

## Upsurge in 'homelands' targets S. Africa regime

BY GREG McCARTAN

GARANKUWA, Bophuthatswana, South Africa — "On Wednesday we are planning a big march. We are going to just stop work and march again," said a township resident.

A week earlier, on March 7, some 50,000 had marched and presented a petition at the local magistrate's office demanding the resignation of Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and the reincorporation of the so-called homeland into South Africa.

At the conclusion of the peaceful protest, the police started firing tear gas, and then

bullets, without warning. The crowd responded by setting fire to police vehicles, some government buildings, and businesses that have ties to the Bophuthatswana regime.

At least a dozen demonstrators were killed and hundreds more were wounded in the attack. Some "homeland" police threw their uniforms into a burning army vehicle in disgust after security forces fired on the crowd.

The apartheid regime has maintained Bophuthatswana and nine other bantustans, as "independent" areas. Hand-picked officials of four homelands agreed to the regime's

demands that they become "independent" states: Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Venda. Bophuthatswana is made up of seven separate regions in northeastern South Africa. Over 50 percent of all Africans living in the country are forced to live in the homelands.

### Strike wave

The protest march amidst a powerful strike wave, including 3,000 miners, members of the National Union of Mineworkers. The workers also demanded the homeland be reincorporated into South Africa. The NUM members additionally called on their employer, the Rustenburg Platinum Mines, to recognize the union. Some 30,000 miners live in Bophuthatswana.

"The people of Themba, Mabopane, and GaRankuwa are all sticking together," the township resident explained in an interview. The three towns are spread out across a valley northwest of Pretoria, the historical capital city of the South African regimes.

Less than a 30-minute drive from Pretoria, the homeland townships stand in stark contrast.

Pretoria's carefully manicured parks, well-kept roadways, luxurious housing, new government and corporate buildings, extensive

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## What's ahead for Eastern strike after March 4th

As their second year on the picket line opens up, members of the Machinists union on strike at Eastern Airlines are discussing the challenges ahead in the fight to defeat Chairman Frank Lorenzo's union-busting drive. After the success of the March 3-4 actions celebrating the walkout's one-year anniversary, the strikers are weighing some of the changes that have taken place in the past few months that affect the Machinists' fight.

The most important change for the Eastern strikers is that the United Mine Workers of America strike against Pittston Coal Group is over.

While UMWA members did not ratify the contract at Pittston until February 19, demobilization of the 11-month-long Pittston strike and the powerful solidarity campaign

unions and powered by the members' growing confidence and leadership capacities, strengthened both the Eastern and Pittston fighters and marked something new in the U.S. labor movement.

The convergence of the Eastern Machinists and the UMWA brought together two very different experiences, coming out of a

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## EDITORIAL

that supported it had already begun January 1. That's when the announcement of a tentative settlement was made by UMWA President Richard Trumka, U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, federal mediator William Usery, and Pittston Chairman Paul Douglas.

Up until then, the miners' fight was gaining momentum — momentum that reinforced the Eastern strike, as ties between the two fights deepened.

After January 1 the campaign of support and encouragement from other unionists, including from the labor officialdom, quickly wound down.

Union delegations stopped coming to the miners' Camp Solidarity in Virginia, picket lines thinned out, and weekly rallies dropped off. One union paper after another carried articles about the "victory" at Pittston — despite the fact that the strikers had not yet seen the proposed contract.

Meanwhile, Pittston stepped up hiring scabs and running coal. Other coal bosses, including at A.T. Massey Coal Co., moved to take on the miners.

Next to UMWA members themselves, the union fighters most deeply affected by the winding down of the Pittston strike and solidarity campaign were the strikers at Eastern.

During most of the time the Eastern Machinists have been out, they have been fighting side by side with the miners. Strikers in both unions forged ties — they joined each others' rallies and picket lines, worked together to support other strikes, and over many months of collaboration came to see each other not just as supporters but as co-combatants. The 70,000 supporters who visited Camp Solidarity over the past year included many Eastern strikers.

The interlinking of these two national strike battles, waged by major industrial

## Greyhound striker's death stirs protest

BY NANCY BROWN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 150 striking Greyhound workers and their supporters gathered at the bus station here on March 9 for a memorial rally for Bob Waterhouse, a Greyhound driver killed by a scab-driven bus on the picket line March 3 in Redding, California. Rallies were held in many cities in response to the Amalgamated Transit Union's call for nationwide protests.

Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, teachers, letter carriers, railroad workers, and others joined the protest here.

As unionists picketed the bus station driveway, a scab-driven bus hit a police cruiser. Union members surrounded the bus, chanting "Scab driver, get off the bus." The crowd continued to chant "Drug test. Drug test," and "If you can't get out of the driveway, how can you go down the highway?" as police ordered people back onto the sidewalk.

Safety is a big issue for the strikers. In several cities, including Washington, strikers have been hit and injured by scab-driven buses. Greyhound's scab drivers are being given one week's training; normally, drivers get up to 12 weeks. "If I'd hit that cop car," a striker said, "Greyhound would have taken me off the bus, put on a new driver, and probably ordered me to medical for a drug test."

In this case, the scab was held on the bus for an hour and then allowed to continue the run to New York. While the bus waited, Greyhound catered drinks to the passengers, and strikers held their rally a few feet away.

The crowd cheered when Paul Baicich, president of Machinists Local 796 on strike at Eastern Airlines said, "Look at our picket signs. They say, 'Eastern and Greyhound. Two strikes, one goal.' We are both on strike against the same enemy: corporate greed. Fred Currey wants to do to you what Frank Lorenzo wants to do to us. As we say on our picket line: We will stay out one day longer." Currey is Greyhound's chairman; Lorenzo heads Eastern's parent company, Texas Air Corp.

Since the Greyhound walkout began

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## Castro denounces anti-Cuba vote by UN rights group

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Speaking at a March 7 session of the Federation of Cuban Women's fifth congress in Havana, Cuban President Fidel Castro denounced a resolution attacking Cuba for alleged human rights violations passed by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland.

Castro called the March 6 vote "a product of pressure, bribes, and blackmail by the United States — the product of cowardice and betrayal." The Cuban president also sharply denounced the pro-U.S. stands taken by the governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

Nineteen countries led by the United States voted in favor of the resolution, which puts Cuba on the agenda of the next meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. This is the fourth consecutive year that Cuba has been on the commission's agenda at the behest of Washington, which has used the body as a platform to smear Cuba's revolutionary government and to

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Militant/Alyson Kennedy

Across the country Eastern and Greyhound strikers have reinforced each other's determination. Here striking Greyhound driver joins Eastern picket at Birmingham, Alabama, airport.

## March 24 actions to protest U.S. intervention in Central America

BY SETH GALINSKY

"Momentum is building for the March 24 protests against U.S. intervention in Central America," said Hannah Atkins, spokesperson for the coalition that is organizing the action.

Nationally coordinated marches will take place on the March 24-25 weekend to call for an end to all U.S. aid to El Salvador, no U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, and U.S. troops out of Panama. March 24 is the 10th anniversary of the assassination of El Salvador's Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero at the hands of right-wing death squads tied to the army.

Many religious organizations are backing the events, Atkins stated, including the Jesuit

Social Ministries, Pax Christi, Unitarian Universalists, and the United Church of Christ. A religious contingent will be prominent in the day's events, she said.

The United Electrical Workers union and District 1199 Service Employees International Union have also endorsed.

A large contingent of students are expected at the Washington, D.C. action. Doug Calvin, coordinator of student outreach for the D.C. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, said over 100 campuses are organizing participation.

Activists from the Venceremos Brigade, along with other defenders of Cuban sov-

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# Coal teams to boost circulation drive in Britain

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN  
LONDON — Ten teams will spearhead a drive to expand the circulation of the *Militant* among min-

participate in part-time or full-time education programs. One member of the National Union of Mineworkers who sub-

The *Militant* has carried articles reporting on the media witch-hunt (see article below) and has editorially denounced it. A special leaflet containing articles from last week's issue of the *Militant* and advertising the introductory subscription offer of 12 issues of the paper for £4 is being produced to aid the subscription effort.

"Many miners take broader interest in the issues covered by the *Militant*," Spaul adds. "The NUM has been in the forefront of solidarity with the battles of our namesake union in South Africa. The articles from the *Militant* reporting team that is there now will insure firsthand coverage, and will be of great interest to coal mines and other workers."

"The coverage of struggles from the United States is also followed closely," Spaul said. "I was in the United States last year and visited striking miners at Pittston. Since

I've come back I've spoken with miners about the fight of U.S. miners, Eastern Airlines workers, and the campaign in defense of Mark Curtis. People in the coalfields in Britain see that it's the same struggle there as here."

Spaul's comments were borne out at a social event organized by miners in the North-East of England on the occasion of the tour to Britain of Mark Curtis' wife, Kate Kaku. Copies of the *Militant* were sold at the March 10 event attended by 80 people, and at least one miner bought a subscription.

At another sale on the same day in a mining community 150 miles away, Earlstown in Lancashire in the North-West of the country, two *Militant* supporters reported selling 22 papers in an hour. "There was great interest in the *Militant*'s coverage of the NUM," one said.

The coal teams will visit both these areas, as well as North and

South Yorkshire, Derbyshire, North Notts, North Staffs, and South Wales. Volunteers for the teams came forward at four political conferences organized by the Communist League over the February 17-18 weekend in Cardiff, London, Manchester, and Sheffield.

Participants at the conferences discussed the legacy of the 1984-85 miners' strike, the new challenges facing the NUM in the 1990s, and the political responsibility of all fighting workers to defend and collaborate with the NUM, the union that continues to be such an obstacle to the anti-working-class policies of the government and the employers.

The 55 people who volunteered to participate in these coal teams will be joined by three socialist workers from the United States to make this sales effort a genuinely international effort.



## GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

ers and in coalfield communities of Britain. Their goal will be to sell as many subscriptions as possible over the next seven weeks. The teams, each comprised of four volunteers from around the country, will set up tables at pit heads (mine portals), at rallies and demonstrations, and in the communities. They will visit miners' welfare clubs and colleges where young miners and other youth

scribes to the *Militant* is Jim Spaul from Kellingley colliery in North Yorkshire. Spaul says, "insuring the widest possible circulation of the *Militant* is particularly appropriate at this time when the NUM, the International Miners Organisation, and NUM and IMO leaders Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield have come under such vicious media attack."

# British mine union sets up inquiry into charges

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — A special meeting of the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Mineworkers March 9 set up an inquiry to investigate media allegations targeting NUM President Arthur Scargill and General Secretary Peter Heathfield.

Initiated by the National Newspaper Group of billionaire Robert Maxwell, the charges against the NUM leaders are that during the 1984-85 British miners' strike they received money from the Libyan government, that they misappropriated the funds for their own personal benefit, and that the International Miners Organisation, of which Scargill is president, is implicated in a cover-up.

The IMO, founded after the 1984-85 strike, includes 46 miners' federations and 26 organizations from 43 countries. Its headquarters is in Paris.

The 15-member NUM executive body unanimously agreed to proposals from Scargill and Heathfield on how to proceed. It established a subcommittee to appoint and collaborate with a lawyer from the Haldane Society of labor lawyers who will conduct the inquiry. The subcommittee is comprised of Yorkshire-area President Jack Taylor, George Rees (South Wales), Gordon Butler (Derbyshire), Henry Richardson (Notts), and Idwyl Morgan of the cokemen's section of the union.

The lawyer will examine the allegations, including calling witnesses, and report back to the NUM executive.

Coming out of the meeting, Taylor told reporters that the subcommittee is to "set up

the inquiry and keep it impartial so that people cannot say that Arthur and Peter had set it up. I do not expect it to suit everyone, but what is important is that we satisfy our members — they are more important than you."

The media's demand for a public inquiry independent of the union had been backed by a number of trade union and Labour Party leaders, including in the NUM. But no one could be found to oppose the executive's decision for the union itself to initiate an inquiry. Scottish-area President George Bolton said that it had been "a very good meeting." The inquiry "was one Scotland wanted."

Midlands representative Joe Wills said, "There has been a full explanation and we are 100 percent satisfied. We are very happy with the meeting. He [Scargill] is cleaner than clean."

Idwyl Morgan said he did not believe the allegations against Scargill. "He is not that sort of a man." The Labour Party spokesperson on the coal industry, Kevin Barron, said that miners should have confidence in the inquiry.

### Rank-and-file response

The response mirrors that among rank-and-file NUM members. None have been found to join the campaign against Scargill. Media interviews with miners have revealed complete disbelief in Maxwell's claims. The *Guardian*'s Paul Hoyland visited miners at the Coventry Colliery Social Club. His report in the March 6 issue of the paper is that "front-page headlines accusing Arthur

Scargill of using Libyan money to pay off personal debts during the miners' strike were greeted with disdain by the old hands" at the club.

Helen Hague of the *Independent* visited Maltby in South Yorks. Her report in the March 11 edition tells the same story. She quotes Graham and Neil Goodwin, two brothers who say they are not going to fall for "media lies."

Maltby miners have staged a 24-hour strike every month since September to protest the withdrawal of the pit ambulance. The colliery was among pits throughout the South Yorks area that went on strike for a day and a half last week in solidarity with miners at Hatfield Main.

Hatfield miners had walked out in protest of unilateral changes in work practice by the management. A court injunction forced a return to work, but renewed strike action is anticipated following a vote of NUM members at the pit.

The Maltby NUM branch secretary, Ted Millward, says Scargill is innocent of the charges of misappropriation, but that he cannot see why there is all the fuss about alleged Libyan money. "If the devil had said, 'Here's 10 million quid to fight Maggie Thatcher and feed the kids,' during that dispute, I'd have taken it."

