Administration investigation of Eastern include having supervisors sign off repair and maintenance work that was never done.

• At 7:15 p.m. January 18 an Eastern Airlines jetliner, landing at Hartsfield International Airport in Atlanta, crashed into a small private plane, shearing it in half and killing one of the two people aboard. No one aboard the Eastern plane, a Boeing 727, was injured.

The Eastern flight had originated in Montréal, Quebec, and stopped at La Guardia Airport in New York before heading for Atlanta, its final destination. The smaller plane had taken off from DeKalb-Peachtree Airport, northeast of Atlanta.

Shortly after the private aircraft landed at Hartsfield, the Eastern jet was also cleared to land. It did, crashing into the smaller plane.

While no report on the investigation into the crash has yet been issued, a Continental Airlines flight may have also been involved in the accident. The January 20 *New York Times* reported that shortly before the crash, a Continental Airlines flight had landed on the same runway as the other two planes.

Both Continental and Eastern are owned by Texas Air Corp., which Lorenzo heads.

• The National Transportation Safety Board is also investigating reports that an Eastern flight took off January 18 from a taxiway — not a runway — at the Philadelphia International Airport.

• The January 18 IAM strike bulletin reported that the Machinists union has been informed "that Eastern is having a significant problem in determining accurately the weight and balance of flights as they depart. In addition, accurate information is not getting to the flight crews in time. Some aircraft are known to have flown 5,000 pounds to 6,000 pounds over the determined weight, forcing aircraft to fly at lower than prescribed altitudes."

"This is a very dangerous situation," the bulletin notes.

At many airports, strikers are getting a serious response from passengers to an IAM leaflet, "Consumer Alert: How Safe is Your Flight?"

"The flying public is at risk when an airline takes shortcuts in maintenance procedures and uses inexperienced flight crews," the leaflet explains. "That's how Citizen Action explained their decision to alert the public about the current situation at Eastern Air Lines. The National Consumers League, Public Citizen, and the Aviation Consumer Action Project, all highly respected consumer advocate groups, have also taken action to warn the public of the potential risks involved in flying Eastern."

With Eastern's mounting safety problems — added to low passenger loads, record financial losses, and layoffs and pay-cuts for its already low-paid employees — it's no

wonder the airline is facing a growing morale problem among its workers.

Strikers report a growing number of Eastern workers — management, noncontract, and even some hired to replace strikers — stopping by picket lines and strike information tables to let strikers know how bad conditions are "inside." The IAM telephone "hotline" reported January 22 that Eastern's private security outfit, Wells Fargo, had been instructed to step up surveillance and "inspections" of Eastern workers.

### Trouble at Continental

Meanwhile, as Lorenzo's reorganization plan at Eastern continues to unravel, the outlook at Continental — and the entire Texas Air Corp. — is getting shakier by the day.

On January 24 Texas Air stock dropped by 16 percent, closing at \$7.37½ per share. Some 6.67 million shares of Texas Air stock were traded that day, following reports that

one investment firm had unloaded 5.3 million shares — 12.5 percent of Texas Air's stock.

In an effort to drum up business, Continental announced in early January \$9 one-way fares on short-haul routes out of Houston.

Shortly after, the carrier laid off 150 workers and announced that no management personnel will get raises in 1990.

*Aviation Daily* recently reported that Texas Air accounted for 70 percent of the total losses in the airline industry for the first three quarters of 1989 — \$522.8 million.

### 'I urge every IAM member to help'

During January, IAM International President George Kourpias visited strikers in Boston, Miami, New York, and other cities. "I'm extremely proud of our striking brothers and sisters at Eastern," Kourpias told the *Machinist*, the union's monthly paper. "Although the strike is approaching one year, their fighting spirit has not diminished. I urge every IAM

member to help them in their struggle by walking Eastern and Continental picket lines and sending donations to the IAM Eastern strike fund." The address is: IAM Eastern Strike Fund, 709 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Some 300 IAM members, including Eastern strikers from many cities, gathered in Washington, D.C., January 22 to 24, for the union's legislative conference. A focus for the meeting was the IAM's efforts to get Congress to override President George Bush's veto of the proposal to establish a "blue-ribbon" panel to investigate and recommend solutions for the conflict at Eastern. Congress passed the measure last fall, and Bush vetoed it in November.

Following on the heels of strikers' participation in Martin Luther King, Jr., day activities in mid-January, Machinists in many cities are discussing plans for building labor solidarity actions on March 3 and 4, the first anniversary of the strike.

## "I'm a 'we' person now, not an 'I' person"

### BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

LOS ANGELES — Some 200 people turned out here January 20 for a meeting to discuss the new opportunities that have opened up in the fight to deal union-buster Frank Lorenzo a crushing blow.

Five local leaders of the strike at Eastern Airlines — four from Los Angeles and one from New York — participated in the panel discussion sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. The audience, mainly unionists, included a number of other Eastern strikers from International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1932 at Los Angeles International Airport (LAX).

The strikers' pledge to stay in the fight "one day longer than Lorenzo" is "not just a figure of speech for us," explained Eddie Croft. "It's a reality."

Croft is a member of Local 1932's strike committee. Joining him on the panel were committee member Richard James, committee coordinator Joe Mos, strike activist Herb Bradley, and IAM Local 1018 strike leader Ernie Mailhot, from New York's La Guardia Airport. Striker Susie Winsten, from IAM Local 796 at Washington, D.C.'s National Airport, chaired the meeting.

Croft explained that he, Mos, James, and some 20 other strikers and supporters had just returned from a long day in Palm Springs where they joined International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union members at a demonstration at the Bob Hope Chrysler Classic golf tournament. The ILGWU members, most of whom are immigrant workers, are waging a union recognition fight against La Mode Du Golf Co., a maker of golf wear. La

Mode strikers are regular participants in the Eastern strikers' biweekly solidarity picket lines at LAX.

"All unions working together is the only way to win" at Eastern, La Mode, or anywhere, stressed Croft.

The Eastern strike, he said, "has made me a new person. I don't do things just for me anymore. I'm a 'we' person now, not an 'I' person."

Before the strike started, LAX was a small station for Eastern, with some 50 workers, Croft explained. Over the summer, he and other local members were inspired to step forward and begin taking more responsibility in the strike, he said, which led to the election of the current strike committee.

James, a veteran of more than 20 years at Eastern, told the audience he was proud of "the six months of the Los Angeles strike committee working day in and day out to keep the strike alive. We're going to win this strike — come hell or high water."

### New stage in fight

"This is a fight of the labor movement, for the labor movement," said Mailhot. The 11-month-long battle at Eastern is "at a different stage today. It's completely clear that Lorenzo's union-busting reorganization plan is a total failure." He cited Eastern's huge losses, poor passenger load figures, growing safety problems, and the low morale of its workers.

"At the start of the strike, most of us were concerned about getting our jobs back," Mailhot recalled. Although the chances of that happening now are slim, he said, the strikers are continuing their struggle because

"something bigger is involved in this fight."

"We still have the power and numbers" to win the strike, explained strike coordinator Mos. At the beginning, he said, he thought Miami — with the largest number of strikers — would "win or lose the strike." But that's not true, he said. "All of us have to win it."

"Help man the union hall, make phone calls, set up meetings," he said, urging everyone at the meeting to get involved — and get their unions involved. "Support doesn't come overnight." He stressed the importance of getting other airline workers active in the strike.

Mos talked about how to convince passengers not to fly Eastern. The issues in the strike need to be explained, he said. "You don't want to make people feel good about crossing the picket line," Mos continued. But passengers "are not the enemy — Lorenzo is."

Los Angeles striker Bradley recently visited Camp Solidarity, the strike center for miners battling Pittston coal company. He explained the importance of solidarity in the Eastern fight. "It's hard to make somebody come out and support you," he said. "But don't give up." While the donations of money that have flowed in from IAM locals are important, Bradley explained, strikers also "want your body" on the picket line.

"Like Ernie said," Croft added during the discussion period, "we might not have jobs. But there's a principle here."

The strike can bring the "new" nonunion Eastern down, Croft said. If Lorenzo "has nothing, he can't win. We can all go out and get other jobs. We're prepared to take this thing as far as it can go."

# Hundreds at funeral for murdered miner

Continued from front page

UMWA miners on strike for 10 months against Pittston Coal Group in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky made up a big part of the caravans arriving for the funeral. McCoy had actively backed the Pittston strike and his help was appreciated, said UMWA official John Cox from Virginia. "That's why there was an outpouring of people wanting to come today," he explained.

Some 100 strikers and supporters drove down from Logan County, West Virginia, including Pittston striker Roy Blankenship, who was shot in the arm by company thugs last August while on picket duty. "Tensions are real high" in the coalfields right now, said Blankenship. Nobody was put behind bars for shooting him, the miner said, and the shooting continues. One Logan County striker pointed to a bullet hole in the side of his truck and another described harassment and violence against them, including picket shacks burned down and run over.

Some 15 cars came in from Kentucky with UMWA members striking Pittston's Eastern mine and Rob Fork's Mine 29. "We made this a priority," said UMWA Local 5737 President Glenn Stanley, on strike against Pittston's Kentucky operation.

A flight attendant from Pittsburgh and a ramp worker from Atlanta on strike against Eastern Airlines traveled here for the funeral. Both had participated in the Journey for Justice caravan last August of Eastern strikers and supporters.

## Union dedication

Inside the funeral home miners filed by the coffin. UMWA District 29 official Roger Yates spoke at the service noting McCoy's dedication to the union. Outside, in the parking lot, strike support activists collected donations for McCoy's family. Linda Grimmett from Logan County reported \$817.32 was taken up. This is substantial, she said, considering most present were workers that had been on strike for 10 months. "We all knew that it could have easily been us, so we have to stand together."

From the funeral home miners caravanned to Iaeger Memorial Cemetery. John Banovic, UMWA secretary-treasurer, headed the union's delegation and spoke at the graveside.

Meanwhile, police investigating the shooting of McCoy and the others haven't made any arrests or come up with any leads. Witnesses charged that state trooper Steve Cox, on duty at the time, stayed in his car throughout the shooting, offered no help to the wounded unionists, and did nothing as evidence was removed from the scene.

Police later reported a different version of events than that described by witnesses and declared that Cox acted properly. Even if men picked up guns or spent bullet casings while Cox was there, said police spokesperson Ric Robinson, he had to assist the injured first. Witnesses say he assisted the wounded miners only after reinforcements arrived.

The coal companies and police accuse the union of violence, said Virginia Pittston striker Harmon Boyd. "But why were these [gunmen] there with arms if they weren't out for violence?" he asked. The only weapons found at the site were inside the mine area, not on the union pickets.

"People are angry and want to do something," said strike supporter Grimmett. "Unionists are being shot, women and pickets are being hit by trucks, and this has all made the anger increase and tension build."

Grimmett and Cathy Justice are Logan County strike supporters whose husbands are Pittston strikers. "These companies have their guerrilla-trained, armed-and-loaded guards who harass and provoke the men day after day," said Justice.

In the Logan area since the Pittston strike began, one picket shack was set on fire, another was shot up and run down, and another was recently run down and the portable toilet shoved into a creek, she explained. "All the blood shed has been union blood on top of that," she added.

## Companies get away with murder

Justice explained that there are countless out-of-state companies that set up nonunion operations, put the workers in treacherous conditions, then leave in the middle of the night owing back wages — similar to the situation at the mine McCoy was protesting. "It's a disgrace that the state, much less the government, which is supposed to be for the people and by the people, allows this to go on," she stated.

"These companies like A.T. Massey claim



Militant/Roni McCann

Funeral for John McCoy, UMWA member murdered on picket line. "People are angry and want to do something," said one strike activist.

bankruptcy, change the name with the same people overseeing the place, lower the wages, and hire nonunion," she said. "The only explanation is they are trying to bust the union."

Because of this the Pittston strike is very important, she continued. "The union members gave Pittston every chance possible before they struck, and we still hope that it will be settled. But it's not yet." Unfortunately the

only national coverage the strike got recently was when the January 1 tentative agreement was announced, she said. "That just made everybody think the Pittston strike was over."

But strikers remain confident and many are willing to continue to do whatever it takes to win against Pittston. "This union's stronger today than it has been in years," said Pittston striker Boyd.

## Alabama unionists visit Pittston miners' camp

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

CARTERTON, Va. — "Strike supporters continue to demonstrate their solidarity with United Mine Workers of America members by coming into the coalfields with clothes, food, funds, and moral support," the January 12 issue of *Camo-Call* announced. *Camo-Call* is the newsletter of the UMWA miners on strike against Pittston Coal Group.

And we found out about this support firsthand when we arrived here at Camp Solidarity on January 20 from Birmingham, Alabama.

The camp sits in the hills of southwestern Virginia and is the hub of solidarity activity in the 10-month fight against Pittston. Unionists and supporters from across the United States and around the world have visited the camp since it was set up during the June 1989 walkouts by 44,000 union miners in sympathy with the Pittston strikers.

UMWA miners from districts 12 and 2 in Illinois and Pennsylvania, unionists from Sweden, seminary students from the Appalachian Ministries program, teachers from New York, officials from the Miners International Federation, representatives from the antiwar group Mobilization for Survival, and miners from the Soviet Union were some of the Camp Solidarity visitors recently. Miners told us that groups of strike supporters stop in every week.