The union secretary at Armthorpe, near Doncaster, also in South Yorkshire, said, "I couldn't care less whether the money came from Russia or Libya. It should be remembered that over £1 million was taken from the NUM in fines and sequestration costs as the courts were out to take any money we

had — money needed then to feed miners' families" during the 1984-85 strike.

### 'Answer to his own'

Supporting the proposal for an internal inquiry, North Yorkshire NUM leader Ken Capstick said, "Arthur should answer to his own. He does not have to answer to the Tories, the media, or to those Labour MPs [members of Parliament] with their own particular ax to grind."

The media continued with its attacks, meanwhile. The *News of the World*, owned by press billionaire Rupert Murdoch, carried an article March 11 that the NUM had received money from the Irish Republican Army. Another Murdoch paper, the *Sun*, reported March 9 that the National Union of Railwaymen had given £100,000 to the miners during the strike, challenging NUR members to say where they stand on such solidarity donations.

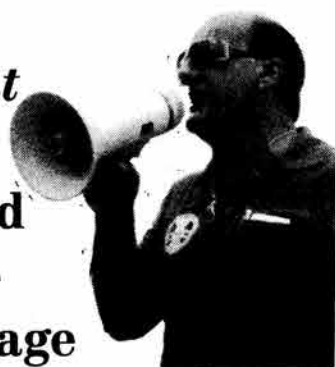
In response to similar charges against the Transport and General Workers Union, General Secretary Ron Todd retorted, "In common with many others, I am proud of the assistance the TGWU gave to relieve hardship among striking miners and their families. The present media campaign should not be allowed to cast a shadow over that solidarity."

Todd condemned the "unprecedented trial by media smear" of Scargill and Heathfield as an "affront to natural justice." He called on the media to "perform a genuine public service by highlighting the devastation caused to the mining communities of Britain by this government since the 1984-85 strike."

**'The Militant has been accurate and provided in-depth coverage of the Machinists strike against Frank Lorenzo, Eastern Airlines, and Texas Air.'**

**FRANK ORTIS**

*national Eastern Airlines strike coordinator and President Machinists Local 702 in Miami*



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# Cuba offers to maintain Nicaragua aid if requested

BY LARRY SEIGLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Cuba is prepared to continue its medical assistance program in Nicaragua if the new government headed by Violeta Chamorro requests it, Fidel Castro said March 7. The Cuban president also stated that volunteers building houses on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast would remain to finish the project if the Chamorro regime makes it possible.

"We, for our part, cannot end this collaboration," Castro told the congress of the Federation of Cuban Women in Havana. "If the new government wants it ended, let them end it. It is their responsibility, not ours."

Such aid can continue, Castro stressed, only if the security of the Cuban volunteers is guaranteed by the pro-U.S. government, which is to take office April 25.

Castro announced that all military advisers and other armed forces personnel will be withdrawn by that date. "It is inconceivable that we could maintain this collaboration with a government that has clearly demonstrated its antipathy to the Cuban revolution," he said, explaining that Cuba will not allow its volunteers "to be blamed for whatever problem or confrontation crops up."

"What's going to happen there? Are the contras going to disarm?" he asked. "Who are the contras going to attack now — the Sandinista forces or the government that they themselves supported?"

## Cuban aid crucial

Castro's statements were widely reported here in a dispatch from Prensa Latina, the Cuban wire service, which was picked up by the Nicaraguan news media.

Havana's economic, military, and security assistance — though little publicized — was crucial to Nicaragua's ability to defeat the U.S.-backed mercenary army known as the contras. The aid also helped make it possible for the government headed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to provide

urgently needed social programs despite the costs of the war and the impact of the U.S. trade embargo.

Castro announced that Cuba will not be able to continue its donations of oil, nor to keep shipping food and clothing to Atlantic Coast communities. Even if the Sandinista government had won the election, he explained, "We might have had to explain that for us — given our own problems — to continue sending aid to the northern Atlantic Coast region would be very difficult. And we might have had to explain that it was impossible to continue the shipments of oil. . . . Because of our own difficulties, our collaboration could not have continued at the level it had reached."

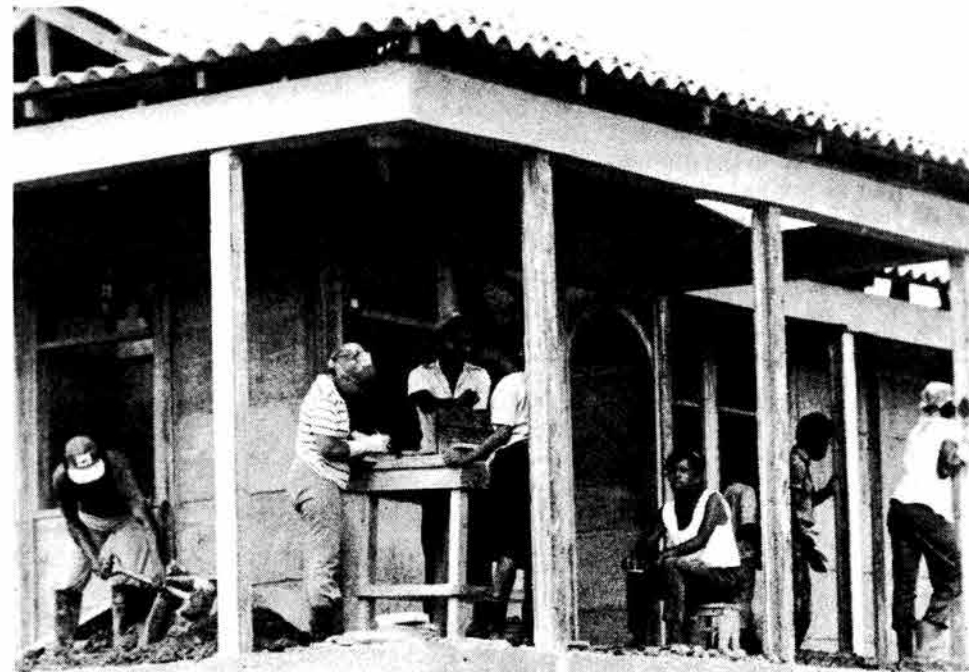
## Shipments of petroleum

Havana has been giving Nicaragua 90,000 tons of petroleum a year. This contribution came from the surplus that Cuba has been able to save from the fuel supplies it receives from the Soviet Union.

Cuba's sale of this extra oil on the world market has been an important source of dollars needed to pay for imports from capitalist countries. The fuel donated to Nicaragua has reduced the amount Cuba can sell abroad, thus amounting to a contribution of scarce hard-currency resources.

The socialist government has also been sending to Nicaragua's north Atlantic Coast enough basic necessities to maintain 50,000 people, one-third of the population of the region. The supplies have included beans, rice, sugar, flour, cooking oil, canned food, soap, clothing, and shoes. A ship arrived in Puerto Cabezas every three months with the goods.

When these donations began, the Cuban rations were distributed at very low prices to working people in the isolated region. But in recent years, the Nicaraguan government had been selling the items on the "free market." As a result, instead of reaching the people



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Hundreds of Cuban volunteers have been helping residents of Bluefields, on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, rebuild from the devastation of a 1988 hurricane. The Cubans will continue this aid if Nicaragua's new government requests it, Cuban President Fidel Castro explained recently.

they were intended for, many of the Cuban goods were bought up by merchants and sold at prices only the wealthy could afford.

## Will they send U.S. doctors?

Perhaps the most widely felt of all aid programs has been the medical assistance project. Figures on the number of Cuban volunteer health-care workers here have never been available, but the number is high.

According to Dora María Tellez, Nicaragua's health minister, the departure of Cuban doctors and other personnel would have a major impact on health care. "The new government has to decide" if it can replace "those 300 Cuban doctors with 300 U.S. doctors," Tellez said on a radio show here.

"Up till now," she added, "I have never heard of the U.S. government sending doctors anywhere."

According to Gloria Elena Navas, head of training for the health ministry in Region III, which includes Managua, if the Cuban doctors leave, important areas of the country will be left virtually without medical care.

"Out on the Atlantic Coast the Cuban doctors go where no other doctors, including

Nicaraguans, are prepared to go because the conditions of work are so difficult."

Navas added, "There are even some neighborhoods right here in Managua where Cubans are the only ones prepared to work — places without drinking water, health posts with only dirt floors. And they all work without salaries."

Navas fears that if the Cuban medical teams are sent home, many of the gains in health care achieved since the 1979 revolution will begin to be reversed. "We would even head back to the high rates of infant mortality we had before the victory of the revolution," she said.

## Immediate impact

Although Cuban officials are hopeful that some agreement can be reached that will allow the medical brigades to continue their work here, some positions that had been filled by Cuban volunteers up to the end of February are already vacant.

At Managua's Lenin Fonseca Hospital, nine of the 23 Cuban internationalists have been withdrawn from their jobs since the defeat of the FSLN in the elections February 25. According to Gina Watson, the hospital's administrator, they include doctors, nurses, anesthesiologists, and technicians.

The hospital will have to cut back on the amount of surgery performed. "We have no way to replace the operating room nurses and technicians," Watson said. In addition, no Nicaraguan doctors are trained in some of the specialized procedures the Cubans have been performing.

## Construction brigade

In the Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields, hundreds of Cuban volunteer construction workers have been building houses to replace

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# Mass protests, international isolation force Avril out of power... and Haiti

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Mass popular protests and growing international isolation forced Gen. Prosper Avril, who has headed Haiti's military government since September 1987, to resign March 10. Two days later, after continued protests, Avril and his family boarded a U.S. Air Force cargo plane and headed into exile. When Avril's plane made an initial landing in Miami, it was met by angry demonstrators from that city's large Haitian community. Avril soon departed for an undisclosed destination.

In Haiti, antigovernment protests — the largest since the mobilizations that forced former dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to flee the country in 1986 — began March 5, after an 11-year-old schoolgirl was killed by the army. On March 8 some 3,000 people converged on the National Palace in Port-au-Prince, shouting "Liberty!" and demanding Avril's resignation. Other large demonstrations also took place around the country. During the week of protests, dozens of people were killed and wounded by the army.

Avril's resignation came two days after U.S. Ambassador Alvin Adams had a personal talk with Avril to urge him to step down. Washington has increased pressure on Avril in recent months, as popular opposition to the government mounted in face of stepped-up repression and Avril's promise to hold elections became more and more remote. Avril's isolation deepened after he imprisoned union and other popular leaders in November, and declared a 10-day state of siege in January, arresting and deporting more government opponents. The Organization of American States and numerous international human rights groups have recently issued statements condemning the Avril regime and urging its investigation for human rights abuses.

On March 12 Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, a judge of Haiti's supreme court, was chosen by the "Group of 12" to head an interim government until elections are held. The Group of 12 is comprised of the main traditional opposition figures and parties in Haiti. Gen. Hérard Abraham is now leading the army.

The National Front Against Repression in Haiti, a coalition of organizations that includes the Independent Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), the drivers' union, and the National People's Assembly, has called for a provisional government headed by Jean Bertrand Aristide, the movement's most prominent figure. "The minimum program of such an interim administration would be, first, to put on trial all Duvalierists guilty of crimes and remove all Tonton Macoutes from government institutions — above all, the Army — and then, secondly, to organize free elections," reported the New York-based Committee Against Repression in Haiti in a March 12 statement. The Tontons Macoutes were Duvalier's thug army. Though officially banned, they continue to harass and murder political activists and others.

Meanwhile in Miami, some 60 protesters took over the Haitian consulate March 10. They were reinforced by 100 others after cops and agents from the FBI and State Department surrounded the building. After negotiations, the protesters were allowed to leave. That evening more than 400 people gathered to hear Jean-August Mesyeux, executive secretary of CATH; Evans Paul, leader of the Confederation of Democratic Unity; and Marino Etienne from the September 17 People's Organization. The three leaders had been imprisoned and tortured by the Avril regime in November. An international campaign was

mounted to win their release, and they were freed in February, along with other prisoners who were amnestied.

Thabo Ntweng from Miami contributed to this article.

# W. Virginia socialists launch ballot drive, back teachers

MORGANTOWN, W.Va. — To prepare for a major ballot drive to gain 13,000 signatures, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign in West Virginia have been doing some preliminary petitioning, reports campaign director Bernie Senter.

"Petitioners have been out to a shopping center here in Morgantown and to several picket lines and rallies organized by striking teachers," Senter said. "We've had some serious discussions about the socialist campaign, sold several copies of the *Militant*, and gotten some initial signatures."

On March 17 — the day the big drive officially kicks off, Senter explained, 70 campaign supporters will be fanning out in teams throughout the state. In addition to getting signatures to put the socialist candidates on the ballot, campaigners will be selling subscriptions to the *Militant* and introducing people to the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. The Action Program explains some of the central ideas the socialist candidates are raising in their campaign, including the importance of working people fighting to unify themselves around a program to win a shorter workweek, affirmative action, and cancellation

of the Third World debt.

The Socialist Workers Party is running Dick McBride for U.S. Senate from West Virginia, Maggie McCraw for state treasurer, and Clay Dennison for attorney general. McBride, a garment worker, and Dennison, a coal miner, are from Morgantown. McCraw lives in Charleston. All three are longtime union activists.

"Our petitioners will be visiting dozens of cities, towns, and hollows all over West Virginia," Senter said. "And we'll be at mine portals, plant gates, and picket lines." The drive ends April 7.

On March 9 SWP candidate Dennison issued a statement supporting the statewide strike by West Virginia's public school teachers, which began March 7. "As a coal miner, I have first-hand experience with antilabor actions by the government, cops, courts, and media," Dennison said.

"We support your right to strike and to collective bargaining, as well as your demands for higher wages and benefits," he stressed. "Your proposals to tax the rich would not only provide funds for education, but could also help solve many other social problems facing working people and youth."



# Feathers are no go in correspondence to prisoners

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

said, "I Valentine card made with feathers, etc."

Warden, who doesn't want his name confused with the title of the chief official at the prison — War-

A March 9 call to Warden Thalacker at the Anamosa prison revealed that preservation of endangered species was not a consideration. While he said he knew nothing about this particular case, Thalacker did say that prison regulations did not permit inmates to receive letters or cards with stick-

ers or materials attached or glued on.

These regulations were designed to avoid getting drugs sent into the prison, Thalacker said. Items "looking innocent," even feathers, can be a means to smuggle drugs into the institution, he said.

"Like most prisons across the country, there are many regulations which under cover of 'security reasons' are used to deny prisoners their rights," said John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. He explained how Curtis and other prisoners at Anamosa are not allowed to receive many publications or literature in languages other than English or to share literature, because such materials are considered a security risk.

Recently Anamosa prison officials enacted tighter regulations on correspondence with inmates, including prohibiting photocopied materials. The new restriction has prevented Curtis from receiving a weekly packet of materials from his defense committee, which usually includes letters and reports on defense activities from supporters around the world, and literature published by the committee. These packets had helped Curtis to better

participate in leading his defense campaign.

After hearing about the case and seeing the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* at a Portland event in January, Ben Warden became interested in Curtis' fight for justice. He became a student supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and decided to send letters to Curtis as a sign of his backing.

**'Let Mark go!'**

"The first letter I sent to him got sent back," Warden said annoyed. The prison authorities "said I must have my parents' permission to send a letter" to Curtis. "My mom sent a note and they finally let him have it," he said.

"I wrote one letter to the people who are holding him that was really short," Warden said. "Let Mark go! And I mean now!" he wrote in the letter.

Warden encourages other young people to get involved in Curtis' defense effort. They should "let people know they defend Mark. He's a good person. He should be free," he said. The Des Moines, Iowa, police and prosecutors "had no real proof" that Curtis has committed the crimes he was accused of, he said.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

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 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*.

Ben Warden, a supporter of Mark Curtis from Portland, Oregon, is angry. Recently he learned that Curtis was not allowed to receive a card he had sent because prison authorities at Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa considered it contraband.

Why was Curtis not allowed to get it? The prison contraband notice

den John Thalacker — is eight years old and is an avid paleontology enthusiast. Paleontology "is the study of prehistoric life," the second-grader explained in a telephone interview.

Warden described the card he had made. It was "a big heart with 'To Mark, from Ben' written on it, and it said 'Happy Valentine's Day,'" he explained. "It had those little feathers you can buy, colored ones, glued around the edges" of the heart. The card was a dark pink, the heart was cut from pink fabric, and the feathers were another shade of pink.

Warden thought perhaps prison authorities had labeled the card contraband out of concern that the feathers had come from an endangered species of bird. "Those feathers are store-bought ones," he said. "They're sold in every state. People buy them by the tons every year."



Ben Warden, 8, a Curtis supporter from Portland, Oregon, sent him a card banned by prison officials.

## Curtis defense leader's tour in Britain a success

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Kate Kaku's tour of Britain is "already a huge success," reports Tony Hunt, a leader here of the effort to defend Mark Curtis, the imprisoned Iowa unionist and political activist. Hundreds have been able to meet Kaku, who is Mark Curtis' wife and a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines, Iowa. Through her tour, tens of thousands have been able to read about his case, or hear about it on radio, Hunt said.

Kaku is in Britain as part of a European tour that will also take her to France, Denmark, Sweden, and Iceland.

A major article on Kaku's visit appeared in the *Star*, a Sheffield newspaper, under the

headline "Freedom fight spans the globe." Journalist Jan Turner tells of a "wife's struggle for justice as husband faces 25 years jail." Turner reports that Kaku has traveled to Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, "and most recently Geneva where the [United Nations] Human Rights Commission has just assigned an officer to research and follow up the Mark Curtis case." She quotes Kaku: "We have to conduct this campaign on a global level if we are to get the support of elected officials, trade unionists, and people who influence public opinion in order to bring pressure to bear on the State of Iowa."

The *Star* has a circulation of 140,000 and a claimed readership of 420,000 in the South Yorkshire and Derbyshire region.

Following a successful first stop in Manchester, Kaku traveled to Cardiff, the capital city of Wales. During her three days there she addressed meetings of engineering workers, miners, and students, and met representatives of political organizations.

### Factory-gate meeting

At Powell Duffryn Wagon, 24 members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union attended a lively lunchtime factory gate meeting addressed by the defense committee leader. The meeting was arranged with the help of the shop stewards at the plant.

Inspired by the meeting, the participants organized a "clock out" collection at the end of the shift and raised £40 (US\$60). Sixty workers at the plant signed a petition protesting the treatment of Curtis by the authorities at the Anamosa prison where he is incarcerated.

Curtis has been removed from his position as elected secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization at the prison on the frame-up charge that he had placed a bet on a Super Bowl game, and materials from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee are censored on the grounds that Curtis is not allowed to receive photocopied materials.

At another factory, Renolds Engineering, six workers stayed behind after work to attend a meeting in a pub at which the video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* made by Hollywood director Nick Castle, was shown. Two new endorsers were gained, and the workers promised to circulate the prison protest statement around the factory.

Kaku was able to meet with two leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers, Brian Elliott and Viv Roberts, at the Phumacite coking plant. The NUM branch at the plant has recently become a Curtis campaign endorser.

When Kaku visited Tower colliery NUM, she found the mood there particularly somber as a mining accident a few days earlier had resulted in injury to one miner and the death of another.

The Tower NUM is already an endorser of the defense committee. The branch invited Kaku to address a fund-raising social that the union had organized for striking ambulance crews. In his welcome for Kaku, branch Secretary Tyrone O'Sullivan emphasized the importance of international solidarity.

Kaku's appeal was well received by the 120 miners and their families present. "The only resource that working people have is each other around the world," she said. "Whether it's for the ambulance workers, or the Guildford Four. That's the only way Mark Curtis is going to be freed. People in the United States are looking towards your union because of the fight you put up in 1984-85."

A meeting organized by the Amnesty Group at the Polytechnic of Wales resulted in 20 new endorsers.

Kaku was also able to meet with Dafydd Williams, secretary of the Welsh nationalist party, Plaid Cymru. Plaid campaigns for Welsh language rights, and Williams expressed interest in Curtis' fight to be allowed to receive materials in prison in languages other than English.

A final rally in Cardiff attracted 40 people. They heard Will Carroll, secretary of the shop stewards committee at Renolds engineering, and Carlos Zepeda, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* video was shown. Several members of Cor Cochion Caerdydd, the Cardiff Red Choir, attended and provided a musical finale to the rally.

Martin Hill in Cardiff, Wales, contributed to this article.

### Protests needed to defend Curtis

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is conducting an urgent international campaign to reverse Iowa prison authorities' recent frame-up and punishment of Des Moines political activist Mark Curtis. He was falsely charged in January with gambling on the Super Bowl football game.

Penalties against Curtis have included two weekends locked up; two good conduct days removed from his record; lengthening his sentence; denial of phone privileges; confiscation of his radio; and removal as elected secretary of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization, an inmates' group.

Curtis is currently serving a 25-year sentence at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa on a 1988 frame-up rape and burglary conviction. While in prison Curtis has remained active defending his rights and those of other prisoners.

Recently the MLK Jr. Organization won an important victory. Prison authorities were forced to release to the general prison library books by Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Piri Thomas after a year-long effort by inmates. Curtis' frame-up on gambling charges came on the heels of this victory.

Protest messages should be sent to Paul Grossheim, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309 USA; and John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205 USA. Copies of messages and replies from prison authorities should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311 USA.

## 'U.S. hands off Cuba' will be theme of April 7 protest

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — More than 100 activists from the New York-New Jersey area met here March 7 to launch plans for organizing a broad protest action April 7 against U.S. threats to Cuba.

The march and rally will demand, "No U.S. intervention in Cuba; U.S. hands off Cuba." It will protest the U.S. economic and travel blockade of Cuba and demand Washington halt plans for "Tele Martí," the U.S.-sponsored television station set to broadcast to Cuba shortly.

"After the invasion of Panama and what has happened in Nicaragua," Luis Miranda explained during a brief welcoming program to start the gathering, "U.S. pressure against Cuba will intensify." Miranda is president of Casa de las Américas, a prominent organization here that defends the Cuban revolution.

Miranda cited the recent U.S. Coast Guard attack on the Cuban cargo ship *Hermann* as the latest proof of Washington's escalating hostility toward the socialist government.

In addition, he said, members of Cuba's United Nations mission, along with their children, have been physically harassed by "right-wing Cuban exiles."

"This could not be carried out unless it was condoned by authorities of the U.S. government," Miranda said.

Reactionary émigrés have marched several times on the Cuban mission since late December and maintain a weekly vigil there. On February 24 they mobilized 3,000 foes of the revolution.

Cuba now needs visible solidarity from its friends and supporters "to show the U.S.

government that Cuba is not alone," Miranda said.

The participants in the March 7 meeting formed the U.S. Hands Off Cuba Coalition.

The April 7 demonstration will assemble at the Times Square armed forces recruitment center for a 1:00 p.m. protest and then proceed to the Cuban mission for a solidarity rally.

African National Congress member Themba Ntinga saluted the meeting and backed the April 7 protest. "If it were not for Cuba's solidarity with Angola and Namibia," Ntinga said, the South African freedom struggle "would not be in the position it is today."

"It is time we reciprocated Cuban sacrifice for African liberation," Omowale Clay of the December 12 Movement, a local Black organization, said from the floor, pledging his group's active support.

Several other Black organizations, including the All African Revolutionary People's Party, the New Afrikan People's Organization, and the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, took responsibilities at the meeting, as did members of the Venceremos Brigade, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Dominican Communist Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World Party, Palestine Solidarity Committee, National Alliance of Third World Journalists, Coordinadora Latinoamericana, African Caribbean Resource Center, Broad Movement in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, and several Central American activists.



# Rising struggle in 'homelands' targets South African regime

Continued from front page

public transportation system, and a host of Mercedes-Benz, BMWs, and other luxury cars, are signs of wealth and privilege concentrated in the hands of a small number of whites.

Driving out of Pretoria, an expansive industrial park containing a brewery, steel fabrication plants, auto factories, and numerous other manufacturing plants, stretches out on both sides of the highway on the "South African" side of the border with the bantustan.

In addition to traveling back and forth to the cities everyday to work, thousands of other workers pour out of the homeland to labor in such industrial areas.

The architect of the bantustans policy in the 1950s, Hendrik Verwoerd, told members of parliament at the time that in order to insure Blacks are not allowed to live in "white" areas, "If necessary, we shall move the industries to the borders of the native reserves, so that the Bantu can reside within the reserves, and commute across the borders."

## Four lanes become two

Crossing over the border of Bophuthatswana, the four-lane highway abruptly becomes a two-lane road. Most housing consists of small four-room units or corrugated tin shelters. Some have a small piece of land on which they grow corn or vegetables in the thin soil. Most residents must crowd into trains, buses, or minivan taxis for transportation to work and school. Most paved roads extend only a few miles into the homeland.

On March 10 several thousand spirited demonstrators marched down the township's main street for the funeral of Martha Modise, 17 years old. She was run over by a police car at the March 7 protest. Flags of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were carried by the marchers.

The Mabopane Odi Crisis Committee, a local organization, denounced the police attack as "uncalled for and a complete abuse of power."

The South African Defence Force was sent in to help quell the protests and shore up Mangope's shaky rule. The apartheid regime also sent troops in to save Mangope from a coup in 1988.

Following the attack on the demonstration, Mangope said in a radio broadcast, "I believe people tend to be misled by slogans, but I don't think in the final analysis that the majority of the people of Bophuthatswana would like to be reincorporated" into South Africa. Asked if his government would accede to reincorporation demands, he said, "Never in a 100 years."

ANC leader Walter Sisulu said the liberation movement "welcomed this popular rejection of undemocratic tyrannies which have been imposed on our people. Our people were never consulted on the bantustan system."

Calling for "discipline and restraint" in mass struggle, Sisulu added, "Our task remains to remove apartheid and replace it with democratic structures."

The events in Bophuthatswana coincide with a massive upsurge in other homelands in recent weeks.

In Venda, located in the far northeastern corner of the country, huge celebrations greeted the release of Nelson Mandela from apartheid's jails February 11. Since then strikes in transportation, health, education, and other public sectors, and petitions from students, businessmen, and clergy, pressed the government of Frank Ravele to the brink of collapse.

After failing to suppress the protests by attacking demonstrations, Ravele lifted the ban on the ANC, SACP, the Pan Africanist Congress, and other organizations. Those imprisoned for simply being a member of one of the organizations are to be released. "The destination of Venda should be decided by the people themselves," Ravele told the press.

In another homeland, the Ciskei, Brig. Oupa Johua Gqozo toppled the hated regime of Chief Lennox Sebe in a recent coup because his rule was "autocratic and violated their human rights," Gqozo said. Marches and rallies across the homeland greeted Sebe's overthrow.

With Sebe gone, some aspects of the extent of the corruption and repression in the homeland have surfaced. A report in the Johannesburg *Times* said Sebe "has five residences, four largely paid for by the state, a galaxy of limousines, a salary to match that of [South African] President F.W. de Klerk, and he is the owner of prosperous businesses."

One business was a large farm, bought for a fraction of its value. The 120 farm workers were paid by the state.