## Steelworkers visit

Our group was made up of two UMWA members from District 20 and members of the United Steelworkers of America. The

weekend trip was organized by a strike solidarity committee of USWA Local 9226 and activists in Jobs with Justice.

We pulled into the camp on Saturday at 6:00 a.m. and were greeted by Pittston strikers working at the camp on the hoot owl (midnight) shift. As we sat drinking coffee in the camp's kitchen, the striking miners told us of their determination to keep up the fight against Pittston until they win.

Following a few hours sleep and a hearty breakfast prepared by the strikers, we went to the picket lines at Pittston mines in the area.

We spent the afternoon at the home of an activist in the Daughters of Mother Jones, a strike support group, and her husband, a Pittston striker. Along with hundreds of other strikers and supporters, they traveled to Welch, West Virginia, on January 19 for the funeral of UMWA member John McCoy who was murdered on a union picket line.

She told us that there had been very little news coverage of McCoy's murder. If it had been a scab that was killed it would have made national news, she said.

## Strike still on

That evening we returned to the camp to eat dinner with Pittston strikers and supporters. Many told us of the recent tour in Virginia of Soviet miners who visited picket lines and a high school and spent time with Pittston strikers and their families.

We also talked about the strike against Eastern Airlines and the new stage reached in the Machinists fight. Many agreed on the importance of continuing UMWA support for this battle.

As far as their struggle goes, Pittston strikers said, the fight is still on until they have a decent contract and the fines and charges against the union are dropped.

Since a tentative agreement was announced on January 1, negotiations between the UMWA, the courts, and Pittston have been taking place regarding the \$63 million in fines levied against the union. Hundreds of miners face charges for strike activity as well.

Miners are hopeful that the proposed contract is one they can live with. Until they see it, read it, and vote on it, the UMWA strike against Pittston is still on, picket lines are still up, and Camp Solidarity is still open.

Alyson Kennedy is a member of UMWA Local 2368 in Brookwood, Alabama.

## John McCoy: a loyal unionist

John Franklin McCoy, a third generation union miner living in Premier, West Virginia, was 42 years old when he was murdered on a union picket line January 16. He leaves behind his wife, Tonyia, and their two young children, John Jr. and Shannon Nicole.

A 15-year member of the United Mine Workers of America, McCoy had worked for an A.T. Massey subsidiary struck by UMWA Local 1160 five years ago. He was killed while backing up fellow UMWA members in Worth, West Virginia, protesting a nonunion contractor that owed them back wages.

"No one made John go to Worth on Tuesday," said UMWA District 29 officer Roger Yates, speaking at the funeral service. "He went there because there was a

need. John believed in the cause, and this was a good cause."

"That cause will never die, and because it lives, John will not die in vain," said Yates.

A fellow UMWA District 29 member who knew McCoy described him as a loyal unionist. "John supported the struggle against Pittston and before that had been part of the strike against A.T. Massey, when we were fighting for our lives," he said. "Closer to home John helped workers get what they were rightly entitled to in hospital bills and back pay."

A trust fund in McCoy's name is being set up by the UMWA. John was buried January 19 at Iaeger Memorial Cemetery outside of Premier.

## Pennsylvania miners active in coal fights

BY CLARE FRAENZL

EBENSBURG, Pa. — Coal miners in southwestern and central Pennsylvania have been actively backing the 10-month-old strike by the United Mine Workers of America against the Pittston Coal Group. The UMWA activists have built support for the fight among other unionists in this area.

The Pittston coalfield strike in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky became "a rallying point for labor," Nick Molnar, president of UMWA District 2, explained here. Pennsylvania has four UMWA districts. District 2, which covers the central part of the state, is the largest. Molnar described the "monster caravans" that wound down to the Pittston strikers' Camp Solidarity in Virginia. He es-

timated that two-thirds of the 4,500 working miners in the district have visited the camp.

In June 1989 when 44,000 union miners walked out for six weeks supporting the Pittston strike, Pennsylvania miners joined in. They organized roving picket lines and appealed to other workers for support. Workers at steel mills, railroads, power plants, and other factories responded with sympathy actions. UMWA miners held rallies here and in Kittanning and Indiana, Pennsylvania, further to the west.

UMWA member Bill Reynolds heads up District 2's outreach program that was started during the Pittston strike. He described the wellspring of solidarity the mine union won from trade unionists, politicians, and church,

student, and community groups "throughout District 2's boundaries and beyond."

"I was asking for letters of support and protest," said Reynolds. "I'd estimate tens of thousands of dollars in food, clothing, and financial contributions followed unsolicited."

Bruce Davis, president of UMWA Local 1610 here, explained that the Pittston struggle has strengthened his local. The local's members had been working without a contract at Valley Coal Co.'s Mine No. 11 near Alverda since January 1988. Before the June 1989 walkout in support of the Pittston strikers, Davis said, "We couldn't have gone on strike — we didn't have the solidarity." The miners

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# Parties compete for votes in Nicaragua election

BY LARRY SEIGLE

(First of two articles)

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A decade after the revolutionary mobilizations that overthrew the U.S.-supported dictatorship here, working people are observers of an electoral contest pitting the governing Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) against a coalition of parties, financed by Washington, known as the National Opposition Union (UNO).

The campaign is being waged in ways that are familiar and even traditional in countries where bourgeois-democratic rights have existed for some time. But such a contest is still a new experience for Nicaraguans, who during decades of the Somoza family tyranny were denied all fundamental liberties.

On February 25 Nicaraguans will cast votes for president and vice-president. They will also pick 90 members of the National Assembly, the country's legislative body, and

## Governing Sandinistas are up against a coalition backed by Washington.

elect municipal council members in 131 jurisdictions. On the Atlantic Coast, where many of Nicaragua's Blacks and Indians live, regional autonomous governing bodies will also be chosen for the first time.

The Nicaraguan people count the right to vote as one of the conquests of their revolution, and they value it highly. Nearly 90 percent of those eligible to vote have enrolled, many in remote rural areas where just getting to the registration centers is a major effort. The voting age is 16.

### Two-way contest for president

Although there are 10 slates on the ballot, the campaign for president is essentially a contest between the FSLN and UNO. The Sandinista Front has nominated the incumbent president and vice-president, Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez. The UNO candidates are Violeta Chamorro and Virgilio Godoy.

Airwaves are full of campaign ads, and candidates regularly appear on radio and TV. Progovernment and opposition parties alike are busily training poll watchers and participating in the election boards that will handle the balloting. And the major contenders are carrying out a competition of campaign rallies in towns across the country, each seeking to turn out the largest crowds of voters to cheer their candidates.

As the 40,000 members of the Sandinista Front concentrate their energies on the elections, the FSLN is taking on more and more of the characteristics of a conventional electoral party.

In a recent interview with an opposition weekly, *La Crónica*, Sergio Ramírez explained, "These elections are turning us into a real political party, not a closed party or a party with a strict membership but a party that, in appealing for votes, appeals to a different kind of political adherence."

The FSLN, he said, has adopted an approach that is "more political and less ideological" than in the past, replacing the concept of "the masses" with "the individual." The vice-president added, "Voters are individuals, not an amorphous mass."

One aspect of this approach is the FSLN's decision to include on its slates, particularly in the municipal races, prominent figures who are not members of the FSLN. These include some capitalist farmers who have not previously been allied to the Sandinista Front.

"These people have access to specific social sectors that the Sandinista Front as a party in the strict sense" cannot reach, explained Ramírez. Instead of seeing itself as a vanguard organization as it has in the past, the FSLN, he said, is now making "real alliances with different social and political sectors of the country and is determined to give these alliances a strategic character aimed at con-

tributing to a national consensus."

In pursuit of this "national consensus," the FSLN campaign has included a series of meetings, public and private, with capitalist farmers and ranchers as well as small business owners and merchants.

In several encounters with cattle ranchers, including those affiliated to the antigovernment ranchers' association, Daniel Ortega has sought to assure them that the FSLN will not carry out any further expropriations of capitalist holdings. "The agrarian reform is continuing without expropriating producers," he told one group of ranchers in Juigalpa, using the term "producers" to refer to capitalist owners of farms and ranches.

At the same time the president's campaign stops also often feature announcements of government steps to aid artisans and owners of small industrial shops. In one meeting Ortega said the government will provide them with a fund of \$500,000 in hard currency as well as 10 billion córdobas (about \$200,000) to expand production. Preferential low-interest loans will also be made available to them, back debts restructured, and some tax payments waived.

"What future would small artisan manufacturing have with UNO?" Ortega asked. "It would never even occur to them to seek the restructuring or forgiving of a debt, because in their capitalist form of government that is inconceivable."

The FSLN candidate went on, "If you like the democracy that UNO proposes, you have to pay the debt to the bank. Otherwise you lose your land or your cooperative goes under. You don't have a chance."

One campaign event that provoked a sharp response from the capitalist opposition was a Christmas dinner and party for several thousand women domestic workers, hosted by Ortega.

The right-wing daily *La Prensa* reported that "housewives and their husbands" were opposed to their servants attending the party because the FSLN was trying to recruit the workers to spy on their employers. "Some ladies have told their domestic employees in no uncertain terms that if they go to the Front's fiesta, they will automatically be fired," the paper said.

Supporters of the FSLN gleefully opened fire. "The oligarchy is livid!" headlined the pro-government *El Nuevo Diario*. At the event Ortega said that if any of the women were fired, the Ministry of Labor would give them "all the support necessary" to get their jobs back.

He vowed that "every year from now on" there would be a similar party for domestic servants. Ortega also told the women that if they study hard they won't have to be servants for the rest of their lives. "Domestic workers have the right to improve themselves and to aspire to another position," he said.

Among the most important organized forces supporting the FSLN candidates are the major unions, which are throwing their



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Rally to launch Sandinista Front's election campaign in December in Managua. Banners read "Daniel [Ortega], the peace president" and "Daniel, president of the youth."

resources into the campaign, hoping to deliver a big vote of union members and other workers.

In an interview with the union newspaper *Trinchera*, Lucio Jiménez of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) explained, "Since the beginning of the campaign the unions as such have had a strategy not just to win votes for the FSLN but also to gain influence in the new Sandinista government.

"If the working class participates actively in the electoral process, it will have a right to participate in a militant way in the subsequent stage."

Union leaders have sought to avoid confrontations with management during the election campaign, and in most cases workers have accepted this.

At the Plásticos Modernos factory in Managua, where workers staged a factory occupation last September to defend their rights, the struggle has been put on hold. No more job actions are planned "at least until after the elections," said Heliberto Solórzano, president of the CST local there.

The factory owners are supporters of UNO. "They told us that after UNO wins in February they are going to get rid of the union," Solórzano said. "But we know that the FSLN is going to win, and then we'll continue to raise our demands for better conditions not just here in the factory, but also for a new labor code." The current labor law dates from the days of the overthrown Somoza dictatorship, and the unions have been pressing for a new one.

According to the CST's Jiménez, "We were asked for an electoral truce, because we might jeopardize the stability of the enterprises or even of the country. This presented no difficulties for us because we had already resolved a great many problems, and those that remained will be reconquered."

Jiménez predicted that "almost certainly" 70 percent of the workers will vote for the FSLN.

According to Edgardo García, president of the Rural Workers Association (ATC), "We agricultural workers are overwhelmingly Sandinistas. But at the same time we have workers who look to their boss's party or to the Conservatives." He added, "I would say that in the ranks of the union there is pluralism of party affiliation, with a Sandinista majority."

### 'Everything will be better'

The main slogan of the Ortega-Ramírez campaign is "With Daniel as president, everything will be better." The catchphrase is intended to sum up the FSLN's contention that its victory in the elections will demonstrate to world opinion the legitimacy of the Nicaraguan government. Washington will then be forced to stop funding the contras and move rapidly toward ending its trade embargo and efforts to block international loans and investment in Nicaragua.

"The polarization that exists inside Nicaragua right now is going to disappear immediately after the elections," Ortega said at a recent news conference. "And the polarization that the United States has provoked on the international level also will ease."

"This will automatically open new sources of financing for Nicaragua," he added, predicting that loans and investment will become available from Western European countries as well as from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

By delivering a sweeping victory to Ortega and Ramírez, FSLN campaigners say, Nicaraguans can thus create the conditions for new economic growth, guaranteeing that "everything will be better."

### Scrutinized election

Part of this approach is the decision by the FSLN and the government to try to prove to the satisfaction of Nicaragua's critics that the elections are fair and honest, by inviting a large number of election "observers" from abroad. The government agreed to this in negotiations among the five Central American presidents begun in 1987.

The Organization of American States already has a team of 91 official observers here. A United Nations contingent that will grow to 200 full-time monitors by election day is headed by Elliot Richardson, a prominent U.S. politician and former secretary of defense. Former president James Carter has a group of 10 observers from the Carter Center and has made several trips here on behalf of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of State, which is financed in part by the U.S. Congress.

On a visit to Nicaragua in December, Carter said he has seen no signs yet that the elections are not going to be honest. But, he warned, if the elections don't satisfy "international opinion," there "will be no reason

Continued on next page



Militant/Larry Seigle  
Former U.S. president James Carter (right) at December 13 news conference in Managua to discuss his role as "observer" of Nicaraguan elections.

# Defense Minister Ortega responds to questions on Central America summit

An agreement signed by Nicaragua and four other Central American governments in December has been the subject of controversy.

Among other provisions, the accord called on the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador to "immediately and effectively cease its hostilities" and "publicly renounce all types of violent actions" that may affect civilians. It also urged immediate steps "toward the demobilization of the FMLN" and expressed "decisive support of Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani and his government."

In responding to the agreement reached by the five governments, the leadership of the FMLN stated, "We reject the declaration of the Central American presidents with indignation because it runs contrary to the trend of the international community and to the outrages of all the democratic and social forces and churches of El Salvador."

"This declaration unconditionally supports the principal violator of human rights of the region: a government that has assassinated and persecuted the religious community and bombed its civilian population." (See the Dec. 22, 1989 *Militant* for further details on the accord and the FMLN's response.)

On December 20 and 21, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), *Barricada*, published a two-part interview with Humberto Ortega, the minister of defense, about the accords. We are publishing here the second half of the interview, in which Ortega responds to questions and criticisms about the provisions dealing with El Salvador.

The series of accords that have been reached by the five governments over the past two-and-a-half years are referred to by the names of the towns where meetings were held. In August 1987, the first such agreement was reached in Esquipulas, a Guatemalan town. An August 1989 pact was signed in Tela, Honduras. The agreement discussed by Humberto Ortega was signed at a summit meeting in San Isidro Coronado, Costa Rica.

The translation and subheadings are by the *Militant*.

\* \* \*

**Question.** In the communiqué, the Nicaraguan government, along with the governments of Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala, supports the Cristiani government of El Salvador. Does this mean politically endorsing a regime termed genocidal a few days earlier?

**Answer.** We have relations with Cristiani's government, and progress was made in lessening diplomatic tensions. What the communiqué expresses is recognition of the government that exists in El Salvador. Like it or not, the reality is that this is the government of El Salvador.

It is similar to the problem Nicaragua faces with the United States. We continue to hold

that government responsible for what happens in Nicaragua, but we don't fall into the extreme position of breaking diplomatic relations because that doesn't solve the problems.

**Q.** But doesn't recognizing the existence of that government mean giving it support after it has been accused of bombing the civilian population and assassinating priests?

**A.** At no time have we supported the crimes and the bombing. President Cristiani came before the other heads of state to offer an explanation for that situation and propose solutions. Having succeeded in reaching agreement on other substantive points in the accords leading to a solution, it was logical that Cristiani's willingness to resolve the problem be reflected in the accords.

## 'Solution of El Salvador question'

The Central American presidents' support is for the basic aspects, constituting support for the existence of that government, but not necessarily giving support to the bombings, the crimes, and the excesses of that government.

The issue was to move on to more substantive points in order to contribute to the solution of the El Salvador question.

**Q.** Specifically in terms of human rights, the document does not condemn the violations of any government, but implicitly blames the FMLN for such violations in demanding that it not carry out actions that endanger the civilian population.

**A.** Nicaragua has been in the forefront of fighting in various forums against human rights violations, not only in El Salvador, but in other countries as well.

The fact that it was necessary to avoid a condemnation of Cristiani's government for the sake of salvaging the peace process and reaching substantive accords seems to me explicable. They also wanted to make a series of accusations against Nicaragua, which were unjust and therefore rapidly collapsed. But the opposition could have insisted on them in order to boycott the accords. What is important is that this took place in the framework of an advance that will help both Nicaragua and El Salvador have complete peace.

## Insurgent movements

With respect to the violent actions that affect the civilian population, ever since the Esquipulas accords and later in the Tela accords, we have supported a position with regard to insurgent or irregular movements. Whether or not we like the governments that exist in the region, it is not legitimate for any government to support such forces against another government.

We cannot appeal for an end to the war here in Nicaragua, for irregular groups not to use violence, and for civilian and economic targets not to be attacked in our country, while maintaining that it is valid to do this against another government. This would be a problem for us. What the communiqué does is ratify an earlier position.

Now, if the Salvadoran guerrillas consider this to be a just form of struggle, that is them. As a government, we cannot support it. What we do is offer moral and political solidarity to the just cause of the peoples against their oppressors and against the excesses and abject domination they are subjected to.

These were difficult negotiations, in which confidence was placed in the word and political commitments of President Cristiani, who we know very well is surrounded by extremists. However, there are also people in his government who do not agree with the terrorist acts.

**Q.** You discussed Nicaragua's responsibilities as a government. How is this compatible with the policies of a revolutionary government that has a vocation of solidarity and certain principles?

**A.** It is precisely because we have principles that we behave responsibly. Once we have constituted ourselves as a government, just causes are supported through established international norms. If we were a guerrilla movement we would have a greater right to



Militant/Judy White

In an interview given to *Barricada*, daily paper of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega (above) defended his government's position in recently signed Central America accords.

say many things, but we would not help much.

**A.** It is necessary to know how to apply principles according to the given circumstances. In San Isidro Coronado we were looking for a way to advance the peace process as a whole. To do this, and also to benefit El Salvador, we had to move forward by first of all salvaging the peace process and strengthening Nicaragua's position. This was accomplished.

**Q.** Do you think this was also accomplished by adopting the commitment to negotiations in El Salvador with the FMLN, while at the same time giving support to the Cristiani government?

**A.** We did not go to San José to negotiate as spokesmen for the FMLN. Like it or not, we went there to negotiate among governments. If instead it had been a meeting of 21 countries — of the OAS [Organization of American States] or the Movement of Non-aligned Countries — to discuss El Salvador and point to the need to condemn the violations, our government would have a greater right to make a declaration on what it considers wrong. But in this case what was being sought was not that the four governments put Cristiani on trial, but to make progress on substantive matters for the sake of peace.

At the negotiating table you win some things and you lose some. The basic principle is to give some to gain some. But you have to know how to act with moderation so you don't suffer a strategic loss. We negotiated with our conscience at ease and with high morale.

**Q.** How important and how viable do you think the commitment is to opening negotiations between the FMLN and the Cristiani government with United Nations mediation?

**A.** Asking the UN secretary general to participate in negotiations between the government and FMLN is unquestionably a big accomplishment. This point had not achieved concrete shape before.

President Daniel Ortega accomplished this in negotiations in which he necessarily had to agree to President Cristiani's earlier proposals. In turn, the presidential accords recognize the FMLN as a reality in El Salvador, without which there can be no stability in the country.

**Q.** What is the specific mandate in the accords on the demobilization of the FMLN, and how is demobilization of the FMLN likened to or distinguished from demobilization of the contras?

**A.** Reading the document could give a mistaken picture of symmetry between the

contras and the FMLN that in reality does not exist.

With regard to the contras, a demobilization order exists that was ratified by the five presidents, while the call for the demobilization of the Salvadoran guerrilla movement is directly linked to beginning a process of dialogue with the government.

## Mechanisms for demobilization

When the Tela accords were signed there was discussion of using the mechanism for demobilizing the contras to demobilize insurgent movements. The CIAV [International Support and Verification Commission] would have to talk with the FMLN, and the FMLN would — as it has explained — propose a discussion of the causes of the war through a political dialogue with the government, which would also include participation by the UN. Insofar as concrete agreements may be reached, progress would be made in defining demobilization.

In the case of the contras, neither a dialogue nor a cease-fire is proposed because everyone understands that there is nothing to be discussed politically. This is even more so now since the democratic climate in our country has strengthened with the elections, a fact that has been certified internationally.

In contrast, a process of political negotiation, backed by the UN, is yet to begin in El Salvador.

**Q.** What is your reaction to the point made by some that the Sandinista Front sacrificed its solidarity with the FMLN in exchange for an agreement on the departure of the contras?

**A.** There can be different points of view on concrete questions between armed revolutionary movements and the Sandinista government. We cannot be expected to behave in the same way as a guerrilla movement that has no state commitments. The fact that there are differences should not be cause for alarm.

## Policy of solidarity

Our policy of solidarity with peoples that fight for their freedom and independence will never be in question. But that solidarity must be expressed within the norms of coexistence with other governments.

We have made no commitment to renounce our solidarity with the Salvadoran people. We have pushed the peace process forward, helping the Salvadorans resolve their problem by achieving an agreement for the FMLN to negotiate with the Cristiani government through the UN. It is not we, the Sandinistas, who are going to resolve the Salvadorans' problems. To think this would be to not recognize the capabilities, skill, and right to self-determination of the Salvadorans.

## Nicaragua election

**Continued from previous page**  
to cut off funding for the contras." Last year Carter gave the elections in El Salvador a seal of approval.

Rarely have elections in a sovereign country been subjected to this form of outside intervention. The "observers" are scrutinizing and passing judgment on every aspect of Nicaraguan political life, down to the tone used in campaign statements and whether the local press coverage is fair.

According to Richardson, "the lack of objectivity" in the news media "reaches extremes that are difficult to imagine." At a Managua press conference in January, he was particularly critical of the government-owned media. He contrasted the situation here to that in the United States where, he said, "government officials have no power whatsoever over what may be said or how it is said in the press."

As the FSLN advances its proposals for national consensus, it is also seeking to politically discredit UNO by continually stressing its links to the contras and to Washington. That will be taken up in next week's article.

**Q.** You discussed Nicaragua's responsibilities as a government. How is this compatible with the policies of a revolutionary government that has a vocation of solidarity and certain principles?

**A.** It is precisely because we have principles that we behave responsibly. Once we have constituted ourselves as a government, just causes are supported through established international norms. If we were a guerrilla movement we would have a greater right to

# Kurds in Sweden face official harassment

## Secret police detain refugees on suspicion of 'terrorism'

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — In recent months, new opportunities have opened up to broaden the fight for democratic rights for Kurdish immigrants living in Sweden, who have long been victims of discrimination and harassment.

Some 10,000 Kurds live in Sweden now, many from Turkish Kurdistan. The Kurds are a nationality of 20 million people who live in a contiguous area known as Kurdistan, which is divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the Soviet Union. After the 1980 military coup in Turkey, repression in that country escalated, including against the Kurds. Arrests, imprisonment, and executions were common, forcing thousands of Kurds to flee to Western Europe. Many settled in Sweden.

After the coup in Turkey, the Swedish and other Western European governments filed charges in the European Court of Human Rights charging the Turkish military junta with violations of human rights.

In 1983 parliamentary elections were held in Turkey, under military supervision. Two years later the charges that had been filed against Turkey by the Swedish and other governments were withdrawn.

As relations with the Turkish government thawed, the Swedish corporation ASEA got a contract to build a subway in Istanbul. West German and British companies also reached trade and manufacturing agreements with the Turkish government.

### Kurds arrested, detained

Beginning in 1984 SÄPO, the Swedish secret police, stepped up its operations against Kurds in Sweden, including slandering the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as a terrorist organization.

In June 1984 a Kurdish immigrant, Enver Ata, was murdered in Uppsala. Another Kurd was convicted for his murder. Two months later the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* reported that, while investigating Ata's murder, the West German police had found a "death list" that included the names of three Kurds living in Sweden.

This led to the arrest of 20 Kurds in Sweden. Eight were held for three months and questioned by the secret police. Ismet Celepli, one of those detained, said that most of the cops' questions were about the PKK, not the murder in Uppsala. The Kurds were offered money and "protection" if they would provide information about the PKK's "terrorist" activities.

### Placed under 'town arrest'

When they were released from police custody, nine of the Kurds including Celepli were denied the right to leave the town where they lived. The government based the "town arrests" on a 1973 "antiterrorist" law. The Kurds have to report to the police station three times a week and are not allowed to change jobs or where they live without permission. Many have broken these rules in protest and been sentenced to jail for up to two months.

Although they have never had a trial, the nine Kurds were branded as "terrorists," based on secret "information" from SÄPO.

After going on a hunger strike in 1985, the Kurds were promised by the government that restrictions on them would be eased. Editorials in several newspapers urged that the Kurds be given the right to a trial.

Later in 1985, Cetin Gungör, another Kurdish immigrant, was murdered in Stockholm. Within hours, SÄPO publicly blamed the PKK for his death. Again, someone was found guilty of the murder, but no proof was ever found that he had any connection with the PKK.

### Olof Palme assassination

Following Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme's assassination in February 1986, many feared that the PKK, Kurds, and immigrants in general could be blamed for his death.

Even before the murder, a "secret" police document cited in one Swedish daily said the PKK had threatened Palme's life. One police official qualified this charge by saying the threats came only "from individual members" of the PKK. No proof of any kind was ever forthcoming, however.

Despite this, the charges reappeared in the *Svenska Dagbladet* in March 1986. "The

police are hunting PKK Kurds with a blowtorch," one cop told the paper.

A week after Palme's murder, the house of Ismet Celepli, one of the Kurds under town arrest, was searched by the police. Celepli was taken to the police station and questioned. Although he was released, harassment against him and his family and friends continued. Most of the other Kurds under town arrest were treated similarly.

### Holmér's 'theory'

In summer 1986, the police chief in charge of the investigation of Palme's murder, Hans Holmér, came up with a theory that the murderer had been the result of a conspiracy by a terrorist organization operating in Europe, with contacts in Sweden. Although he never openly said he meant the PKK, information leaked to newspapers pointed to the PKK and the Kurdish immigrant community. Harassment of Kurds in Sweden escalated.