Sebe sold cabbages grown on the farm to "starving peasants," the *Times* explained.

He maintained an army, police, and an "Elite Unit" that was "part Praetorian Guard, part Ton-Ton Macoute, and was headed by the president's son," the *Times* reported.

The de Klerk government began a nationwide crackdown in an attempt to quell the protests in the homelands and put down numerous strikes, rallies, and demonstrations across the country. The regime has tried to shift the blame for the protest deaths and injuries onto the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations. Adriaan Vlok, minister of law and order, announced in parliament, "Enough is enough."

Calling the response to the police shootings and other "violence" in the country "nothing less than political thuggery by radicals and crime committed by criminals," Vlok added, "It cannot and will not be tolerated under any circumstances."

The evening of March 9 security forces began rounding up activists across the country. Acting under provisions of the state of emergency in effect throughout the country, more than 100 activists were jailed.

In the town of Welkom a crowd of whites armed with *sjamboks* (whips) and other weapons tried to disrupt a legal march to the Welkom Civic Centre by teachers from nearby Thabong township.

Conservative Party leader Andreis Treurnicht said the "CP believes there is no reason why black marches should be permitted through white areas."

Simon Ntombela, publicity secretary of the UDF-affiliated South African Youth Congress, said, "The regime always charges these events are instigated from the outside. They refuse to accept that our people are expressing their discontent about apartheid. In the homelands our people are tired of tyrannical governments."

The upsurge in the homelands has



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Simon Ntombela, publicity secretary of South African Youth Congress.

prompted major headlines in the daily newspapers of South Africa. "Apartheid is falling apart," read one. "Apocalypse now for a mad dream," read another.

An editorial in the Johannesburg *Star* said the upsurge "is confirmation, if any were needed, that planning the new South Africa will have to be in terms of a single, undivided land."

## Apartheid's bantustan policy

BY MARGRETHE SIEM

GARANKUWA, Bophuthatswana, South Africa — The bantustan policy was conceived in the 1950s by the apartheid regime to guarantee a cheap labor source as the country industrialized. It excluded Africans from 87 percent of the land reserved for the white minority of 7 million. Today there are 10 bantustans, where more than 51 percent of the country's African population of 27 million lives on overcrowded and impoverished plots of land. Under the Group Areas Act, the Coloured and Indian communities, which had a population of 3.4 million in 1980, are only allocated land for residential areas and trading activities in certain zones in towns and cities.

Over several decades the apartheid rulers created the bantustans or "homelands," keeping Africans out of the urban centers, except to come in to work. Millions of people have been forced to move to the bantustans. Stripped of citizenship in South Africa, they are arbitrarily assigned to a bantustan, depending on the apartheid regime's analysis of their "tribal" ancestry.

Many of the chiefs or presidents of the bantustans have been handpicked and corrupted by Pretoria to serve its interests and

to assure their own wealth.

Nelson Mandela attacked the homeland policy in the 1950s. "The real purpose of the scheme is to increase land hunger for the masses of the peasants in the reserves and to impoverish them," he said. "The main object is to create a huge army of migrant laborers. . . . By enclosing them in compounds at the centers of work and housing them in rural locations when they return home, it is hoped to prevent the emergence of a closely knit, powerful, militant, and articulate African industrial proletariat who might acquire the rudiments of political agitation and struggle. What is wanted by the ruling class is a docile, spineless, unorganized, and inarticulate army of workers."

None of the bantustans are viable economic, social, or geographic units, let alone "independent" states, as Pretoria has proclaimed for four of them (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei). In addition, only the tiny KwaNdebele and Quana bantustans are single pieces of territory. KwaZulu consists of 44 patches of land separated from each other by white farming areas.

The bantustans are totally dependent on South Africa. Because of the lack of industrial development, unemployment rates are extremely high. The vast majority must seek work outside the bantustans. In Transkei 600,000 out of more than 3 million people work in South Africa.

Land which can be farmed in the bantustans is concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. Most cannot even scratch out a subsistence on their small plots of poor and rocky land.

## Mandela book reaches workers on the job

BY JON HILLSON

Workers buying books on the job is becoming more common in factories and workplaces across the country, especially when the author is Nelson Mandela.

That is the experience of airport workers in San Francisco, auto workers in Philadelphia, and meat-packers in Phoenix, all of them trade unionists who have been participating in a campaign launched three weeks ago by Pathfinder, the *Militant*, and the Young Socialist Alliance to get *The Struggle Is My Life* by Mandela out as widely as possible.

The book traces, in his own words, Mandela's political development as a leader of the African National Congress and includes key documents from the ANC.

Five distributors at the United Airlines maintenance base in San Francisco have sold 45 copies of the book to coworkers since the effort was launched. They believe they have "just begun," says Matilde Zimmermann, who sold 20 of the books.

The workers who have bought *The Struggle Is My Life* "are very diverse — Black, Latino, white, young, and old," reflecting the breadth of Mandela's impact. The book was a hot item among new hires as well as workers with 25 years or more seniority.

Two mechanics put Pathfinder's attractive poster promoting the book on their rollaways,

giving the workplace campaign some visibility.

High sales have been achieved, Zimmermann says, "because we ask workers we don't know, as well as those we do know, to buy the book."

Zimmermann, a sewing machine operator who makes seat covers, says a young worker born in Cuba asked her for books to get to his friends on the job. "He's already sold four."

The distributors now plan to go back to the dozens of workers who have purchased the book with copies of *New International*, the Marxist political journal. Issue number 5 features an important article, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes, on the national, democratic revolution in

South Africa and the vanguard role of the ANC.

Steve Halpern, who works at the Budd Company North Philadelphia truck plant, says *New International* sales are next on his on-the-job sales agenda as well. Seven of his coworkers have bought *The Struggle Is My Life*. The book, he says, "sells itself. There's no reason workers who are asked won't buy it."

Workers leaving Sunland Beef in Phoenix saw coworker Harvey McArthur at the plant gate with a display of *The Struggle Is My Life* on his car: Mandela posters on the windshield and books on the hood.

The next day on the job, three Mexican workers purchased *Habla Nelson Mandela*, Pathfinder's Spanish-language version of the book.

Send me ☐ 5 ☐ 10 ☐ 15 ☐ 20 ☐ Other copies of:

☐ *The Struggle Is My Life* (\$10.95 each; \$7.25 each for 10 or more).

☐ *Habla Nelson Mandela* (\$6.95 each; \$4.65 for 10 or more).

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 or 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, Toronto, Ontario, M5V 1S8, Canada. Include \$1.50 for postage. Orders of 10 or more postage free. For information on prices and orders in Britain and Australia write Pathfinder, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, England; or P.O. Box 153, Glebe, Sydney, NSW 2037, Australia.

## From South Africa in our next issue . . .

Militant staff writer Greg McCartan, joined by *Militant* reporter Rich Palser from Britain and photographer Margrethe Siem, will for the next several weeks provide our readers with eyewitness coverage of the momentous events sweeping South Africa. McCartan and Siem visited Lusaka, Zambia, prior to arriving in South Africa. Our next issue will feature an interview by them with Neo Mnumzana, the administrative secretary for foreign affairs of the African National Congress.

Contributions from our readers to cover the expenses of this trip are urgently needed and can be sent to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Around the world, solidarity keeps on growing

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the Militant's closing news date, Wednesday, March 14, the

a successful labor boycott of Eastern flights, spearheaded by the BIU. The boycott had begun last June, after Eastern resumed flights to Bermuda for the first time since the strike started.

Following the boycott victory, IAM International President George Kourpias wrote to Simmons to thank

muda, the BIU is continuing boycott action against Continental.

The Bermuda Industrial Union has 6,000 members and represents virtually all the workers in the country's construction and tourism industries. Bermuda, a British colony, lies in the Atlantic Ocean some 600 miles off the North Carolina coast.

## New Zealand

Delegates attending the annual New Zealand Meat Workers Union (NZMWU) conference, held in late February in Christchurch, also extended solidarity to the Machinists fight at Eastern.

Merv Taylor, president of the Canterbury branch of the NZMWU, called on the conference to support the Eastern strikers and distributed leaflets to delegates that explained the issues in the strike.

Other delegates quickly responded by proposing that the conference donate NZ\$1,000 (US\$590) to the strikers and send a message of solidarity to mark the year's anniversary of the strike March 4. The motion passed unanimously.

The NZMWU represents meat-packing workers in New Zealand's South Island and the lower half of the North Island.

## France

Unionists at Air France, in a solidarity message sent to the Machinists union, saluted the Eastern strikers on the occasion of the March 4 strike anniversary.

"Deregulation and savage competition — for which workers, passengers, and safety pay the price —

is what steers the management at Eastern Airlines and is at work in Europe as well," the message said. "Your struggle to defend your wages, working conditions, health care, retirement, and air transport safety and against part-time work and subcontracting, is the same... as that waged by the personnel at Air France for 100 days of struggle last year."

"In this period, when every company invokes international competition to attack the workers, we know that by waging your fight, you are also fighting for us. This is true for every one of the struggles that have been waged and that are being waged now, like those at Boeing, Iberia Airlines, or British Aerospace, and so many others that have received our total solidarity."

The greetings came from Y. Touil and A. Dubourg, leaders of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), one of the unions representing Air France workers.

Michel Bousquet, an Air France mechanic, represented the CGT at the March 4 anniversary rally at New York's La Guardia Airport, after spending several days visiting IAM Local 1018's strike office and picket line. He visited the La Guardia strikers last year and since then has been spreading the word about the Eastern fight among his coworkers at Charles de Gaulle Airport near Paris. Bousquet was also a leading activist in the Air France strike, which began in October 1988.

"After our strike ended, Air France was backed up in the repair of planes," Bousquet said. "They wanted to send some to Boeing to be repaired, but workers there were

on strike. They tried Iberia Airlines in Spain, but there was a strike there also. So they ended up relaxing the rules and letting planes fly that hadn't been properly maintained and repaired." This helped increase Air France workers' awareness of strike struggles in the United States, Bousquet said.

## Canada

The British Columbia Federation of Labour sent out a letter about the Eastern strike to its affiliates on February 22.

"Their cause and the endurance of the strikers has captured the attention of millions of North American trade unionists and has garnered the support of workers around the world," wrote Angela Schira, secretary-treasurer of the federation.

The letter goes on to call for stepping up the boycott of Eastern and Continental airlines. It also announces that copies of the *Eastern Story* video are now available from the regional office of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Requests for the video have been coming into the Canadian Airlines IAM local in Vancouver from locals of the Paperworkers, Woodworkers, and Steelworkers unions, and from the 1,200-member, Steelworker-organized local of coal miners in Tumbler Ridge, in the northeast of the province.

Affiliates of the British Columbia Federation of Labour represent 250,000 workers.

Joan Phillips from Christchurch, New Zealand, and Robert Demorest from Vancouver, British Columbia, contributed to this column.



## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

strike was in its 376th day.

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

## Bermuda

Ottiwell Simmons, president of the Bermuda Industrial Union, was an honored guest at the strike anniversary picket line held in Philadelphia March 3, and at the rally organized by strikers at New York's La Guardia Airport the following day.

Simmons was invited to speak after Eastern strikers learned from the IAM's strike bulletin of the role played by the BIU in forcing Eastern to cancel service to Bermuda in January.

The blow to Frank Lorenzo, the airline's owner, came as a result of

the BIU for their solidarity. The February 9 Workers Voice, the BIU's paper, carried Kourpias' letter.

"We are extremely grateful to you and the members of the Bermuda Industrial Union for upholding trade union principles by waging the successful boycott of Eastern," Kourpias said.

"When I announced at the recent IAM Legislative Conference that your boycott had been successful, and Eastern was stopping its operation in Bermuda, our members were very encouraged."

"In giving your support, you have renewed our faith in international solidarity and friendship, which makes us very proud to be associated with your great organization," the IAM president wrote.

Last November the BIU also sponsored an emergency resolution calling for a Caribbean-wide boycott of Eastern and Continental, also run by Lorenzo, at the Caribbean Congress of Labour convention. The resolution passed unanimously.

Now that Eastern is out of Ber-

port at 1:00 p.m. People will then proceed to the Main Terminal for a picket line and rally.

## BY SUSAN LaMONT

The rallies held around the country March 9 to support the Greyhound strike and protest the picket-line death of striker Bob Waterhouse drew hundreds of unionists.

A militant memorial rally of 600 was held at New York's Port Authority. After marching around the huge mid-Manhattan bus terminal, strikers and supporters went inside the building. The police were forced to shut down Greyhound's ticket counters until the demonstration ended. Some 10 Eastern strikers

from La Guardia Airport joined the action.

In Boston 200 people held a candlelight vigil at the bus station. During the action, four scab-driven buses went out and one striker was arrested.

More than 75 unionists in Des Moines, Iowa, attended a rally there. In addition to 16 bus drivers, there are 120 strikers who work at Greyhound's accounting office in Des Moines, out of 650 workers. Earlier in the week, a striker picketing the office building was hit by a scab-driven car. An injunction has been issued against the ATU there, limiting strikers to two pickets per gate.

More than 150 unionists were at the Cincinnati Greyhound terminal for a memorial called by the Cincinnati AFL-CIO. "It is time to say to Greyhound, or any other employer in this country, that we have had enough!" said ATU International Vice-president Robert Baker. "We won't tolerate any more deaths. We are not criminals or animals."

In Cleveland 300 Greyhound strikers and supporters marched to the downtown bus station. At the front of the procession was a sign that read, "Phillips and Waterhouse will be walking on every picket line." Raymond Phillips was a striker from Zanesville, Ohio, killed by a scab-driven bus during the 1983 national Greyhound strike.