The Kurdish bookstore in Stockholm became a special target for the police, who had it under constant surveillance. It was later revealed that the cops had the store bugged.

In the fall Holmér made plans to arrest 50 Kurds in Stockholm, although opposition from the government prosecutor blocked the move at the time.

But in January 1987, the police — with the knowledge of Justice Minister Sten Wickbom — arrested 20 people in Stockholm, 12 of them Kurds, in connection with the Palme murder. Some were quickly released as the prosecutors could find no reason to keep them in custody. Three Kurds were detained for a week until a court order released them.

At this point Holmér's witch-hunt began to backfire. Nothing of any use in solving Palme's murder came out of the arrests. Holmér and later the minister of justice were forced to resign.

In summer 1988 it was revealed that a secret group — with the backing of the new justice minister, Anna-Greta Lejon — had continued the investigation of the PKK and

the Kurdish community.

The group was financed by the capitalist Thomas Fischer and led by Ebbe Carlsson, a publisher with connections to the government and Holmér. Also involved were two secret police agents.

Carlsson had his own fantastic theory. The Iranian government, he said, had promised the PKK an independent nation for the Kurds if they could get rid of Social Democratic Prime Minister Palme, who was supposedly an obstacle to the Iranians buying weapons and ammunition from Swedish armaments companies. The "Ebbe gang," as it was known, continued to carry out illegal surveillance of Kurdish immigrants.

The whole story of the gang was exposed when a member of the group was caught smuggling bugging equipment. The new minister of justice then had to resign, followed by the national police chief and the head of SÄPO. Several of those involved are facing trials.

### Fight for democratic rights

The divisions in Sweden's ruling circles over how far to go in restricting democratic rights and over the treatment of the Kurds has created an opening for Kurdish activists and their supporters to step up the fight against the systematic harassment they have faced.

For example, Kurdish lawyer Hüseyin Yıldırım has announced that the Kurds who have been subjected to bugging are going to sue the police.

Last March the Kurds under town arrest were able to get their case to the Swedish supreme court. At the time, support and sympathy for the Kurds was increasing. Iraq's murderous poison gas attacks against the Kurds in 1988 during the Iraq-Iran war and a visit to Kurdish refugee camps in Turkey by a group of Swedish members of parliament helped make clear the oppressive conditions the Kurds are facing.

Although the supreme court did not rule the town arrests unconstitutional, the case of

the Kurds became much more widely known. The Swedish section of the International Juridical Organization, Red Cross, and many prominent people in Sweden are demanding that the town arrests be lifted. A recent report by Amnesty International condemned the Swedish government for keeping the Kurds under such arrest without a trial.

Last September the arrests for two of the Kurds were lifted. For two others the town arrests were changed to "county" arrests.

Two of the Kurds who are still under town arrest recently told the *Dagens Nyheter* that the government was trying to pressure them to take their distance from the PKK as a precondition for lifting their confinement. Although they are not members of the PKK, they said, they are sympathetic to the national liberation struggle the PKK is waging in Kurdistan.

Hans-Göran Frank, a member of parliament from the Social Democratic Party, has won broad support from other MPs for a motion demanding that the Swedish government protest in the European Parliament "the extensive torture that exists in Turkey."

If that doesn't bring any results, the resolution demands that the Swedish government file charges in the European Parliament against Turkey for human rights violations.

The divisions over democratic rights were also reflected by the release and acquittal several months ago of Krister Pettersson by an appeals court. Pettersson had been convicted in July 1989 of Palme's murder. The appeals court held that there was inadequate evidence to convict Pettersson.

Meanwhile, the Kurds who are still under town arrest plan a "trial" — the trial they are denied — to gain broader publicity and support for their case.

Kurdish activists are also supporting other fights for democratic rights. The Kurdish national organization in Sweden, Kurdiska Riksförbundet, is an endorser of imprisoned U.S. trade union and political activist Mark Curtis' defense campaign, as is Hans-Göran Frank.

## Gov't threatens to deport asylum-seekers

BY BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Immediately after morning services on New Year's Eve, several churches around the country were occupied in protest of the Swedish government's new immigration policies, which amount to martial law against refugees, the protesters say. They plan to stay in the churches until the government overturns its December 14 decision making it more difficult for refugees to win asylum here.

The new regulations are an adaptation of rules governing asylum applications in the rest of Europe. In Denmark similar guidelines were adopted three years ago. The immediate effect was to reduce the number of refugees entering Denmark from 10,000 in 1986 to only 2,700 in 1987.

Sweden has long been a sanctuary for refugees fleeing war and repression in their own countries — Chileans, Turkish Kurds, Salvadorans, U.S. draft resisters, and others. The government's decision, which is retroactive, means that three out of four people now waiting for asylum will be thrown out of the country. This translates into some 15,000–20,000 people.

The only refugees who will be accepted are those fulfilling the UN criteria for political refugee status. Those who have moved to Sweden to escape the ravages of war or for other reasons cannot count on asylum anymore.

"The decision is a scandal," said Sven Severin, vicar at the Maria Church, which is one of the sites of the protest. "It is unworthy of a rich country to throw out thousands of people."

Anita Doratzio, one of the leaders of the action, explained, "We know how extremely difficult it is to get into this country. Once you have managed that, then you have already met the criteria for refugee status."

Refugees who enter the country are placed in a camp. There they wait, often for as long as two years, before getting documents. Until the documents are granted, people may stay

in the country but can do nothing. They get a roof over their heads and a small amount of money to manage on.

Many refugees have joined the actions in the churches. But those at the Gotland camp are being threatened with the loss of their place in the camp and their allowance. "I am only following the rules," says Ulf Hopstadius, who is in charge of the camp.

Maj-Lis Lööv, the Social Democratic min-

ister in charge of immigrant and refugee questions, says, "The decision to limit asylum rights was difficult but necessary. The actions in the churches will not change anything."

Many organizations are supporting the actions, including a national group called Stop Racism, the Refugee and Asylum Committees Council, and the Iranian Refugee Council. The archbishop of the Swedish state church also supports the church occupations.

### JUST REISSUED

## New International

A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

*New International* is reissuing the six issues of the magazine that have appeared since it was founded in 1983. No. 1 featuring "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today," No. 3 with "Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government," No. 5 with "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," and No. 6 with "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" and "Cuba's Rectification Process: Two Speeches by Fidel Castro" are already available. Numbers 2 and 4 will be reprinted soon. Use the form below to order your copies.

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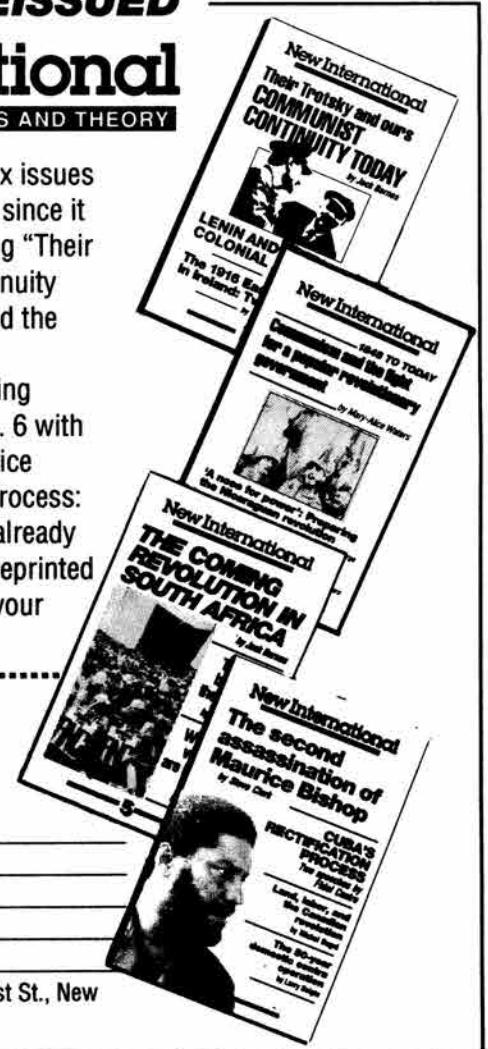
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# Pan Africanists launch rival to ANC-led movement

BY GREG McCARTAN

The months-long wave of protests in South Africa have battered the apartheid regime and opened space for organizations to regroup and openly espouse their political viewpoints.

While most anti-apartheid groups have affiliated to the United Democratic Front and the newly emerged and aptly named Mass Democratic Movement, one new formation has taken a sharply different course. At a December 2 conference in Soweto the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) was launched. Established as a rival to the UDF and Mass Democratic Movement, it is regarded as a legal internal front for the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

The general secretary of the PAM, Benny Alexander, told a *New York Times* correspondent that "a lot of people are disillusioned not with the struggle itself, but with the way it has been waged."

Alexander was referring to the pointed differences the PAM and PAC have with the leadership of the anti-apartheid struggle on central questions in South African politics.

The struggle to bring down apartheid has become synonymous with the African National Congress and mass organizations inside South Africa that look to it for leadership — the UDF, the Congress of South African

following the launching of the group. "We believe there is a tiny minority [of whites] who sympathize with our cause. But we believe that this tiny minority can never liberate us."

Press reports from the PAM gathering say a popular chant at the meeting was "One settler — one bullet." Whites are considered settlers by the PAM and PAC.

Serame Molefe, president of the PAM-affiliated Azanian National Youth Unity, explained at a press conference in November, "Every inch of Europe belongs to Europeans. Every inch of Africa belongs to the sons and daughters of Africa."

The PAM founding congress preceded a broadly representative meeting on December 9 called the Congress for a Democratic Future. It was organized by the Mass Democratic Movement.

At that meeting 4,600 delegates representing 2,100 organizations with a combined membership of 15 million South Africans of all races, discussed, debated, and adopted resolutions charting a course of action for the continued fight against apartheid.

After having said they would participate in the conference, the PAM withdrew from attending the meeting.

Reversing a decision by its governing National Council, the PAC-influenced National Council of Trade Unions leadership announced just prior to the conference that it would also not attend. Eight Nactu-affiliated unions sent representatives anyway. The general secretary of Nactu, Piroshaw Camay, resigned his position December 1 and also attended the conference.

## Decades-long dispute

The refusal of the PAM and PAC to participate in the broader campaigns of the anti-apartheid movement flows from the decades-old disagreement with the perspectives of the ANC.

At the heart of the dispute is the Freedom Charter. The document was adopted in 1955 by a broad and representative congress initiated by the ANC. It is a democratic program that seeks to unite and mobilize the broadest possible forces in a revolutionary struggle aimed at the destruction of the white supremacist state and the conquest of power by the working people.

The charter states, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." It says that "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people."

Those who split from the ANC to form the PAC counterposed the charter's perspectives to their notion of "Africanism," which meant Africans only. They turned away from the course of seeking allies among all races and all progressive classes for the struggle for national liberation.

By joining together with whites and those labeled Coloured and Indian by the regime, the ANC had become "self-confessed lackeys and flunkies of the white ruling class and the Indian merchant class," the PAC said.

The PAM repeats the same charges today. Alexander told the press that his movement had to safeguard the "genuine aspirations of" nonwhite South Africans.

The other central issue raised by PAC and PAM is the redistribution of land to landless Blacks.

An underpinning of the apartheid system has been the systematic robbing of land from Blacks. Their cattle, tools, and land — both individual and communal — have been forcibly expropriated from them. Blacks do not have the right to own land under apartheid.

The Freedom Charter calls for sharing the land "among all those who work it" and outlines necessary aspects of a fundamental land reform, including ending racial restrictions to land ownership.

The PAM objects, saying this would mean sharing land with whites. PAM President Makwetu said following its founding meeting, "They [the ANC] talk of land being left in the hands of those who use it."

"We would like all resources to be enjoyed by the majority and not the minority," he added.



As the recent wave of protests inside South Africa spread, demands that the regime lift restrictions and begin negotiations with the liberation groups mounted. Pan Africanist forces refused to join in the calls for talks.



## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

### Plans for anti-Cuba TV station denounced

Filmmakers, critics, journalists, and others participating in the 11th International Festival of New Latin American Cinema held in Havana, Cuba, December 4-17 denounced Washington's plans for television broadcasting aimed at Cuba.

The station, called TV Martí by the U.S. government, was originally to begin broadcasting from Florida last November. A four-month trial run is now scheduled to begin in late January.

The Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* reports that hundreds of regional cinema figures signed a statement labeling the station as "an unprecedented act in the region, explicitly destined to undermine the cultural and political sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba."

Among those joining the protest was U.S. actor and singer Harry Belafonte. He said that instead of launching TV Martí, an "atmosphere of dialogue" should be created between the United States and Cuba.

The *Granma* article also noted the "growing opposition to the U.S. plan in various sectors" in Cuba, including a forum of journalism students at the University of Havana.

The Cuban government is developing plans to electronically block the transmissions. Several government ministries announced in December that a device had been developed that causes a "considerable degree of deterioration of the enemy signal and thereby defeats this effort to impose an electronic Platt Amendment on our country."

The Platt Amendment, used to justify Washington's intervention in Cuban affairs, was forcibly written into the Cuban constitution by the U.S. government in the early part of this century.

### Indian gov't rejects Union Carbide pact

The newly elected government in India announced that it would seek to overturn the settlement for victims of the 1984 toxic gas leak from the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal.