"If Fred Currey wants to be as well-known as Frank Lorenzo, we will accommodate him," said Cleveland Federation of Labor official Richard Acton, to loud applause. Cleveland Mayor Michael White also spoke; the city council passed a resolution in support of the strike on March 5.

Some 100 workers held a memorial at the Atlanta bus station. One of the unionists who addressed the rally was former Pittston striker Bill Patton from Clinchco, Virginia. After a rally of 100 in Seattle, about 70 strikers and supporters confronted a scab driver on his way out of the terminal and temporarily blocked him from leaving. One strike supporter was arrested.

A sidewalk rally of 75 was held at the bus station in Pittsburgh.

On March 11 Greyhound strikers held an expanded picket line and rally at the Phoenix bus station, attended by 100 unionists. The strikers carried newly

printed Spanish-language picket signs prepared by the union to reach potential passengers, many of whom are Spanish-speaking. During the two-hour event, strikers witnessed several accidents and near-misses by scab drivers. A rally of 100 — about half striking Eastern Machinists — was also held the same day in Miami.

A new fact sheet put out by ATU Local 1202 in New York explains why 9,000 bus drivers, mechanics, cleaners, and clerks struck Greyhound March 2. "The Company's only contract offer would result in no pay increase for drivers for 13 years (1983-1996)," the fact sheet explains. Greyhound's proposal would give the company unrestricted rights to subcontract maintenance work and routes; gut the union's grievance procedures; cut back on medical benefits; and more. The pact was rejected by a 92 percent margin.

Greyhound is trying to break the strike by hiring scab drivers. While the company claims to be up to 30 percent of normal service, strikers report far fewer scab-driven buses are actually getting on the road.

On March 10 a shot was fired into a scab-driven bus outside Jacksonville, Florida. Similar incidents have been reported in several other states, including Arizona, where a bus was reportedly hit by gunfire in Phoenix during the night of March 9.

"I don't think any of our strikers did it," said ATU Local 1222 Executive Board member Bill Kolehmainen. "And I certainly would advise them not to."

On March 11 New York State Supreme Court Justice Bruce Wright signed a temporary restraining order blocking Greyhound from hiring scabs to replace ATU Local 1202 members. The ruling was based on a New York City's law barring the hiring of "strike breakers." A hearing on the order is set for March 15.

Meanwhile, ATU officials have begun meeting with federal mediators in Washington, D.C.

Harvey McArthur from Phoenix, Liz Ziers from Atlanta, Phil Duzinski from Des Moines, Ned Measel from Cleveland, and Val Libby from Cincinnati contributed to this article.

## Continued from front page

March 2, Eastern strikers have joined picket lines at the bus station and maintenance garage here. They have contributed out of their own pockets to take food and coffee to the Greyhound strikers. On March 6 Greyhound and Eastern strikers joined together to speak at the National Mail Handlers Union Legislative Conference held in Washington, D.C. A collection of \$600 was taken up for the strikers.

Greyhound strikers will join the Machinists and other unionists for a "March for the Eastern Strikers" on March 18. The assembly point is at the marina south of National Air-

## Hundreds honor slain striker



Militant/Eileen Koschak

Some 400 people, mainly striking Greyhound workers, joined a memorial walk in Redding, California, to honor Robert Waterhouse, a veteran Greyhound driver killed on the picket line March 3 by a scab-driven bus. "He didn't have to be out there," said Amalgamated Transit Union council president Ed Strait. "He was out there for the younger people." In the San Francisco Bay Area, many bus drivers stopped their buses for five minutes at 1:00 p.m. in solidarity.



# Lockheed workers approve new contract

BY PETER ANESTOS

SUNNYVALE, Calif. — Lockheed Corp. workers overwhelmingly ratified a new three-year contract at union halls in California and Georgia March 5. Following the recommendation of their national negotiating committee, Lockheed employees who are members of the International Association of Machinists voted yes by 77 percent here in Sunnyvale; 76 percent in Burbank and Palm-dale, California; and 83 percent in Marietta, Georgia.

The contract included some improvements over an offer that 99 percent of Lockheed workers had rejected in a vote two weeks earlier. For example, all workers employed by the aerospace corporation will receive \$2,500 upon ratification instead of \$1,500 as proposed before.

But these gains were more than offset by new pay schedules and takeaways in medical benefits.

Workers in the middle and upper labor grades will get general wage increases of 4 percent the first year and 3 percent the second. The upper grades will get an additional 3 percent the third year while the middle grades get a 3 percent lump sum bonus.

## Wage differentials widen

However, workers in the lowest labor grades, who comprise 23 percent of the work force and whose wage rates top out at \$11.50 per hour, will receive lump sum bonuses in lieu of wage increases. Similar differences will be applied to cost-of-living adjustments

## Despite the yes vote, few of the 18,000 Machinists consider the union pact a good one.

(COLA). While middle and upper grades will have their COLA figured into their wage rates, the lower grades will receive quarterly lump sum payments instead, thereby widening wage differences over the life of the contract. This is because cost-of-living adjustments for wages and benefits are pegged to base pay, which goes up with wage increases but not with bonus payments.

Also, new hires in the lower grades will have their maximum wage rates cut by approximately \$2 per hour, creating divisions among the lowest-paid workers at Lockheed.

Changes in medical insurance will shift a large part of the payment burden onto the workers. All workers will make premium copayments of \$4 per week the second and third year for dependents, as well as absorbing 100 percent increases in yearly deductibles (going to \$200 for employees, \$400 for dependents) throughout the contract. In the third year, workers must assume 25 percent of the increase in medical costs for dependents, up to \$6 per week.

## Boeing contract didn't set pattern

Despite the vote, few of the 18,000 Machinists at Lockheed considered the contract a good one. It is the first time in 50 years that the first contract settled in the aerospace industry didn't set a pattern. That was the agreement ratified at Boeing after 58,000 workers struck for 48 days in October and November. The Boeing workers got roughly the same annual wage increases as those in the Lockheed pact, but substantially more bonus payments and increases in medical and retirement benefits.

In discussions following distribution of the tentative agreement on February 27, many workers at the plant here openly condemned the wage provisions as "unfair" to the lower labor grades. They also explained that the two- and three-tier wage scales will encourage Lockheed more than ever to impose layoffs, reorganize production, then rehire workers, paying them at the bottom of the scale.

After seven months of bargaining and two postponements of the strike vote by the union negotiating committee, few believed a strike at Lockheed could be effectively fought or that a better contract could be won. Here at Sunnyvale, this mood of resignation deepened when the district leadership announced February 28 that the traditional mass meeting preceding the vote would be canceled in favor of "walk-through" voting at the union hall.

"I voted to accept the contract," worker

Gail Beckmann told the *San Jose Mercury-News*, "but it's more or less a no-choice situation."

Nevertheless, 23 percent of Sunnyvale workers voted no on March 5, a percentage roughly corresponding to the proportion of lower-paid workers affected by the new wage rates. In the wire-harness shop, where half

the work force is in the lower labor grades, nearly half voted no.

After the contract was ratified, discussion about the prolonged negotiations and their outcome continued among union members at Sunnyvale. "We should've spoken up much sooner," one worker said, referring to the start of bargaining when Lockheed an-

nounced its takeback demands and reports from the union began appearing in the plant. "Don't worry," said another. "We'll get 'em next time."

Peter Anestos is a cable mechanic at the Sunnyvale, California, plant and a member of Machinist Local 2228.

# 'Militant' circulation drive gears up

BY RONI McCANN

On March 17 supporters around the world will launch a seven-week international circulation drive to sign up 7,500 new readers to the communist press.

The goal of the campaign is to win 4,950 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,100 subscriptions to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, 250 subscriptions to the French-language quarterly *Lutte ouvrière*, and 1,200 single copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* by May 5.

The circulation drive coincides with a major three-week petitioning effort in West Virginia to get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot for the November statewide elections. Dick McBride is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Maggie McCraw for treasurer of West Virginia; and Clay Denison is the SWP candidate for state attorney general.

The socialist candidates and their supporters will be traveling throughout the state winning new subscribers and collecting signatures. They'll be discussing politics with workers and distributing the pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

Joining the subscription teams in West Virginia for the March 17 kick-off week will be supporters of the socialist campaign and members of the Young Socialist Alliance from New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and other cities.

Distributors in some areas are getting rolling on the circulation drive, which is shorter than such drives recently, by fielding regional teams during the kick-off target week. *Militant* supporters in St. Louis will be fielding a sales team to the southern Illinois coalfields, and supporters in Los Angeles will be visiting the farm-working region near Oxnard.



Militant/Susan Zárate  
Miami, March 4, 1990, at Eastern Airlines strike anniversary action. *Militant* supporters will be making special effort during circulation drive to win new readers among Eastern strikers and supporters.

Supporters in Washington State and surrounding areas will be heading to Sunnyvale, in the Yakima Valley, March 25 to meet farm workers and sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. They'll be returning to Yakima again April 1 for the convention of the United Farm Workers of Washington State.

During the course of the drive, supporters of the socialist press, including many who are unionists, will be making special efforts to win new readers among striking Eastern Airlines workers on the picket lines, at the strike centers, and at union events and rallies. Supporters will also be introducing the periodicals to workers on strike against Greyhound Lines at bus terminals around the country, as well as to hundreds of other workers on the job and in working-class neighborhoods in the United States and around the world.

The introductory subscription rate for the *Militant* in the United States will be \$7 for

12 weeks, more than half off buying 12 issues at the cover price. This is an increase over the introductory price in the last subscription drive in 1989, but it is necessary to keep up with rising costs of printing and shipping and continue producing the quality newspaper readers appreciate with on-the-scene reports from South Africa, Panama, El Salvador and more.

Other new prices include \$12 for a 12-week renewal subscription to the *Militant*, \$21 for six months, \$37 for one year; and \$70 for two years. Subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* in the United States are \$4 for four months; \$7 for six months; \$12 for one year; and \$22 for two years.

We urge readers to get involved in the circulation campaign by ordering a bundle of newspapers and taking a goal of subscriptions you can sell in your area during the drive. To do this write or call the *Militant* business office at 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014; telephone: (212) 929-3486.

## Subscription Drive SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS	Total	Militant	New Int'l	Perspectiva Mundial	Lutte ouvrière
<b>UNITED STATES</b>					
Atlanta	165	117	30	15	3
Austin, Minn.	75	53	10	10	2
Baltimore	150	112	25	10	3
Birmingham, Ala.	150	123	20	5	2
Boston	190	125	25	30	10
Brooklyn	340	200	60	60	20
Charleston, WV	115	88	20	5	2
Chicago	280	185	45	45	5
Cleveland	110	78	20	10	2
Des Moines, Iowa	160	123	15	20	2
Detroit	250	200	30	15	5
Greensboro, NC	115	90	15	8	2
Houston	145	98	20	25	2
Kansas City	105	78	15	10	2
Los Angeles	400	210	75	110	5
Miami	200	110	40	30	20
Morgantown, WV	150	113	30	5	2
New York	500	280	95	110	15
Newark, NJ	385	210	95	65	15
Oakland, Calif.	185	120	25	35	5
Omaha, Neb.	110	80	15	13	2
Philadelphia	160	108	25	25	2
Phoenix	85	53	10	20	2
Pittsburgh	140	113	20	5	2
Portland, Ore.	100	75	13	10	2
Price, Utah	75	53	10	10	2
Salt Lake City	190	138	30	20	2
San Francisco	220	150	30	35	5
Seattle	140	108	15	15	2
St. Louis	200	162	25	10	3
Twin Cities, Minn.	210	162	30	15	3
Washington, DC	145	100	20	20	5
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>5,945</b>	<b>4,015</b>	<b>953</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>BRITAIN</b>					
Cardiff	59	40	10	7	2
London	162	105	30	25	2
Manchester	74	50	20	3	1
Sheffield	107	65	30	10	2
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>CANADA</b>					
Montréal	170	65	20	45	40
Toronto	190	120	30	30	10
Vancouver	115	75	15	20	5
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>					
Auckland	100	80	15	4	1
Christchurch	55	45	6	3	1
Wellington	70	54	11	4	1
<b>N. Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>179</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1</b>
Int'l teams	155	75	25	50	5
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>7,370</b>	<b>4,894</b>	<b>1,181</b>	<b>1,065</b>	<b>230</b>
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>	<b>7,500</b>	<b>4,950</b>	<b>1,200</b>	<b>1,100</b>	<b>250</b>



# The erosion of Nicaragua's rev

## What led to the defeat of workers' and farmers' power established

BY RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — Aaron Ruby, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, welcomed 120 people March 10 for a public meeting here titled "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador: What the Elections in Nicaragua Mean for National Sovereignty in Central America."

After recent events in Nicaragua, defending the national sovereignty of that country and calling for "U.S. hands off Cuba, Panama, and El Salvador" is vital, said Ruby, who lived and worked in Nicaragua for five years before joining the YSA.

Ruby urged all those present to join the Washington, D.C., March 24 action protesting U.S. intervention in Central America and the April 7 New York picket line demanding U.S. hands off Cuba.

The featured speaker at the event, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, was Cindy Jaquith, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and the

### 'In '79 insurrection swept major cities, and the masses declared the FSLN their leadership.'

former head of the *Militant* bureau in Managua, Nicaragua. Jaquith has also traveled extensively reporting for the *Militant* in Panama, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, and Cuba.

#### Nicaragua revolution defeated

"On February 26 it was announced that the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had been defeated in the Nicaraguan elections," said Jaquith. "The election outcome also announced the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution, a defeat that had occurred sometime earlier and was registered by the election results."