The \$470 million settlement that was agreed to by the former government of Rajiv Gandhi was not enough to compensate victims of the disaster, the governing National Front's law minister Dinesh Goswami said.

At least 5,000 people were killed and thousands more were injured by the release of the deadly gas.

National Front leaders during the recent election campaign criticized Gandhi for the terms of the settlement with the U.S.-based Union Carbide. Part of the settlement, Goswami said, prohibits victims of the gas leak from seeking full redress under the law. Another provision granted criminal immunity to Union Carbide executives.

Six years since the disaster the victims have still not received any compensation from Union Carbide. Doctors involved in the effort say many of those injured will receive nothing because of the difficulty in proving their ailment is caused by damage done by the toxic gas.

Union Carbide has posted gains in sales and earnings the past three years. Last year, when the settlement was announced, the company took a one-time charge of 43 cents per share to cover the costs of the agreement with the Gandhi government.

### Martial law lifted in China, 800 sentenced

Martial law was lifted for the first time in China's capital of Beijing since the crushing of the student-led protests last spring.

A wave of demonstrations swept the country between April and early June, focused in Beijing's Tienanmen Square, demanding freedom of the press and other democratic rights, an end to corruption, and other changes. Up to a million people participated at the height of the protests.

The military suppression of the peaceful protests resulted in the deaths of hundreds of students and others. Hundreds were rounded up and jailed. Some were sentenced to death and executed.

While the Bush administration publicly announced it had cut off contact with the Beijing regime following the quashing of the student actions, it was revealed in December that a high-level secret delegation was sent to meet with the Chinese leadership in early July.

The delegation returned in December to again urge the Chinese officials to lift martial law prior to the U.S. Congress reconvening at the end of January. Some legislators had threatened to press for tighter sanctions against China during the session.

At the same time the *Washington Post* reports that 800 people have been sentenced to prison terms in recent months for "counterrevolutionary" crimes.

Students involved in the protests received sentences of up to 10 years for posting antigovernment leaflets. While trials and sentencing of some participants last summer were widely covered in the Chinese press, little information has been reported recently on any cases.

### Blaize, prime minister of Grenada, dies

The governor general of Grenada, Paul Scoon, dissolved the country's Parliament and appointed a new prime minister in late December.

The events followed the death of Prime Minister Herbert Blaize. Ben Jones, Blaize's top deputy in the National Party, was appointed to fill the vacant post.

With the dissolution of Parliament, elections are constitutionally required before the end of March.

In 1960, prior to independence, Blaize was appointed chief minister of the country by the British government. Following the 1983 overthrow of the revolutionary government led by Maurice Bishop and the subsequent U.S. invasion, Blaize led a U.S.-backed coalition party in the 1984 elections that won 14 of the 15 parliamentary seats. Since then he served as prime minister.

Scoon urged the people of Grenada to "behave with responsibility, decency, and as true Grenadians for peace, stability, and prosperity of this country."

## Pan Africanist Movement voices disagreements with ANC on key issues.

Trade Unions (COSATU), and the Mass Democratic Movement. Most of the mass organizations take the Freedom Charter, a document outlining the goals of the liberation struggle, as their guiding document.

The PAC was formed by ANC members who left the organization in 1959 because of their opposition to the perspectives of the Freedom Charter. It continued to play a role after both it and the ANC were banned in 1960, but by the end of the 1970s had little following inside the country.

The group did maintain international diplomatic support from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. Both recognize the ANC and PAC as representatives of the people of South Africa.

The disagreements articulated by the PAM and PAC leaders today focus on the redistribution of land, the terms of negotiation with the apartheid regime, inclusion of whites in the anti-apartheid organizations, and the place of whites in post-apartheid South Africa.

### Stand on negotiations

The PAC rejected recent moves by the anti-apartheid movement that established a framework for negotiations with the apartheid regime. "If others want to throw in the towel, they can do so," said PAC President Zephania Mothopeng.

The PAC president made this statement in September following the adoption by the OAU in Harare, Zimbabwe, of what became known as the Harare Declaration. The declaration demands the regime free all political prisoners, lift the ban on restricted or illegal groups, and end the state of emergency.

After taking these steps the regime must negotiate directly with the liberation organizations. Until this is done, an intensified anti-apartheid campaign should be launched internationally, the declaration concludes.

The ANC supported the document and urged its adoption. The PAC initially supported the declaration, but came out against it following the Harare meeting.

Another PAC leader said, "We are in a revolution, not the game of opportunism. A call to a negotiated settlement is nothing more than a call to surrender."

Negotiations are not possible until the apartheid regime recognizes "One man, one vote . . . and the redistribution of resources. And in this regard, land is primary," Alexander was quoted as saying in mid-November by the South African Press Agency.

The president of the PAM, Clarence Mlamli Makwetu, told the *New York Times*

# CALENDAR

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Defend Mark Curtis!** Speakers: Eddie Carthan, first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, farmer, and victim of racist frame-up; Kate Kaku, leader Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Michele Wilson, action vice-president Alabama National Organization for Women; Rev. Abraham Woods, president Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Spiver Gordon, Eutaw city councilman; Colonel Stone Johnson, civil rights activist; Bobby Singleton, Greensboro youth activist; Jane Christian, peace and justice activist; John Zippert, copublisher *Greene County Democrat*. Sun., Jan. 28, 6 p.m. St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Parish Hall, 1180 11th Ave. S. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Communists and the Labor Movement.** A class by Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Jan. 28, 2 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Berkeley

**Venceremos.** Premier showing of video produced by Gail Dolgin on 13th annual International Youth Camp in Cuba. Sun., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. La Peña, 3105 Shattuck Ave. Benefit for Venceremos Video Project. Donation: \$5. For more information call (415) 548-6521.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Defend Mark Curtis!** Banquet and rally. Speakers: Penny Gardner, president Dade County National Organization for Women; Chris Kirchner, teacher at Jackson High School; Roland Rolle, president A. Philip Randolph Institute; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 3. Banquet, 6 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**What Is Behind the Soviet Crackdown in Azerbaijan?** Speaker to be announced. Sat., Feb. 3. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video produced by Nick Castle. Speakers: Eddie Carthan, first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, farmer, and victim of racist frame-up; Alfredo Alvarez, former chairperson Des Moines Human Rights Commission; Merle Hansen, farm activist; Imam Ako Abdul-Samad, community activist; Gil Sierra, former Davenport alderman and board member Iowa Civil Liberties Union; Rita Melagares, leader of Francisco "Kiko" Martínez Defense Committee. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Park Inn, 1050 6th Ave., top floor. Sponsor: Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Why the Right to Choose Is a Union Issue.**

Speakers: Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 454; others. Sat., Jan. 27. Dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video produced by Nick Castle. Speakers: Alfredo Alvarez, former chairman Des Moines Human Rights Commission; Rev. Oliver White, president St. Paul Black Ministerial Alliance; Andy Dawkins, state representative; Jewelean Jackson, Twin Cities Committee Against Racism; Gerardo Sanchez, former director La Raza Cultural Center, University of Minnesota. Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. Camphor United Methodist Church, 585 Fuller Ave. Sponsor: Minnesota supporters of Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**The New Stage in the Eastern and Pittston Strikes: Solidarity Can Bring Victory.** Panel of strikers. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**The Crisis of Stalinism in Eastern Europe.** Speaker: Peter Thierjung, *Militant* staff writer. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Tribute to José Martí.** Program will include talk by José Antonio Arbezu, chief of Cuban Interests Section in the U.S. Fri., Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m. Casa de las Américas, 104 W 14th St. For more information call (212) 675-2584.

**Dedication at the Statue of José Martí.** Sun., Jan. 28, 1 p.m. Central Park at 6th Ave. and 59th St. Sponsor: Casa de las Américas. For more information call (212) 675-2584.

**Popular Culture in Nicaragua Since the 1979 Revolution.** Speaker: Carlos Sánchez, former director of centers of popular culture in León, Nicaragua. Mon., Jan. 29, 7 p.m. Gallery PPOW, 532 Broadway, 3rd floor. Sponsor: Ventana.

### New York City

**Beyond the News.** Hosted by Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop. Every Wed., 7-7:30 p.m. WBAI 99.5 FM.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

**In Defense of Socialism.** A discussion on the book of speeches by Fidel Castro. Speakers: Joy Hintz, chairperson Citizens Concerned for Peace in Central America; Selo Thole, South African student; representative of Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Pittsburgh

**The Fight Against Antilabor Disruption.** Victory against 10-year harassment suit by Alan

## During Black History Month . . .

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**Namibia on the Road to Independence.** Speaker: Selva Nebbia, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Freedom Struggle in Namibia and South Africa.** Panel of speakers and excerpts of Cuban documentary *Response to the South African Escalation*. Sun., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Blacks in U.S. Wars.** Sat., Feb. 3, 7 p.m. 9 E Chelten Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

**The Civil Rights Movement: What It Was and What It Won.** Sat., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 9 E Chelten Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

**Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary.** Sat., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. 9 E Chelten Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

**South Africa: The Defiance Campaign.** Sat., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 9 E Chelten Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 848-5044.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Celebrate the 78th Anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa.** Speakers: Lindiwe Mabuza, chief representative of the ANC to the U.S.; Gabu Thugwana, deputy editor of *New Nation*. Cultural presentation. Sat., Feb. 10. Program, 7 p.m.; reception, 9:30-10 p.m. First Congregational Church, 10th and G sts. NW. Sponsors: South African Women's Day Committee, ANC. For more information call (202) 543-9433.

Gelfand targeting the Socialist Workers Party. Speaker: Holly Harkness, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 2227. Sun., Feb. 4, 5 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Stop U.S. Aid to El Salvador!** Speakers: Randy Warren, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 2228; Olivia Flores-Alvarez, executive director Central American Refugee Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Price

**U.S. Troops Out of Panama.** Speaker: Steve Warshell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D. Sat., Jan. 27, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### Salt Lake City

**Defend Indian Treaty Rights!** Panel of activists in recent protests against the so-called National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Defend the Pathfinder Mural and Artistic Freedom.** Speaker: Sam Manuel, former director Pathfinder Mural Project. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 3165 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

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### BRITAIN

#### Cardiff

**Celebrate the Opening of Pathfinder Books.** Sat., Feb. 3, 10 a.m.-7 p.m. Reception, 6:30

p.m.; 7 p.m. meeting with showing of video on Pathfinder Mural. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 0222-484677.

### Manchester

**The Fight Against Antilabour Disruption: The Case of the Workers League.** Speaker: representative of Communist League. Wed., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call (061) 839 1766.

### CANADA

#### Montréal

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video produced by Nick Castle. In English with simultaneous translation to French. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

### Toronto

**Annual José Martí Dinner and Dance.** Speaker: Carlos Castillo, Cuban ambassador to Canada. Sat., Jan. 27. Cocktails, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m. Fairbank Memorial Hall, 2213 Dufferin St. Donation: \$20. Sponsor: Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. For more information call (416) 323-3808.

**Joining Hands for International Women's Day in Cuba.** Study tours Feb. 25-March 4 and Feb. 25-March 11. Cost: \$749 (1 week), \$949 (2 weeks). Departure from Toronto. Travel provided by Magna Holidays, Inc. For more information call (416) 782-6569 or 767-5072.

### Vancouver

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis.** Video produced by Nick Castle. Sat., Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

**The Environment: A Crucial Issue for Working People.** Speakers: John Foy, director Western Canada Wilderness Committee; Arnie Thominson, T. Buck Suzuki Environmental Foundation, member United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union; Fred Nelson, Communist League, member International Woodworkers of America Canada Local 1-357, participant in Alaska oil spill clean-up. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Donation: \$3. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

### Canada

**Montréal:** 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

**Toronto:** 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

**Vancouver:** 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### ICELAND

**Reykjavík:** Klapparstig 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. 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:** Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Lorenzo takes prize** — The Toronto *Globe & Mail* gave Eastern Airlines a "Filling Dead Airspace Award" for its offer of frequent flyer points to funeral directors to ship



**Harry Ring**

corpses on the struck airline. The *Globe & Mail* said Eastern denied it was promoting a "frequent死者's program."

**Lorenzo humor** — After pro-

tests, Continental Airlines, sister to Eastern, canceled an ad for its London-Denver route. The ad read, "Admittedly, there are a few places in the States we don't fly to. (But, to be honest, how often do you really need to go to Boise, Idaho?)" In 1987 a Boise-bound Continental plane crashed at the Denver airport, killing 28 people.

**Oh** — An army major was brought home from El Salvador for questioning. He had the idea that he was tipped off in advance that members of the Salvadoran army were going to murder the six Jesuit priests. The Pentagon said he may have been informed *after* the killings but, because he's under severe

emotional stress, may think he was told beforehand.

**P.S.** — That major is apparently feeling better. A later Pentagon account indicated he now thinks he was tipped off after the killings.

**Amtrak hits fan** — In Palatka, Florida, Amtrak was convicted of felony for its practice of dumping raw human waste on the tracks. Particularly while crossing bodies of water, with bridge workers and boat crews taking the consequence. Amtrak argues new technology is needed before it can afford to deal with such an "aesthetic problem."

**A sober one?** — Asserting he's very tight with the president, the

veep assured, "I'm not, as they say, a potted plant . . ."