Jaquith explained the defeat was a big blow to working people and national liberation fighters around the world, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. "It comes on the heels of the U.S. invasion of Panama" and more than six years after the overthrow of the revolutionary government in Grenada, headed by Maurice Bishop, she added.

The threat of intensified U.S. provocations against Cuba and the liberation movement in El Salvador now increases; the sovereignty of Nicaragua is now being violated by a team of "international observers"; and the danger of U.S. military intervention in Central America remains, said Jaquith.

The challenge before partisans of the Nicaraguan revolution — those co-fighters who picked coffee, built schools, taught languages, visited, and defended Nicaragua —

### Cuba offers ongoing medical and building aid to Nicaragua

Continued from Page 3

those destroyed by Hurricane Joan in October 1988. The workers, organized in the José Martí Contingent, have been putting up 1,000 homes.

All of the building materials and machinery, as well as the food for the contingent members and those Nicaraguans working with them, have been donated by Cuba.

The future of the project is now in doubt.

In a speech in Managua March 9, FSLN National Directorate member Bayardo Arce said, "We hope that even though Doña Violeta doesn't like the Cubans, she is not going to deprive the people of hundreds of medical appointments, hundreds of operations, and of the houses that they are building for the Nicaraguans."

Arce said he had just returned from a trip to Havana, where he requested that Cuba continue to provide aid to Nicaragua, "to the maximum extent possible for them."

is to absorb the reasons for the defeat and the fact that it was not inevitable — despite the U.S.-sponsored contra war and Nicaragua's poverty.

"Ultimately it was a question of leadership," said Jaquith, "the greatest challenge for any revolutionary movement."

Jaquith reviewed the evolution of the struggle against the U.S.-backed Somoza dynasty and the July 19, 1979, overturn of capitalist political rule and the formation of a workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua led by the Sandinista Front.

#### Inspired by Cuba

The FSLN was founded in 1961, following the 1959 victory of the Cuban revolution, by a team of revolutionaries around Carlos Fonseca.

"Inspired by the Cuban revolution," said Jaquith, "they rejected the view put forward by Stalinist forces in Nicaragua who argued there could be no perspective of fighting for socialism in Nicaragua, or anywhere in Latin America or the Caribbean, until some indefinite future time."

The revolutionaries, led by Fonseca, drafted the Historic Program of the FSLN in 1969, a democratic and anti-imperialist charter, said Jaquith.

At the time the revolutionaries were waging a guerrilla war against the Somoza regime and were isolated and victimized. Over the following years, however, peasants and workers joined the fighters and were welcomed to the antidictatorial struggle that involved diverse sectors of the population.

The FSLN was a front, Jaquith stressed, not a party. It was an alliance encompassing broad forces needed to overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza regime: workers and peasants, middle-class youth, religious figures, and liberal bourgeois forces.

The revolution took place in an international context of imperialism having been weakened by the blows of successful revolutions in Vietnam, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Grenada, Iran, and with the material and political backing of revolutionary Cuba, she said.

#### Workers' and farmers' government

Just before Somoza was toppled, Jaquith said, the assumption of the FSLN leaders, given the relationship of forces, was that the provisional revolutionary government they would participate in would initially be a coalition regime with bourgeois forces holding the majority.

However, in the final months before the dictator's overthrow, insurrections swept major cities and the masses declared the FSLN their leadership in city after city. The relationship of forces shifted in favor of workers and peasants.

After the FSLN came to power, said Jaquith, another course was followed, giving the representatives of the mass organizations a bigger weight in the new government.

"The new government was different from most governments in Latin America, including those sharply opposed to and overthrown by imperialism such as the Salvador Allende regime in Chile (1970-73) and the Jacobo Arbenz regime in Guatemala (1951-54). In fact there were only two others like it in the region," said Jaquith, "Grenada and Cuba."

The new Nicaraguan government established a revolutionary army and armed the masses; displaced the businessmen and landlords from political power; decreed broad democratic rights; began to make inroads on capitalist property, giving land to peasants and nationalizing the banks, some vital natural resources, and some factories; and began to bring health care, education, and literacy campaigns to the countryside.

The masses were mobilized and organized, said Jaquith, into peasant organizations, trade unions, neighborhood defense committees, cultural groups, and youth and women's organizations.

"The revolution in Nicaragua overthrew the capitalist government," Jaquith said, "and the first form of government that can be expected to rapidly appear as the result of such a successful anticapitalist revolution is

what can most accurately be characterized as a workers' and farmers' government."

A determining factor of a workers' and farmers' government is not the *pace* of expropriating the exploiters, not how fast this occurs, but what the *direction* of the government is, said Jaquith. Does it respond to the pressure of the masses? Despite its words, what are its deeds? In the early years of the Nicaraguan government its actions made it clear what direction it was going, said Jaquith. It was clearly on the side of and responded to demands of working people.

"Internationally the FSLN government took a solid stance as part of the world revolution. One week after taking power on July 19," she said, "leaders of the FSLN went to Cuba to join Cuban anniversary events on July 26."

In March 1980 at the closing session of the Third Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women, Cuban President Fidel Castro declared Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada "three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice on the very threshold of imperialism."

Leaders of the Nicaraguan government joined the Cubans again on July 26, 1980, said Jaquith, where Castro took up the charge that perhaps because everything hadn't been nationalized yet, maybe the Nicaraguan revolution was a bourgeois revolution.

He explained that there are progressive governments friendly with Cuba like Mexico and Jamaica, said Jaquith, but that Nicaragua was different. "In Nicaragua there is, in the first place, a people's revolution whose main strength is found in the workers, the peasants, the students," and the middle-class sector, Castro said. There was only one road to liberation: "that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua — there is no other formula."

The workers' and farmers' government that came to power in Nicaragua, like all governments of its type, was inherently unstable. Although working people held political power, said Jaquith, it rested on a capi-

talist state structure. "It rested on a capitalist economy that continually reproduced capitalist social relations, thus undermining and threatening all steps taken toward equality and development."

It is a contradictory form of government and one that is relatively short-lived, she said. "It will either keep throwing its weight behind the workers or slip back toward backing the exploiters. It's this pull, back and forth — this contradiction — that we've been observing the last 10 years."

"What is clear is that the contradiction has now been resolved in Nicaragua," she said.

Jaquith explained that as difficult as the task of overthrowing a regime such as Somoza's is, even more difficult is the task of constructing the new revolutionary power. This is what the Cubans learned, she said. In a speech in 1966 to the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, Castro explained this, saying, "When one agitates from a barricade" or "issues a revolutionary proclamation, it all looks easy from afar. Yet the most difficult task is the task of creating a new society."

#### Evolution of the battle

Jaquith reviewed the evolution of the battle over the last 10 years. The triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua was part of an outburst of struggle in the region, particularly in El Salvador and Guatemala.

In 1981, in a big setback for Central America, the insurrection in El Salvador — termed the "final offensive" — failed, and liberation fighters were forced to operate clandestinely.

The same year Washington initiated its war against Nicaragua with U.S.-armed and -trained mercenaries. The war sharpened over the next two years, forcing the FSLN-led government to allocate massive leadership and material resources needed to defend the country. Expansion of social services had to be slowed.

Winning the revolutionary war to defend Nicaragua and the revolution was the central challenge faced by the government and every class-conscious worker and peasant, said Jaquith. But not everything had to be put off because of the war, like land distribution or the fight to advance women's rights.

In 1984, she said, a step was taken that opened up the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), an organization of small and medium farmers, to capitalist ranchers and landowners.

Contradictions between the government and the revolution became more evident from 1985 to 1987.

Demonstrations broke out by peasants demanding land. The fact emerged that a large number of peasant families remained landless — some 60,000. The population of Nicaragua is 3.5 million.

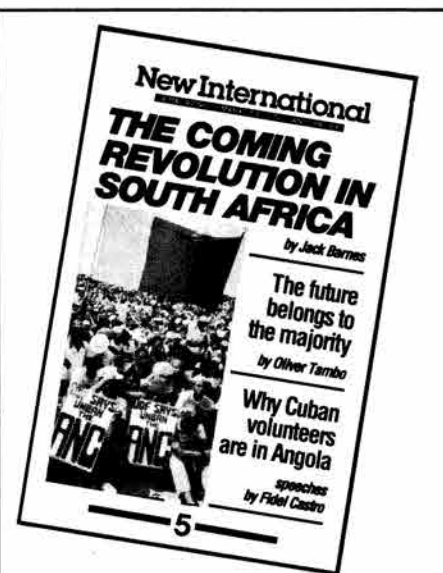
In 1986 the government responded with a new land reform, issuing plots to several thousands of those who protested. The following year, however, the leadership of UNAG began to publicly call for an end to land distribution, particularly to farm workers.

In 1985 a debate broke out on the right of women to have control over their own bodies. A law left over from the days of Somoza makes abortion illegal in Nicaragua, said Jaquith. Hundreds if not thousands of women die every year from illegal, botched abortions. A discussion on legalizing abortion erupted, including in the pages of *Barricada*, the daily paper of the FSLN.

After two months of debate, however, neither the FSLN nor the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) took a position on the question of abortion rights and the debate was ended.

Going in another direction, the FSLN government in 1984-85 reversed its initial reactionary opposition to the demands of autonomy by the peoples of the Atlantic Coast, mainly Blacks and Indians.

Earlier an administrative approach was taken by the new government to challenges faced on the Atlantic Coast, which, combined with an ignorance of the social relations there, resulted in actions taken that alienated the indigenous peoples and Blacks.



This issue of *New International* focuses on the revolutionary struggle in South Africa, its impact throughout southern Africa and worldwide, and the tasks of opponents of apartheid in the labor movement internationally.

The feature article, *The Coming Revolution in South Africa* by Jack Barnes, discusses the national, democratic revolution to overthrow the South African apartheid regime and establish a nonracial democratic republic.

Also included:

- *The Freedom Charter*
- *The Future Belongs to the Majority*, a message by African National Congress President Oliver Tambo
- *Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola*, three speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro

Send \$5 to *New International*, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014



# olution

## in 1979

The course was changed in response to growing pressures from Black and Indian supporters of the revolution, as well as to the fact that thousands of Miskitos and other Indians, and some Blacks, had joined forces allied with the contras. The FSLN backed away from a military clash and took a political approach, championing the legitimate demands for self-determination and freedom of cultural and language expression. This course was decisive in winning the contra war.

Meanwhile, the economic situation in the country continued to deteriorate, exacerbated by the war, said Jaquith. "Capitalism was ravaging Nicaragua," she explained. Most of the industry and the best of the land remained in capitalist hands, and no steps were made toward deepening workers' power in the factories or in the policing of prices and maintaining equitable distribution of needed goods in short supply.

### New opportunity to move forward

Despite the difficulties, and after enormous sacrifices, the Nicaraguan people defeated the contra mercenaries in 1987. "This was a major victory," said Jaquith. "The U.S. government had poured millions of dollars into the war, they trained and supplied an army of thousands, and placed their international prestige on the line — and they were defeated."

Jaquith explained that with the victory over the contras a new opportunity arose to mobilize and organize the toilers. The victory in the war heightened the confidence of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and they expected some action to be taken on pressing

### 'The elections didn't overthrow workers' and farmers' government, it had already happened.'

problems put off because of the war. Thousands of battle-tested young soldiers back from the front were ready and willing to shoulder any responsibilities in the factories, on the farms, or wherever they were needed — if organized and led, said Jaquith.

They were ready to take whatever steps were necessary to defend themselves from the inequalities, hoarding, inflation, and other evils bred by the capitalist market and to press forward along the government's original course of curbing the capitalist profiteers whenever it was needed, up to and including expropriating them.

The opposite course was taken. Over time it became increasingly clear that the direction of the leadership and government had changed and the continuity with the Historic Program of the FSLN was decisively broken, she said.

Jaquith reviewed the period that followed the victory over Washington's contras as the foundations of workers' and farmers' power in Nicaragua continued to erode.

The revolutionary momentum among vanguard workers and peasants coming out of the defeat of the contras was dissipated. The toilers were not mobilized and an opportunity was lost. The result was growing depoliticization and even demoralization among working people, Jaquith said. The FSLN government relied more and more on the capitalist market system.

Social inequality deepened with a small layer becoming increasingly well-off; peasants didn't get the backing they needed to be able to farm and the alliance between the workers and peasants began falling apart; belt-tightening programs had serious effects on the urban workers as unemployment and inflation rose; and shortages became more widespread.

In the spring of 1988, construction workers led by opponents of the FSLN went on strike demanding relief — and were labeled as "counterrevolutionaries." This strike was followed by moves by the FSLN-led unions, which began to initiate discussions with the



The scene in 1980 at the Plaza of the Revolution in Managua when thousands rallied to send off brigades of literacy volunteers to help peasants in the countryside learn how to read and write.

Militant/Fred Murphy

government, appealing for solutions to the worsening economic crisis.

In June 1988 the government responded by increasing the incentives to big business and to the landowners, or "patriotic producers," as the government called them.

"We don't have any other way to motivate the producer," said President Daniel Ortega in June 1988, "because he is motivated by economic incentives. The only other way would be to take away his property. . . ."

"We cannot think of measures that would lead to the abolition of private property in this country," said Ortega. "We must think of measures that allow us to control and influence the economic crisis so that the inflation we are suffering will not be so bad."

The contra war was not over, the government insisted, and workers needed to look at the situation in that context. Workers and peasants were asked to subordinate their struggles to "national unity," said Jaquith.

Unlike earlier nationalizations based on the mobilization of the workers, workers weren't a part of decisions such as the nationalization in 1988 of the San Antonio sugar mill. The takeover there was done without workers' involvement.