**Not so Woopie** — "The typical elderly household in Britain is likely to be struggling, facing greater economic insecurity and the prospect of declining health." — A London university researcher debunking the myth of large numbers of Woopies (well-off older people).

**Dick Tracy** — "Bigger Paychecks Linked to Better Health" — *Miami Herald* headline.

**Business as usual** — A Maryland human relations commission report documented wholesale discrimination against women and nonwhites by the state's 900 private clubs. A perturbed commission

chairperson said the findings show "how society really operates."

**Coping with cholesterol** — A London Food Commission survey of low-fat spreads found they may lack basic vitamins, average 55 percent water content, and are overpriced.

**Telling it like it ain't** — Maranatha ("The Lord is coming") is organizing on campuses, but getting flak as a cult. Says spokesman Robert Nolte: "There's a lot of people who don't want Christian groups on campus. They don't have any problem with the gays or the lesbians or the Socialist Workers Party or the Communist Party but, boy, they don't want Christians."

## Moscow's occupation sparks Azerbaijan resistance

### Continued from front page

for example, in the southern Russian cities of Krasnodar and Stavropol against military intervention in Azerbaijan. Workers in one Stavropol factory sent a telegram to their trade union saying, "We don't want the peoples of those republics to call us occupiers. We don't want a second Afghanistan," reported the London daily, the *Guardian*.

Due to this opposition, Moscow was pressured to halt calling reservists to active duty and to withdraw those who had already been sent to Azerbaijan.

Gorbachev is driving ahead with his military repression. Authorities are smashing the headquarters of the opposition groups and arresting their leaders. Throughout the city copying machines are being confiscated in order to prevent distribution of political leaflets.

During the first days of the new year, Azerbaijani demonstrators in the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan tore down the barriers on the northern bank of the Araks River that borders Iranian Azerbaijan. This induced the two governments to keep the border open for people living in the area and generally relax the travel restrictions between the two countries.

The prospect of open borders sparked long-suppressed sentiments for unification between the two Azerbaijans. On January 13 hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in Baku "roared" their support for the republic's parliament conducting a referendum on independence from the USSR.

Moscow's immediate response was to declare a stage of emergency, crack down on Azerbaijanis, and seal the border again. The Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan, which is an Azerbaijani enclave between Armenia and Iran, then declared its secession from the USSR and appealed to Iran, Turkey, and the United Nations for help.

The struggle of Azerbaijanis for self-determination and the Kremlin's opposition to it is at the center of the conflict in that republic. However, this is not how Moscow has presented the events or the reason for using military force. Gorbachev, in a television address, stated, "We all are witnessing a protracted interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia." The troops, he said, were sent in to restore "law and order" in Baku.

According to the Soviet officials and to a large extent the big business press in the United States and Europe, Azerbaijanis are the oppressors of Armenians. But both nationalities are oppressed, and both suffer from the Great Russian chauvinism that the Stalinist bureaucratic caste imposed on non-Russian nationalities. These policies have reinforced and worsened antagonisms between nationalities. The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh is a case in point.

Nagorno-Karabakh, which has a population of some 160,000, the majority of whom are Armenians, is an enclave in the Azerbaijani republic and was incorporated into it by the Soviet government in 1923.

### Nagorno-Karabakh

Massive protests began there and in the Armenian republic two years ago. The central demand was for the enclave to be incorporated into the Armenian republic. Protesters said Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh were subjected to cultural and economic discrimination under Azerbaijani rule and lacked

Armenian-language schools, books, and television. The government of Soviet Armenia also backed the demand, while the Azerbaijani authorities opposed it.

Early in 1989 Nagorno-Karabakh was placed under the direct rule of the Soviet government in Moscow. This bureaucratic move did nothing to resolve the hostilities. Both sides were victimizing and forcing out each other's people from their regions. Toward the end of the year Moscow handed the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh back to the Azerbaijani republic. The Armenian republic reacted by voting to incorporate the enclave into itself.

The recent violent clashes between the two sides were triggered by the actions of provocateurs who handed out mimeographed sheets with names and addresses of Armenians living in Baku. They were particularly active in the massive January 13 rally where people were voicing support for Azerbaijani independence. There they managed to break off a group from the rally and roam the streets looking for Armenian homes. The organizers of the rally were not able to stop the terrorist group, and the chain of violence that it started gave Gorbachev the pretext to crack down on Azerbaijan.

The international press noted that Moscow

sent troops into Baku days after the violence against Armenians had ended there.

All along, the Communist parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia have each followed their "national" interests. And the only concrete action that the central party in Moscow has taken to "resolve" the conflict is to use force and intimidation against both nationalities and to suppress their demands for self-determination. The people of Nagorno-Karabakh never consented to the arbitrary changes of administrations imposed upon them. As a further punishment, Gorbachev attacked the Armenian nationalist movement by imprisoning the entire leadership of the popularly based Karabakh Committee. Their "crime" was demanding that the aid to the victims of the 1988 earthquake in Armenia be controlled by Armenians rather than by Moscow officials.

Behind the present struggle of Soviet Azerbaijanis for self-determination, the Soviet bureaucracy sees the specter of a united, independent Azerbaijan. This, it fears, will inspire the workers and peasants of all the oppressed nationalities in the region, inside and outside the USSR, to break the chains of their national oppression and create their own independent governments. This perspective is not a welcome scene for the Soviet bureau-

crats, the imperialists, or the capitalist government in Iran.

Moscow threatens the Iranian government with "irrevocable consequences" should it stir up national or religious "trouble" on the other side of its border. But Iran has no intention of doing that. The Islamic Republic has made it clear that it supports the Islamic aspirations of the Soviet Azerbaijanis, but is opposed to any move by them toward independence. Such a development would revive the struggles of Azerbaijanis in Iran.

The imperialists are especially wary of the revolutionary thrust of the Azerbaijani struggle.

Even before Gorbachev rushed troops into Azerbaijan to try to suppress the movement there, Washington signaled that it would not oppose such a move. The January 17 *Washington Post* reported that just before the Bush-Gorbachev summit meeting in Malta, Secretary of State James Baker told a White House news conference, "Suppose you have Azerbaijanis and Armenians actively fighting each other, killing each other? Would it be inappropriate for the central authority to try and restore peace? . . . In my view that is far different than using force to suppress the peaceful dissent from policies that the central government is pursuing."

## Pennsylvania miners active in coal fights

### Continued from Page 7

struck Mine No. 11 in August. Valley Coal has opened its nonunion Mine No. 16, which Local 1610 members are now picketing.

Reynolds said there were several other strikes in progress in this area. Miners in Carpentertown, near Kittanning, walked off the job nearly two years ago after the company cut health and pension benefits; miners at Power Inc. struck when the company refused to bargain with newly chartered UMWA Local 1303; and miners in Blairsville have struck Conveyer Services.

In discussions about how to defend the union, miners cite unemployment and an increase in the number of nonunion mines as particular challenges. John Lonetti is president of the UMWA/R&P Unemployment Assistance Fund. Rochester & Pittsburgh (R&P) is the largest coal company in the state with more than a dozen mines, all of them in District 2.

Lonetti estimated real unemployment in central and western Pennsylvania to be 20-25 percent. Hundreds of unemployed miners have participated in Pittston strike support activities, including 150 from Lonetti's organization, he said.

Some 100 miles west of the Valley Coal mine, striking members of UMWA Local 9636 were picketing Aloe Coal Co.'s strip mine near the Pittsburgh airport. Aloe miners are in UMWA District 5. They haven't had a union contract since January 1988 and after its expiration the company laid off all but 19 miners, shifting operations to a nonunion mine. Following the June Pittston strike support walkouts, Aloe replaced the remaining UMWA miners with 30 scabs. Seven UMWA members crossed the picket line.

Striking Aloe miners are part of a layer of Pennsylvania unionists who participate in each others' struggles.

On the Aloe miners' picket lines are min-

ers from Duquesne Light's Warwick Mine No. 3 near the West Virginia border. Coal from Aloe's scab-run and nonunion mines is shipped to Duquesne's power plant. Two years ago the power plant laid off 175 members of UMWA Local 6310 after demands for concessions were refused.

"What we need is about 200 people out here to shut this down," said one picket, pointing to the coal trucks rumbling past their shanty. Another pointed to my "Stop Lorenzo" button. "That's what we need to win next," he stated, "if we get him, the rest will be won."

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Feb. 1, 1980

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador, Jan. 22 — More than 200,000 people marched through the streets of this capital city today to protest government repression and to support workers' demands. The immense crowd stretched for several miles. It was one of the largest demonstrations in El Salvador's history and had been called by a newly formed united front of revolutionary and democratic organizations, with the backing of all the main trade union federations.

When the head of the march neared the cathedral, police and ultrarightist snipers who had been posted on the roofs of the National Palace and the Bank of El Salvador opened fire on the front ranks of the demonstration, leaving scores dead and wounded.

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the Interests of the Working People  
Feb. 1, 1965

The black-belt city of Selma, Alabama, has become the site of the first major civil rights push of 1965. In the 10 days since a massive

freedom campaign was begun there by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, hundreds of Negroes attempting to register to vote have been arrested.

On January 18, the first "Freedom Day," SNCC Chairman John Lewis and SCLC head Martin Luther King, Jr., led 600 Negroes to the Dallas Courthouse. Waiting for them were Sheriff James G. Clark and his posse. He ordered the marchers into an alley behind the courthouse where they stood in line for the rest of the day. No one was registered.

The next day Negroes refused to wait in the alley and marched up to the front door. Among those arrested were SNCC Alabama Project Director John Love, SNCC staffers Lafayette Surney and Frank Soracco, and Amelia Boynton, Negro candidate for Congress in the May 1964 primary. Sheriff Clark shoved her the length of the courthouse into a police car. When Lewis and Hosea Williams of SCLC arrived at the head of 60 more applicants and refused to enter the alley, they too were all arrested.

On January 20 more than 150 people led by Lewis were arrested at the courthouse.

And two days later, 105 Negro teachers lined up at the courthouse. Sheriff Clark and his deputies twice drove them off by jabbing them in the ribs with billyclubs.

# From Baku, 1920, to Baku, 1990

The world's attention was on Baku, the capital city of Azerbaijan, as Moscow's troops, 29,000 strong, smashed through barricades January 19 and occupied the city. Three days later hundreds of thousands of defiant Azerbaijanis filled Baku's Lenin Square to mourn their dead and let the world know they wanted the Kremlin's forces to leave.

Seventy years earlier a historic event of an entirely different character was embraced by the workers and peasants of Baku and Azerbaijan.

In September 1920 nearly 1,900 delegates from some 25 countries and regions flocked to Baku for the Congress of the Peoples of the East, a gathering of national liberation fighters and communists from the former empire of the Russian tsar and from Turkey, Persia, China, Japan, and India. Representatives of the Communist International, which issued the call for the congress, and of the Russian Communist Party provided central leadership for the international meeting.

The gathering occurred as civil war raged in Russia and imperialist powers launched invasions to overthrow the workers' and peasants' regime established by the October 1917 revolution. Anticolonial revolts, especially in countries bordering the new Soviet republic, rose up, inspired by the fall of the tsarist monarchy and by the Russian communists' deeds — tearing up treaties backing tsarism's annexation of territories and granting immediate independence to Poland and Finland, and later to the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The theme of the congress was "Workers and oppressed nations of the world unite!" The Communist International, an organization of communist parties from around the world, pledged support to the national liberation struggles of workers and peasants in colonial countries and sought to forge an alliance with them in a worldwide struggle against imperialist oppression and colonial domination. Delegates also adopted theses in support of land reform and the organization of peasant soviets (committees) and discussed women's rights.

The Baku congress was an expression of the Russian communists' unconditional support to the right of oppressed peoples and nations to self-determination, including the right to separation.

Within days after assuming power in 1917, the revolutionary government, headed by V.I. Lenin, appealed to the oppressed Asiatic nationalities of the former tsarist empire, "Moslems of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the tsars and oppressors of Russia! Henceforward your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are declared free and inviolable! Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, will be protected by the might of the revolution. . . ."

In the 1918 Declaration of Rights of the Working People, Lenin and the Russian communists spelled out their views on the formation of a federation of Soviet republics. It was up to "the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently at their own authoritative Congress of Soviets whether they wish to participate in the federal government and in the other federal Soviet institutions, and on what terms," they said.

Workers and peasants in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, inspired by the 1917 revolution, emulated its example and established soviet regimes. In 1922 they decided to join in a union with the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Ratified in 1924, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics guaranteed these republics the "right to freely withdraw from the Union."

Lenin's policy was more than a constitutional recognition of the rights of the oppressed nationalities. It was a guide to action based on the idea that unity among working people in the fight against imperialist domination and for

socialism could only be forged by championing the demands of the most oppressed both at home and internationally. Only through guaranteeing the right to separate and the right to voluntary association could working people of oppressor nations win the confidence of workers and peasants from oppressed nationalities. And this proposition ranked higher than maintaining any border.

One example of how opportunities to resolve national rivalries opened up in Lenin's time was in relation to the hostile conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The status of Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhichevan, still a point of dispute today, arose in 1920 just months after hostilities between the two republics had ended and when a soviet republic was established in Azerbaijan. Armenia was still ruled by a capitalist regime. Soviet Azerbaijan offered to transfer these territories to Armenia.