### 'Concertation'

Early in 1989 the Nicaraguan government announced a major policy statement and laid out its perspective termed *concertation*. They called for a social pact between workers and the capitalist landowners. Ortega declared "enough land has been distributed already" and "there is no reason to take an inch of land from anyone."

None of these steps improved conditions for the majority of workers and peasants, Jaquith said.

In June 1989 the Sandinista People's Army and the Ministry of the Interior issued an order prohibiting the possession of weapons except in war zones or with special permits, thus disarming the militias.

Part of the reason given was a necessity to fight increased crime and criminal gangs. Articles in *Barricada* had reported demands by ranchers to disarm peasants and establish a rural police force to fight cattle rustling.

Bourgeois values began to gain dominance, said Jaquith, due to the increasing depoliticization.

"Beauty contests reemerged," she noted. Earlier these events had been discontinued, one of the measures taken benefiting women. At a certain point AMNLAE decided to drop questions like abortion rights, beauty contests, stiffer penalties against rape, which they thought would hurt the FSLN in the 1990 national elections.

Internationally, supporters of the revolution were less and less asked to come to Nicaragua to help build schools and hospitals and instead were asked to help raise money for the FSLN needed for the elections.

Just before the elections, in November

1989, the Nicaraguan government signed the Central America accords with four other governments that declared the Alfredo Cristiani regime of El Salvador democratic and called for the liberation movement to demobilize, said Jaquith.

"The 1990 election campaign focused on the idea that if the elections in Nicaragua were democratic, U.S. military pressure would ease up and loans would resume," said Jaquith. The FSLN proceeded to invite more than 1,000 international observers like former U.S. president James Carter to scrutinize how the elections were conducted.

By election day, February 25, many working people voted for the FSLN, and correctly so, Jaquith stressed, because it heads the fight for national sovereignty. But for many others the distinction between the FSLN and the National Opposition Union (UNO) was less and less clear. There was a lack of clear explanations on what was in the interests of workers and peasants.

Following the defeat of the FSLN, Ortega presented a concession speech saying that regardless of who won, the election strengthened "the revolutionary process as a whole — that is, defending political pluralism, the mixed economy, and Nicaragua's rights to independence and self-determination."

A statement by the National Directorate of the FSLN emphasized that the elections were democratic and "a conquest of the revolution."

"There's no such thing as democracy in general," said Jaquith. "But parliamentary democracy, which exists in the United States and other capitalist countries, keeps workers out of politics," she said. "It doesn't bring them into governing. It is a form of capitalist rule and not a form of workers' democracy."

Many were surprised when the election results were announced, said Jaquith. But the elections didn't overthrow the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua. That had already happened.

### Overthrow doesn't have to be violent

The overthrow of workers' and farmers' governments by coups in Algeria in 1965 and Grenada in 1983 happened differently than Nicaragua, said Jaquith, but that doesn't mean the overthrow has to be violent. Instead of a violent overturn in Nicaragua, the entire FSLN leadership supported the organization's course away from deepening the revolution.

More and more leaders of the FSLN differentiated their course from that of socialist Cuba, pointing to a "third road," Sandinismo, which they said was neither socialist nor capitalist.

Building a communist party, a party of the most politically conscious section of the working class actively involved in leading the entire class, had been rejected by the FSLN. Workers and peasants — including

women, Miskito and other Indians, and Blacks from the Atlantic Coast, and working trade unionists who were helping lead the revolution — were not brought into the leadership of the FSLN.

Even if members of the FSLN had questions about the course embraced by the central leadership, Jaquith noted, there was nowhere to raise ideas or disagreements — there was no democratic structure, no convention, where questions could be raised and discussed.

### Pro-U.S. regime taking power

The transition is now under way, said Jaquith, for a new, pro-U.S. government to take power. The military situation is volatile and there are conflicts between pro- and anti-FSLN forces. There remains a danger of U.S. military intervention.

Jaquith described a recent union meeting of health workers that was marked by a fighting spirit of the participants as they raised challenges for the new government. "This reflects how workers are thinking out and discussing how to maintain the gains they've won," said Jaquith. At the end of the meeting, FSLN leader Víctor Tirado, speaking on behalf of the National Directorate, gave a speech rejecting "adventures and disorder," calling on workers not to "disrupt the economy with these demands."

"What is needed above all," said Tirado, "is political and economic stability" without which there would be no "foreign or domestic investment."

The incoming government of Violeta Chamorro, which includes 14 different political parties at odds with one another, is by no means stable. There is also no prospect for significant economic development in Nicaragua anymore than elsewhere in the region, said Jaquith. Central American and Caribbean countries that get hooked into substantial loans from bankers in New York, Toronto, London, and Tokyo are enmeshed in a devastating debt trap.

"Workers and farmers in Nicaragua, like in other parts of the world, will have to find the road to Cuba and communism," said Jaquith, "which is the only way forward for humanity."

Jaquith concluded by noting the importance of joining protests and actions against the U.S. war in El Salvador and the occupation of Panama, and in defense of Cuba and the sovereignty of Nicaragua. Now more than ever fighters must study the Cuban revolution — which after 31 years of imperialist aggression continues to advance in the construction of socialism.

Finally, said Jaquith, we should all study and organize solidarity with the unfolding national, democratic revolution in South Africa, a battle to which Cuba has contributed so mightily. "The victory over apartheid in South Africa will have an enormous impact on working people throughout the world, including in Nicaragua."



# French-speaking population of Canada faces increasing attacks on rights

BY GARY KETTNER

TORONTO — In late January and early February, city councils in the northern Ontario Province cities of Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay passed resolutions declaring English their only official language. With a combined population of nearly 200,000, they are the largest of the more than two dozen Ontario municipalities that have adopted similar resolutions.

These moves are the latest in a wave of attacks on the rights of the French-speaking minority in Canada. They have taken place in the context of a sharpening debate and divisions among Canada's capitalist rulers over how to roll back rights won by francophones (French-speakers) in Québec over the past two decades, and how to resist the demands for the recognition of the language rights of francophones that live outside of Québec.

The Sault Ste. Marie resolution was adopted after the Sault Ste. Marie Association for the Preservation of English Language Rights collected almost 25,000 signatures on an English-only petition. The petition was linked to a national campaign by the Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada, a chauvinist, anti-French group that claims 34,000 members.

Some 5.8 million francophones live in Canada, about one-fifth of the total population. The vast majority live in Québec; about 600,000 live in other parts of Canada.

Francophones in Canada face systematic discrimination and oppression. In 1985 the average income of people whose mother tongue is French was 92.8 percent of the Canadian average. Thirty percent of the adult francophone population in Canada is illiterate or functionally illiterate — reflecting the poorer quality of educational facilities for francophones in Québec and the lack of French-language schools outside of Québec. Between 1970 and 1986, Québec dropped from fifth to eighth in the ranking of Canadian provinces in terms of family income. In Montréal, 600,000 of its population of 2 million live below the poverty line.

## Assimilation pressure

This discrimination creates a pressure toward assimilation of francophones. This is not a small problem considering that hundreds of thousands of people of French origin no longer speak the language. According to the 1986 census, almost 30 percent of Ontario residents born into French-speaking households no longer use French as their first language at home.

In the last two decades, the struggle of the Québécois for French-language rights has made considerable gains, including the adoption in 1977 of Law 101 — affirmative action legislation that makes French the language of government, education, and work in Québec, where 80 percent of the population speaks French. But outside Québec, despite significant struggles, progress has been extremely limited.

A central demand is for French-language schools. The Canadian constitution guarantees French schools "where numbers warrant." But in 1988, half the francophones living outside Québec had no access to French-language schools.

Both Sault Ste. Marie and Thunder Bay have refused to establish French-language public schools. In Thunder Bay the school board approved a plan to transport francophone children, some as young as six, to a school in an isolated town a five-hour ride from the city. The board also called on the provincial government to amend the law requiring school boards to provide French-language schools.

Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney condemned the English-only resolutions as "manifestations of intolerance." He appealed for "national unity" based on official bilingualism and the defense of French and English "linguistic minorities."

But official bilingualism, adopted as federal government policy two decades ago in response to the rising national struggle of the Québécois, serves as a cover for continued attacks on the linguistic rights of francophones in Québec. And it doesn't meet the demands of francophones in the rest of Canada.

The "language problem" in Canada is not



Attempts to roll back rights won by Québécois have sparked demonstrations like this one in Montréal in March 1989. Militant/Jim Upton

a problem of "minority language rights." It is francophones who are oppressed on the basis of language — both the French-speaking minority outside of Québec and the French-speaking majority in Québec.

The situation of the English-speaking minority in Québec is different. The network of English schools, hospitals, universities, and other social services in that province equals or exceeds the quality of its French-language counterpart.

## Institutionalized discrimination

The fundamental difference between the status of French and English in Canada was underlined by a February 6 ruling by the Manitoba Court of Appeal that the constitution does not give Manitoba francophones the right to control their own schools. The judge said that while Québec anglophones have the constitutional right to control their own schools, "the framers of the constitution of 1982 did not go that far with respect to the French-speaking minority in the other nine provinces."

The question of linguistic rights for francophones outside of Québec is now before the Supreme Court of Canada. In mid-March it is expected to rule on a demand by Alberta francophones for their own French-language schools. The court challenge has been made on the basis of Article 23 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted in 1982 along with a new federal constitution that denied Québec its historical right to veto constitutional changes and undermined the right of the Québec National Assembly to legislate on linguistic and education policy. As a result of the massive opposition of the Québécois, including Québec's three major union federations, the Québec government refused to sign the constitution.

Since then, in the name of defending official bilingualism and the "rights" of the anglophone minority in Québec, the federal Supreme Court has issued several rulings aimed at rolling back Québec's Law 101. Over the past several years the court's rulings have generated massive demonstrations by

Québécois in defense of Law 101.

In an effort to legitimize the 1982 constitution, which has also been attacked by Native and women's organizations for not recognizing the rights of Native people and women, the Mulroney government signed the Meech Lake Accord with the provincial premiers in 1987. The accord is designed to bring Québec into the 1982 constitution. It must be ratified by all the provincial governments by June 23 of this year or it will fall.

Mulroney claims that the Meech Lake Accord, which states that Québec is a "distinct society," is the best guarantee of the rights of Canada's francophone minority. However, the distinct society clause has no content and the accord does not restore any of the rights taken away in the 1982 constitution.

An important section of the ruling class opposes the accord on the grounds that it gives too much to Québec. As a result, the survival of the Meech Lake Accord is in doubt; three provincial governments oppose it. Québec Liberal Party Premier Robert Bourassa, who supports the accord, has warned of a "grave constitutional crisis" if it is not adopted.

Both the pro- and anti-Meech lake camps in the ruling class take as their starting point the defense of "Canadian unity" — a reactionary framework that accepts the 1982 constitution. This perpetuates the institutionalized discrimination against francophones, and the divisions among working people along linguistic and national lines promoted by the employers and their governments.

Working people have no interest in supporting either side in the Meech Lake debate which has opened up political space for and given a boost to the chauvinist English-only movement.

The Ontario Division of Canada's largest union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees set a good example for the entire labor movement when it decided on February 25 to cancel its plans to hold its annual convention in Sault Ste. Marie because of the "English-only" resolution passed by the city council.

CUPE Ontario President Mike Stokes explained in a press release that CUPE members in Sault Ste. Marie felt the action was the best way to express "our unequivocal opposition to bigotry."

The executive board members of the Ontario Division he said, "unanimously condemn the English-only declaration by the Sault and some 40 other municipal councils. We demand that they withdraw this gratuitous insult to Ontario francophones."

## Canada abortion rights actions called for May

BY PATI HABERMANN

TORONTO — Protests against a proposed federal law restricting abortion, Bill C-43, are scheduled across Canada for May 12.

Abortion has been legal in Canada since January 1988 when the Supreme Court struck down the old abortion law. Access to abortion, however, is limited and varies from province to province. Abortion fees are not covered by public health insurance in every one of the country's 10 provinces.

Last November the Progressive Conservative Party introduced Bill C-43 in Parliament, which would make abortion punishable by up to two years in jail unless a doctor determines that pregnancy threatens the woman's physical or mental health.

In response to this legislation, protests were held in 10 cities in Canada in February.

Abortion rights "is an issue for labor," said Linda Torney, president of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, speaking to a rally of 600 prochoice supporters in Toronto February 10. "Right across this country, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Federations of Labour, the Labour Councils such as ourselves, and every union are taking a stand on this issue, and that stand is 'No new law!'"

Some 30 antiabortion protesters tried to physically disrupt the Toronto meeting.

Following the rally, 400 participants marched to the headquarters of the Progressive Conservative Party. The demonstration

was harassed and attacked by antiabortion forces and by cops, who arrested two prochoice activists. Although they were released without charges after a few hours, two days later they were charged with assaulting the

police and "obstructing a peace officer." A protest of 250 took place in front of the police station February 16.

Some 50 people attended an abortion rights meeting in Vancouver February 11.

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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Members of La Güinera minibrigade at work constructing high-rise apartment in their neighborhood, one of 40 run-down areas of Havana. La Güinera residents at first did not believe transforming their housing problems was possible.

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

HAVANA, Cuba — "You used to think twice about entering La Güinera," said Alcides Hernández, a municipal leader of the Communist Party in the district.

"You were embarrassed to say you lived here," pointed out Pedro Acosta Ramos, a retired dock worker. "Now we're proud."

Until recently, La Güinera, a working-class neighborhood on the outskirts of Havana, was almost all shacks. Piles of garbage lay in the streets, residents said. Juvenile delinquency was relatively high for Cuba, and alcoholism was a problem.

Individual families tried to fix up their dilapidated housing by searching for building materials in dumps, or sometimes buying them.