When Soviet power later triumphed in Armenia, the leaders of Azerbaijan recognized the two areas as part of Armenia. The transfer, however, was delayed because of problems stemming from famine and destruction from the civil war, which made it virtually impossible to organize transportation and regularize economic relations between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The initial steps to break out of the legacy of Russian chauvinism and national oppression inherited from tsarism were cut short with the rise of a privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Joseph Stalin that led a counterrevolution.

The gains won by oppressed nationalities in the Russian revolution were undermined and eventually destroyed. Communist policy toward the oppressed nationalities was among the first to be challenged. Lenin, who died in 1924, had waged a determined struggle in the last weeks of his active political life against Stalin and the Russian chauvinism that had begun to reassert itself, including in the leadership of the Communist Party.

As the bureaucracy consolidated its position, the worst features of Great Russian chauvinism and the divide-and-rule tactics of tsarism were reimposed. These became pillars in the bureaucracy's hold on power.

Cultural and religious rights were denied.

The draconian forced collectivization of agriculture in the early 1930s hit the oppressed nationalities hardest because of their predominantly peasant populations. Peasant uprisings and resistance were ruthlessly crushed, including in Azerbaijan where fierce fighting took place.

The Cyrillic alphabet used in Russian and other Slavic languages was abruptly and bureaucratically imposed on all nationalities as Stalin carried out a campaign of russification.

During World War II nationalities whose loyalty was suspect suffered large-scale deportations. Crimean Tatars were accused of collective treason and the entire population was transported to Central Asia on Stalin's orders.

Anti-Semitism was again promulgated, and Jewish organizations faced restrictions and stiff repression, especially during and after World War II. Jews were barred from government posts and universities and faced restrictions in other jobs.

Moreover, the bureaucracy's economic and political policies have reinforced and played on inequalities among the Soviet Union's nationalities to pit them against one another.

Today, pent-up anger and frustrations, resulting from decades of oppression, are exploding into a renewed struggle in Azerbaijan for self-determination. This growing rebellion has shattered the domination of the Stalinist Communist Party in the republic. Hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis have begun to force open the political space they need to discuss, organize, and fight for an independent and united republic of Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan.

Moscow's troops are attempting to frustrate and crush the Azerbaijani struggle for self-determination and shore up the Great Russian bureaucracy's rule. This brutal policy is the opposite of the communists of Lenin's time whose solidarity and support for oppressed peoples was expressed at the Baku congress 70 years ago.

## High fliers and pariahs

**News Item** — At a cost of \$1 billion the president of the United States will soon be flying in style in two new Air Force One jets. Nicknamed the "flying Taj Mahal" because of its size and imperial accommodations, the first bird is expected to be off the flight line in September.

Each jet will be equipped with 85 telephones, four computers, two copying machines, conference rooms, crew bunks, sleeper chairs, a press room with TV monitors, a minihospital, 57 antennas for electronic gear, refrigerator-freezers stocked with provisions to feed 93 people for a week, and a presidential suite that includes twin beds, a shower-tub, and electric window curtains.

**News Item** — *The New England Journal of Medicine* published a study by two Harlem Hospital doctors January 18. According to the physicians, a male born in Harlem's Black community can expect to live to 51 years of age, while a male born anywhere else in Manhattan can expect to live more than 70 years.

Homicide, drugs, and AIDS are the cause of death for 45

percent, while the remaining 55 percent die because of heart disease, cancer, and other diseases — all of which can be held in check by basic health care.

Side-by-side these two items reveal much about life in United States — the gross inequalities and class divisions, the institutionalized racism, and the disregard for human life, especially of those capitalist society has attempted to turn into pariahs.

They especially reveal the U.S. government's priorities. The wealthiest and most technologically advanced country in the world can put a palace in the air, but doesn't provide the funds necessary for improving the health and welfare of its working people, especially if they are Black or Latino.

These conditions are worsening and expose the cruel lie that this imperialist bastion is a "beacon" for the world. For a growing number it is a hellhole.

## Down on the old plantation

BY DOUG JENNESS

It seems to be the season for getting rid of political figures the powers-that-be in Washington don't like by charging them with drug-related offenses.

In the case of Gen. Manuel Noriega these charges were clearly a ruse to invade and occupy Panama and reestablish a government totally servile to Washington, dealing a blow to the struggle of the Panamanian people for full sovereignty.

With Marion Barry, mayor of Washington, D.C., a highly orchestrated effort has been waged over the last several

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

years to get rid of him. The sting operation to snare the mayor smoking crack on the eve of announcing his candidacy for a fourth term was the latest step in this drive.

Why did the G-men target Barry? He was vulnerable, but then, there are plenty of other elected officials who have used coke or committed even more serious crimes of thievery and corruption.

To hear U.S. prosecutor Jay Stephens, who is undoubtedly seeking to boost his political career in the Republican Party, Barry is the chief culprit behind Washington's mounting social crisis. "It is important," Stephens asserts, "that the city have the type of moral leadership that can heal the wounds of drugs, violence, and public corruption."

The U.S. attorney's self-righteousness, however, is not convincing. There's a nagging sense that something else is behind the drive against Barry, and that the target is not really the mayor, but the working people of the District of Columbia, especially those who are Black.

R.W. Apple, the *New York Times* correspondent in the country's capital, has several times referred to something that should be looked at more closely.

He noted that Barry's arrest on January 18 "has derailed the effort, already going uphill, to win statehood for the District of Columbia, and some worry that it might erode support for the 16-year-old home-rule legislation that ended the era of total Congressional control in Washington."

A petition asking for the district's admission to the union as the 51st state was filed in Congress in 1983, and many local Democratic politicians, including Barry and Walter Fauntroy, D.C.'s nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives, support it.

Statehood could be approved by a vote of both houses of Congress and the president's signature. But in those bodies there is great opposition. Last year the Senate rejected by a vote of 97 to two funds for even setting up a D.C. statehood commission to study the possibilities.

Statehood would give D.C. two senators and a voting representative in the House, all of whom would likely be Black as 70 percent of the city's population is Black. Currently, there are no Blacks in the U.S. Senate. Moreover, it would end Congress's veto power over all city council legislation, as well as over the district's spending budget.

The struggle of D.C.'s population to have a greater say in the running of the city has historically been intertwined with the freedom struggle of Blacks in the United States.

In 1802, shortly after Washington was established, eligible voters were granted the right to vote for city council, and in 1812 this was extended to include electing the mayor. In the period before the Civil War, many Black slaves lived in the country's capital, and a notorious slave market operated there until 1850.

After slavery was abolished, Black males won the right to vote. They participated in D.C. elections and several were elected to the city council. But with the reactionary drive to crush the gains Blacks made during Reconstruction — a drive that led eventually to legalized segregation throughout the South, including Washington — Congress overturned D.C.'s elected form of government, replacing it in 1871 with appointed officials.

It wasn't until the rise of the civil rights movement that some of the barriers to residents of D.C. exercising their rights as citizens began to be lifted.

First came the 23rd Amendment to the Constitution in 1961 granting D.C. residents the right to vote for president. This had long been opposed by a powerful bloc of segregationist legislators, because of the city's majority Black population. Then, in 1974, Washington residents won the right to elect a mayor and a 13-member city council.

Everyone of these rights has been granted grudgingly only after a fight. And many of the solons in Congress still seek to limit and even reverse home rule.

Last spring, for example, Sen. Warren Rudman from New Hampshire and Rep. Stan Parris of Virginia proposed replacing the city police with a federal police force. Rudman wasn't too subtle. "We can't have people killed and blood running in the streets like some Third World capital run by a despot," he declared blaming the problems on "inept local government."

Whatever other motives may be involved, the campaign to discredit the Barry administration has from the beginning been used to undermine home rule.

# Eastern strikers on hand for 'Roger & Me' opening

*Roger & Me.* Written, directed, and produced by Michael Moore. Distributed by Warner Bros.

BY ZENA MCFADDEN  
AND MARK FRIEDMAN

DETROIT — All 1,500 seats were sold out for the first showing in Detroit of the popular and controversial comic documentary *Roger & Me*. The premiere was held January 11 at the Detroit Institute of Arts Theater. The film, written and directed by Michael Moore, deals with the closing down

## IN REVIEW

of several General Motors plants in Flint, Michigan — Moore's hometown — and the effect this has had on the people who live there. Some 30,000 auto workers lost their jobs in the 1980s as a result of GM's decision to shut the plants.

Four Eastern Airlines strikers and several supporters were on hand for the premiere, handing out informational leaflets about the strike and asking moviegoers to boycott Eastern and Continental airlines.

The strikers were greeted warmly by Moore, who gave them free tickets to the show and took a "Stop Lorenzo" button.

A few days later, Moore visited strikers on the Eastern picket line in Miami. Lorenzo's actions at Eastern are having the same devastating results on Eastern workers and their families as GM's actions did in Flint, Moore told the press there. He visited Eastern strikers in Atlanta a few weeks earlier.

*Roger & Me* details Moore's request to meet with GM Chairman Roger Smith and convince him to visit Flint to see the devastation caused by the plant closings.

Throughout the film, interviews with local residents, scenes of evictions and plants being demolished, and shots of abandoned buildings are counterposed to the exclusive places where Smith works and lives.

Moore points out the absurdity of the solutions posed by Flint's politicians and by GM to the acute problems faced by the city's working people.

City officials, for example, cooked up an expensive campaign to make Flint a tourist attraction. This scheme included building and subsidizing — to the tune of millions of dollars — a fancy hotel, an international food and shopping emporium, and an "Auto World" amusement park — all of which flopped because no one could afford to patronize them.

One GM spokesman, for his part, suggests that workers who've been laid off develop more innovative ideas for creating jobs, such as the new "lint-roller" plant, to get the economy of Flint going again.

*Roger & Me* has come under attack from GM and from some of the big-business media. The showing at the Detroit Institute of Arts Theater was even canceled at one point because of pressure from the institute's benefactors — who include Roger Smith and GM. Articles in the press have questioned the facts presented in the film and attacked Moore himself.

At the end of the premiere, Moore was on hand to answer questions from the audience. The devastating impact of the plant closings shown in the film are not limited to Flint and the auto industry, he explained. They are symptoms of a much broader economic and social problem. Moore hopes his work will inspire people to get politically active.

As an Eastern striker, Zena McFadden also spoke and got a friendly response from the audience. "We have our own Roger Smith we are fighting — his name is Frank Lorenzo," she said. "Ten months ago, thousands of us stood

up together to fight the attacks on our wages and the company's attempt to break our union." McFadden encouraged all those who were inspired by the film to get involved in the strike.

Many film companies had bid on the distribution rights to *Roger & Me*. Moore decided on Warner Bros. in order to get the widest possible distribution for the film, which is being shown in about 1,000 theaters. Part of the agreement with Warner Bros. included buying homes for all the people whose evictions were shown in the movie. The movie company also agreed to tour four laid-off auto workers throughout the United States, where they will be speaking before union meetings and community organizations.

Moore plans to devote some of the proceeds from the movie to help beginning filmmakers who want to make movies about working people. "People like us don't make movies," Moore said at the opening. "We don't see images of ourselves in movies. We don't own many means of mass communication, so that means our stories don't get told."

Moore's father was an auto worker in Flint. At the age of 18, Moore was elected to the local school board. He later founded and edited, for 10 years, the *Flint Voice* (later renamed *Michigan Voice*), an independent newspaper.

Moore's film has earned wide critical acclaim and landed on lots of "10 best" lists for 1989. An immensely enjoyable film, it deserves this praise.

*Roger & Me* is an important, yet humorous, documentary that deals with some of the most pressing problems working people face today, such as unemployment and homelessness. It portrays what many of us have learned the hard way over the past 10 years: there is no secure future under capitalism.

Zena McFadden is a member of the International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines. Mark Friedman, also in the IAM, is a ramp worker at Northwest Airlines.

## LETTERS

### Carnage in Panama

The invasion of Panama was cold-blooded carnage. I hope that my brothers and sisters in the military will now understand who they are up against. They need to recognize that the United States is using them as a puppet.

I know the United States will pay in blood for what they did now and in the past.

To my Puerto Rican people and my Black brothers and sisters, I say, do not let the white people put strings on you.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

### Threats against Cuba

Susan Kaufman Purcell recently authored a column in the *New York Times* predicting the U.S. invasion of Panama would "add to Cuba's troubles." Clearly anything bringing hardship to Cuba is good news to Ms. Purcell. She was a sponsor of an ad attacking Fidel Castro in the December 29 *Times*.

Earlier on December 11, the *Times* lead editorial had attacked the president of Cuba for not accepting the policies desired by the U.S. government.

These verbal attacks indicate further economic and political warfare by the U.S. government. Following the invasion of Panama we must realize that veiled threats also point to a possible military attack on Cuba. Would an attack on Cuba also be to "save American lives"?

Cuba may well face more economic difficulties as a result of Eastern European events and a harsher U.S. embargo. Cuba is a small, poor country.

But it is also a proud, healthy, and developing country. Cuba does not

have the drug problem the United States has. Nor do its people, who have free medical care and many proficient doctors, have hardships anything like those who are sick and poor in New York and face days of waiting in the hallways of dingy, clogged, understaffed hospital emergency rooms.

Ms. Purcell demands a Cuban plebiscite — "under international supervision" — on Castro's leadership.

I demand a U.S. plebiscite — under strict international supervision — to find out if American citizens really want the U.S. government to continue spending our money and our sons' lives waging war against the poor of the world instead of giving us decent medical care, housing, education, and jobs.

Fayette Richardson  
Brooklyn, New York

### Lunchtime Cuba meet

Thirteen assembly workers at a Siemens electrical engineering plant near Manchester, England, made an unusual break in their lunchtime routine recently. They participated in a midday meeting and slideshow, "Revolutionary Cuba Today."

They heard a report from a co-worker on her participation in a visit to Cuba as a member of a work brigade. She sketched a history of the Cuban revolution, the gains made by the Cuban people over 30 years, and the current rectification process. Women workers were particularly impressed at the level of child-care and nursery facilities available to Cubans.

The meeting provoked discussion about how voluntary labor in Cuba is organized, what lay behind the Ochoa affair, and the differences between socialism in Cuba and what exists in Eastern Europe.

Liz Paton  
Pete Kennedy  
Manchester, England

### Public health victory

Militant readers will be glad to know that a small but important victory was won when Jon Parker, 35, was acquitted of illegally possessing hypodermic needles without a prescription.

Known as the "Johnny Appleseed of needles," Parker heads a group

called the AIDS-Brigade that distributes packets to addicts containing needles, bleach, water, printed material, and condoms. He was arrested in Boston in August 1988 while "enrolling people in our program," Parker testified. His purpose was to prevent the spread of AIDS.

Larry Kessler, executive director of the AIDS Action Committee, explained that the acquittal "opens the door for other agencies and individuals to make clean needles available. It's a victory ... to slow the virus down in that mode of transmission that is most common among addicts: the needle."

Jon Parker's legal victory has helped move the battle against AIDS one step forward.

Treating drug addicts like human beings worthy of public health efforts receives little credence in official circles. In fact, this goes for the working class as a whole.

The working class and its organizations must speak out and fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited. Otherwise we'll continue being victims of not just diseases, but of a social system that values profit over human needs.

Richard Cahalane  
Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts

### Electrical workers strike

Some 150 members of the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE), 75 percent of them women, remain on strike in Lawrenceville, Illinois, after nearly a year. This is despite intimidation by Central Industries, scabs, and the police.

Central Industries manufactures wire harnesses for appliances. Its main customer is Whirlpool in Evansville, Indiana.

According to Lois Waggoner, president of striking IUE Local 825, the company is demanding a three-year wage freeze. The average wage was \$5 an hour before the strike and the workers took concessions on their pensions, vacations, and holidays in their last contract.

The company hired scabs after the strike, but most of them have since quit or been laid off.

The strikers have received support from coal miners in the region who have walked the picket lines and attended rallies. The miners and IUE strikers are paying close attention



tion to upcoming contract talks at Whirlpool, which is demanding sharp wage concessions.

Contributions for IUE Local 825's strike fund can be sent c/o Waggoner, P.O. Box 306, Lawrenceville, Ill. 62439.

Debbie Lazar  
St. Louis, Missouri

### Anti-Klan protest

Some 150 demonstrators took to the streets of Atlanta January 6 to protest a Ku Klux Klan rally on the steps of the state capitol. The Klan rally was called to denounce the Martin Luther King, Jr., birthday holiday. At a similar event last year, eight Klansmen were outnumbered by 1,500 demonstrators. This year 75 Klan supporters were present.

A massive array of 2,400 cops and National Guardsmen spent most of their time trying to intimidate anti-Klan protesters. Helicopters and armored personnel carriers reminded many protesters of recent scenes of U.S. troops in Panama.

If a call had been made by Atlanta's Mayor Maynard Jackson and the leaders of the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference for a massive protest against the Klan and the recent racist bombings it would have brought a response by thousands — Black and white. And it would have been in keeping with the real spirit of the civil rights movement.

Bob Braxton  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Two extremes

The central political question today is not capitalism versus communism.

A few years ago, some people in Southeast Asia perceived French colonialism as a definitive expression of capitalism, and others labeled this perception communism. Out of this arose two political camps: that of Ngo Dinh Diem, champion of democracy and free enterprise, which imprisoned not just communists, but moderates; and that of Ho Chi Minh, hero of the revolution, which killed not just pro-Diemists, but moderates.

To intervene at either end was to support an extreme; and to support an extreme was to create more enemies than we destroyed. The result was inevitable: extremism breeds excess, and excess breeds regret.

If we are to avoid similar regrets there is need to reevaluate our foreign policy. It needs to be based not on political theories, but human ethics.

Jim Flanagan  
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

### Heard good things

I am currently incarcerated at a federal metropolitan correctional center in downtown Chicago. I understand that you send your newspaper to prisoners and am very interested. I have heard only good things about your publication and would like to read it firsthand.

A prisoner  
Chicago, Illinois

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.

### Correction

In our January 26 issue we incorrectly listed the address of an exhibit by the New York Chinatown History Project, "Both Sides of the Cloth: Chinese American Women in the New York Garment Industry." The show is located on the second floor, 70 Mulberry Street, at the corner of Bayard. It runs through February 3.

## Actions to back ambulance workers

### British unions set countrywide 15-minute work stoppage for Jan. 30

BY BRIAN GROGAN

LONDON — Ambulance crews up and down the country are preparing public events and rallies for an "ambulance workers support day" on January 30. Workers are being asked to stop work at noon for 15 minutes and attend local rallies. "The idea," said Paul Maddams from the Buckhurst Hill depot in North London, "is to give an opportunity for the general public to actually demonstrate the support that is indicated in opinion polls."

Ambulance workers are in the 20th week of their dispute for a wage increase above the 6.4 percent offered by the government. Some local depots have taken all-out unofficial strike action. Others have engaged in unofficial 24-hour protest strikes in an effort to break the deadlock. Ambulance crews have so far not taken all-out national strike action. This means that in most places ambulance crews are still providing emergency cover, except when prevented from doing so by local management.

Given the government's intransigence, the success of this approach depends on other unions mobilizing their membership in support. The January 30 day of action will therefore be a crucial test.

Working people have shown deep concern for the ambulance workers, seeing support for the dispute as part of defending the health service.

The Trades Union Congress, Britain's union federation, has backed the call for a 15-minute general work stoppage. Its response, however, to government threats that such a call constitutes "unlawful secondary action" has been to recommend that the unions locally seek management's permission — or even support — for the stoppage. The scope of the action, then, will depend upon the strength of the union in each workplace.

The ambulance workers' determination and the widespread popularity of their action

reflects stiffening resistance by workers in Britain. Ford Motor Co.'s 32,000 workers have just agreed to a deal worth 10.2 percent in the first year, and a choice between 8 percent or an amount equal to the rate of inflation plus 2.5 percent in the second.

While this deal is tied to draconian measures to increase labor productivity, it sets a benchmark for other groups of workers. The size of the Ford deal is a response to the fact that average real wage increases are showing their smallest annual growth since the 1981–82 recession — currently 1.5 percent. (The latest official figure for inflation is 7.7 percent.) If health workers, for example, are forced to accept the government's offer of 6.4 percent, they will in fact be taking a substantial wage cut.

The deal with Ford was narrowly accepted in a ballot vote taken against the recommendation of union negotiators, who had rejected the company's offer. The deal still leaves auto

workers at Ford near the bottom of the league in the car industry and involves agreement to productivity measures Ford has been pressing to institute for some years. The more or less complete job flexibility and "team working" that have now been accepted were the cause of a two-week strike against Ford's 22 plants in Britain in early 1988.

Ford also made no concession on the demand for a reduction of the workweek from 39 to 35 hours. A decision by Ford workers to fight on this could have provided a much needed new impetus to the engineering unions' campaign for a 35-hour week.

A number of companies originally targeted for strike action by the engineering unions have made individual deals around a phased introduction of 37 hours. As a result, despite the strike action by workers at three British Aerospace plants now in its third month, the campaign is mobilizing little support beyond these workers.

## Israelis detain organizer of 'human chain' protest

**Regime in Israel is using political victimization to thwart Palestinian-Israeli collaboration**

BY HARRY RING

Despite mounting pressure to end its dirty war against the Palestinian people, the Israeli government arrested Faisal al-Husseini.

He was a key organizer of the December 30 action where nearly 35,000 Israelis, Palestinians, and supporters from abroad linked hands in a human chain that encircled the walls of Jerusalem's Old City. The demonstration demanded an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Husseini was brought into court January 19 and ordered held for questioning "on suspicion he assisted an illegal organization that acted in the framework of the uprising" of the Palestinian people of Gaza and the West Bank. The Palestine Liberation Organization and groups deemed to be associated with it are illegal under Israeli law.

After three days Husseini was released on bond, pending investigation of the charges against him. If convicted, Husseini reportedly could face a prison term of seven years.

Earlier, Husseini was named an unindicted coconspirator in a criminal case against five Palestinians charged with violent activity in the uprising.

Husseini is director of the Arab Studies Society, which is currently shut down by the Israeli government. A year ago, he was released after 18 months in prison.

During the time the human chain was being organized, the Israeli military issued an order barring Husseini from entering the

West Bank or Gaza Strip. He is a resident of East Jerusalem.

The U.S. State Department expressed "surprise and disappointment" at the arrest of Husseini. A spokesperson indicated it would add to the difficulties in negotiating an agreement for an election in the West Bank and Gaza.

#### Israeli government election plan

Initially put forward by the Israeli government, the plan would have West Bank and Gaza residents elect representatives to negotiate some form of self-administration under continued Israeli military rule. Since then, the Israelis have stonewalled on negotiations to implement the plan.

Meanwhile, the Israeli regime has used victimization to try to thwart the developing collaboration between Israelis and Palestinians.

One of the victims is Michel Warschawsky, an Israeli partisan of Palestinian liberation. Framed up on charges of aiding "illegal organizations," his case has sparked significant public protest. Husseini has been prominent among those standing in solidarity with Warschawsky.

Israel's supreme court is slated to hear arguments February 8 in Warschawsky's appeal against his conviction and 20-month sentence.

Warschawsky was the director of the Alternative Information Centre which defends the rights of Palestinians and stands in solidarity with them. He and the center were convicted last November of providing typesetting services to "illegal organizations" and holding printed material of such organizations. The printed material was a pamphlet which included guidelines for Palestinians coping with interrogation and torture by the

## 3,000 Los Angeles youth mobilize against apartheid on King Day

BY LISA AHLBERG

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. — More than 3,000 spirited, chanting demonstrators, most of them junior and senior high school students, marched to the South African consulate here January 15. The Los Angeles Student Coalition sponsored the action in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The marches, held for the last four years on the King holiday, have been the area's largest anti-apartheid protests. Coalition leader Susan Goldberg led the crowd in a chant, "End apartheid in L.A. — Kick out the consulate today." Because of the coalition's

efforts, the South African consulate was evicted from a previous location. The students want it out of the Los Angeles area altogether.

A contingent of Machinists union members on strike against Eastern Airlines joined the march. Several demonstrators carried flags of the African National Congress of South Africa and ANC member Zeph Maketla addressed the crowd. A group of Panamanians opposed to the U.S. invasion of their country also participated, along with several Palestinians who pointed to the ties between the Israeli and apartheid regimes.



20-month jail sentence for Michel Warshawsky

Growing concern over curbs on democratic rights by Israeli regime brought major media coverage of prosecution of Michel Warshawsky. This sampling appeared in *News from Within*, publication of Alternative Information Centre. Palestinians have extended solidarity to Israeli rights fighters. In photograph is Palestinian leader Faisal al-Husseini (left) with Warshawsky.

#### Israeli secret police.

In a telephone interview from Jerusalem, Warshawsky, who is free on bail, discussed his coming appeal.

He said the prosecution had not exercised its prerogative to file a counterappeal. "This is a good sign for us," he said, that will strengthen the argument for reversing his conviction.

In a counterappeal, the prosecution could have asked the high court to reverse the not-guilty verdict that Warshawsky won on a charge of ties to a "terrorist organization." It could have also asked the court to make his sentence even stiffer.

Meanwhile, there was another postponement in the trial of Ali Mohammad Jiddah. A member of the Alternative Information Centre, Jiddah is charged with "attacking the police." In fact, he was attacked by them.

#### Campaign of harassment

A veteran Palestinian activist, Jiddah was released from prison in 1985 after serving 17 years as a political prisoner. Subsequently, he served a year under house arrest. During this

time he was forbidden to leave his home after sunset and had to report to the Jerusalem police each day at noon. Since then he has been the target of police checks, harassment, and provocations.

This culminated while he was riding with his family and a friend to a Jerusalem hospital. They were stopped and Jiddah's identification was demanded. After insulting and abusing him, the cops attacked him. One struck Jiddah in the head with his gun butt.

Jiddah was then arrested, but won release on bail. He is no longer under house arrest.

Meanwhile, Israeli authorities backed off on prosecuting two prominent Palestinian activists.

Last October, in the West Bank town of Ramallah, police arrested Maha Mustaqlim Nassar, a teacher and popular figure in the Palestinian women's movement, and Riad Malki, an engineering professor at Birzeit University in the West Bank. Both were held in a Jerusalem prison and a campaign of protest began. Israeli authorities then apparently reconsidered and both were released.