Today, high-rise apartment buildings are replacing the old housing in La Güinera. The complexes are being built by the residents themselves, who have joined together in what is called a "minibrigade" to carry out voluntary labor. Their wages are paid by the Cuban government, which also donates all the building materials.

The minibrigade movement in Cuba is part of this country's rectification process, which is aimed at reviving voluntary labor and communist consciousness, rooting out privilege and corruption, and tearing down bureaucratic obstacles to the development of Cuba's economy and the advance of social projects like housing.

Since their initiation in 1986, minibrigades have built 111 day-care centers in Havana, as well as clinics, schools, and other facilities. The workers are all volunteers.

La Güinera is a "social" minibrigade. Its members are all drawn right from the neighborhood. It uses the construction project to tackle social problems beyond the need for housing.

Building decent housing is one of the biggest single goals of the minibrigade movement. Some 40 run-down neighborhoods like La Güinera exist in Havana alone. Many residents of these neighborhoods, including in La Güinera, are Black.

#### Voluntary labor dropped in 1970s

Alcides Hernández explained that in the 1970s, voluntary labor through minibrigades was dropped in Cuba. "It was one of our biggest errors," he said. "It slowed the development of the country by 10 years."

The idea was that state-run construction enterprises, with full-time construction workers, would solve Cuba's housing problem faster and more efficiently than mobilizing volunteers for this and many other social projects.

"The companies never finished the job," said Hernández. "They didn't put in the last nails or they left something else off. And then they declared the job done, recorded a profit, and rushed away to their next project. It was pure capitalist methods."

Founded in 1987, the La Güinera minibrigade now has 463 members, all of whom live in the neighborhood. Each member of the minibrigade will receive an apartment for his or her family, and a 10 percent discount on rent. The rent payments are applied toward buying the apartment, which then belongs permanently to the family living there.

Each brigade member agrees to help build two apartment buildings. That way, those in the neighborhood too old or too ill to partic-

ipate in construction will also be able to have a new home.

Along with the apartment complex minibrigades are projected to build day-care centers, health clinics, drug stores, grocery stores, a barbershop, and a beauty parlor.

"This is more than a construction project, this is a school," said Fifi Bocurt, director of the minibrigade.

"It is transforming not only the neighborhood, but above all the neighbors," said Hernández.

"By beginning to solve our problems collectively, we are developing our solidarity and social consciousness," explained Dulce Nieves González, assistant minibrigade director. She gave the example of six members of the brigade, two of them women, who have gone to help rebuild the city of Bluefields, Nicaragua, devastated by a hurricane two years ago.

#### 'Most laughed at us'

Such solidarity did not always exist in La Güinera. When several of the residents first petitioned the government to set up a minibrigade here, "most people in the neighborhood laughed at us," said Bocurt. She went house-to-house to borrow tools to start the work. A small minority of neighbors pitched in.

"It was when we got to building the third floor of the first apartment building that people began to see this was real," Bocurt said. Confidence increased in the project and in the residents themselves that they could do something to change their situation.

Today, the project enjoys wide support. It has been able to integrate some of the local youth who previously neither wanted to work nor go to school. Several former prisoners work on the project too.

Being part of the minibrigade has a big impact on women, who are half the brigade work force. Many of them used to be housewives who had never worked outside the home. The hope is that with the training they receive on the job, they will be able to find a permanent job in construction.

Seven of the eight elected leaders of the brigade are female.

#### 10 hours a day, 6 days a week

Members of the minibrigade normally work at least 10 hours a day, six days a week. Many volunteer extra, unpaid work on Sunday.

They are paid for 60 hours work each week, at the same wages as construction workers with similar qualifications. Classes are organized so that brigade members learn several trades. Bocurt, like most of the bri-

gade members, had no previous construction experience. She began working as a laborer at 148 pesos a month. She now earns 200.

Many members of the brigade have left other jobs to work full-time at La Güinera. They were released after a discussion in their workplace in which their coworkers participated.

In the last two years, the minibrigade movement has expanded somewhat outside Havana, but the overall number of members — some 30,000 — has not increased much.

"The main reason is lack of material resources," said Hernández.

La Güinera's brigade has never had to stop working because of lack of raw materials. "When some material is missing, we have always been able to move ahead on some other aspects of our work," said Barbara García, another leader of the brigade.

Other minibrigades have been forced to stop working, however, sometimes for long periods of time, when raw materials were delayed. At La Güinera itself there has been a shortage of finishing materials, such as bathroom fixtures and window blinds, said Bocurt.

"But with enough resources, we could have 100,000 Cubans in the minibrigades tomorrow," said Hernández.

## Pathfinder booth at Cuba bookfair becomes center for intense political discussion

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The U.S. government's policy of attempting to quarantine revolutionary Cuba suffered a setback February 6-12 when some 500 publishers from 40 countries and national liberation organizations took part in the Fourth International Book Fair of Havana.

Noteworthy was the high participation of Latin American publishers, in particular from Mexico, and also from Argentina, Peru, Chile, and Venezuela. IMELSA, the national book distributor from Nicaragua, had a large display. Spain was a major participant from Europe. Publishers from Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, exhibited titles. The Soviet Union's publishers featured a prominent selection of literature. The Palestine Liberation Organization had a booth.

Pathfinder Press based in New York was another publisher that participated in the event held at Havana's large International Conference Center. A team of Pathfinder representatives from New Zealand, Britain, and Canada staffed a booth and explained the publishing house's perspectives and projects to thousands who stopped by. Some 90,000 people attended the fair.

World events, such as the February 11 release of Nelson Mandela from a South African prison, the upheaval in Eastern Europe, the stepped-up attacks against Cuba by the U.S. government, affected what people were looking for and the kinds of questions they had, according to Michael Baumann, who covered the fair.

In an interview when he returned, Baumann described how the writings and speeches of Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, Ernesto Che Guevara, and Fidel Castro,

which are published by Pathfinder, formed the centerpiece of the booth exhibit. Dozens of other Pathfinder titles were also displayed, from pamphlets on the abortion rights struggle in the United States to *Out Now!*, a history of the U.S. movement against the Vietnam War written by Fred Halstead.

#### Mandela books popular

"Pathfinder immediately stood out because it was the only place at the bookfair that had Nelson Mandela's speeches and writings on display," Baumann said. Pathfinder publishes *Nelson Mandela: The Struggle Is My Life* and has a Spanish-language book titled *Habla Nelson Mandela*.

Pathfinder's representatives were struck by the depth of interest and popularity of several Pathfinder titles by or about Malcolm X, especially among Cuban youth who are Black. Baumann said that many of these young people explained that they had read *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and a short selection of his speeches that had been published in Cuba in a limited edition about 15 years ago.

A photo display of the Pathfinder Mural, which is painted on the side of the six-story Pathfinder Building in Manhattan, attracted attention and spurred discussions on the political situation in the United States and other imperialist countries. The artwork features portraits of revolutionaries, communists, and working-class fighters from around the world whose speeches and writings Pathfinder publishes.

The mural "was the best way to explain what it is that Pathfinder does," Baumann said. "When they understood that the mural was outside in the center of New York, be-

tween Wall Street and Times Square, it made quite an impression. Many Cubans had no idea that it was possible to take such a political stance in the United States."

Beginning with an explanation of the mural, Pathfinder representatives were able to discuss labor's fightback in the United States, especially the strikes by Eastern Airline Machinists and of coal miners who were at the time on strike against Pittston. The representatives related that working people in the United States are more open to giving a hearing to revolutionary ideas.

"One of the things Cubans visiting the Pathfinder booth found interesting was that these books by Pathfinder were read primarily by working people in the United States, especially young fighters, and that they're seen as tools, weapons in the struggle," Baumann explained.

Discussions on the Pathfinder pamphlet *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis: A Packing-house Worker's Fight for Justice* helped illustrate for visitors to the booth how the employers and the U.S. government try to limit the ability of fighters to advance their struggles, Baumann said. Curtis, a packing-house worker from Des Moines, Iowa, was jailed on a frame-up rape and burglary conviction stemming from his participation in efforts to defend Latino coworkers arrested in a raid at his factory by immigration police in 1988.

Most of the thousands who visited the booth were pleased to discover that the truth about Cuba is getting out in the United States. Pathfinder has published several volumes of Cuban President Fidel Castro's speeches and writings by Che Guevara. This was reflected

Continued on Page 13



## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**Forging Fighting Trade Union Leaderships: The 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' Strikes and Their Lessons for Today.** Classes based on books by Farrell Dobbs. Tuesdays at 6 p.m. through April 3. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador! What Elections in Nicaragua Mean for National Sovereignty in Central America.** Speaker: Judy White, former *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* correspondent in Nicaragua. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**The Legacy of Malcolm X: Forging a Revolutionary Leadership Today.** Speaker: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 3702 Telegraph Ave., Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 420-1165.

### San Francisco

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua, Cuba, and El Salvador: What Nicaraguan Elections Mean for National Sovereignty in Central America and the Caribbean.** Speaker: Judy White, former Nicaragua correspondent for *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. Capp Street Center, 362 Capp St. Donation: \$5-\$10. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Greyhound Strike.** Speakers: Richard Oechsle, Greyhound striker and executive board member, Amalgamated Transit Union; Eastern Airlines striker. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

**Racist AIDS Scare Against Haitians.** Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Nicaragua After the Elections.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd fl. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador! What the Nicaraguan Elections Mean for National Sovereignty in Central America.** Speaker: Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

**New Developments in the Labor Movement.** A panel of unionists discusses Eastern and Greyhound strikes. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Nicaragua: The Meaning of the Elections.** Speaker: Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party, Central America solidarity activist. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

**Young Socialist Alliance Discussion Classes.** "Defending Socialism Today," Thurs., March 22, 7 p.m.; "The Fight for Abortion Rights," Thurs., March 29, 7 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Defend Cuba Against U.S. Aggression.** Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**Is Communism Dead?** Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Minnesota governor. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

**The Fight for Student Rights and Free Speech.** Speakers: Justin Atwood, Apple Valley High School Student Union; Saudah Kidow, All-African Student Alliance, Washburn High; Evan Roberts, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Popular Upsurges in Eastern Europe: The Crisis of Stalinism and the Fight for Socialism.** Speaker: Dave Sandot, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**End U.S. Aggression in Central America and the Caribbean.** Speakers: Mark Hoyt, co-convenor Call to Conscience Coalition; Esther Cruz, director Center for Central American Refugees; Seth Galinsky, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Nicaragua Bureau; Neal Gorfinkle, chief shop steward Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-149. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd fl. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Brooklyn

**Day of Solidarity with the People of Panama, Latin America, and the Caribbean.** Eyewitness accounts from Panama. Sat., March 17, 2-10 p.m.; "In Defense of Panamanian, Central American, and Caribbean Solidarity," 2-5 p.m.; Cultural presentations 5-7 p.m.; "Speak-out Against the Invasion of Panama," 7-10 p.m. P.S. 167, Eastern Parkway at Schenectady. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Coalition Against the U.S. Intervention in Panama, Latin America, and the Caribbean. For more information call (212) 675-2584.

**Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle.** Speakers: Safiya Bandle, director Center for Women's Development, Medgar Evers College; Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish and French. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

## New York City

**Beyond the News.** Radio program 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

**Election Results in Nicaragua. A Blow to Working People Worldwide.** Speakers: Jerry Gordon, international representative United Food and Commercial Workers; Ned Measel, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**The Reunification of Germany: What Does It Mean for Working People?** Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## UTAH

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**Nicaragua: The Meaning of the Elections.** Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 8319. Sun., March 18, 3 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## BRITAIN

### Cardiff

**In Defense of Socialism: Meeting to Promote Book of Speeches by Fidel Castro.** Speakers from Cuban embassy, African National Congress of South Africa, Pathfinder Bookcentre. Fri., March 23, 7:30 p.m. Rumney College, The Parade. Sponsors: Wales-Cuba Resource Centre, Pathfinder Bookcentre.

### London

**The Crisis of the Tory Government and the Economy.** Speaker: Brian Grogan, Communist League National Secretary. Fri., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 01-928-7947.

**Celebrate Publication of Malcolm X: The Last Speeches.** Speakers: Mandla Langa, African National Congress of South Africa; Suresh Grover, Southhall Monitoring Group; Gerry Mac-

Lochlann, Irish republican leader; representative Broadwater Farm Defence Committee; Alan Harris, Pathfinder Press. Fri., March 30, 7 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 01-928-7947.

## Manchester

**Eastern Europe and the Fight for Communism Today.** Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, Communist League National Organizational Secretary. Wed., March 21, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call 061-839 1766.

## CANADA

### Montréal

**New Attacks on French-Language Rights.** Speakers: Joanne Pritchard, member United Steelworkers of America; others. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

### Toronto

**Hagersville Tire Fire: Environmental Disasters on the Rise.** Speakers: David Bruer, member Pollution Probe; Cliff Mack, Communist League, member Canadian Auto Workers Local 707. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

### Vancouver

**After the Elections: Defend Nicaraguan Sovereignty and Independence.** Speaker: member Central Committee Communist League. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

**Solidarity with the Eastern Airlines Strike.** Video showing of *The Eastern Story* and presentation by strike solidarity activist. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

## ICELAND

### Reykjavik

**Showing of the Pathfinder Mural Video and Celebration.** Sat., March 24, 8 p.m. Klappartíg 26. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Christchurch

**The Legacy of Malcolm X.** Video and talk by Eugen Lepou, Young Socialists. Sat., March 24, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. For more information call (3) 656-055.

# Marches to protest U.S. war moves

## Continued from front page

eighty from several East Coast cities, are organizing a "U.S. Hands Off Cuba" contingent. They will meet on the sidewalk in front of the Capitol building.

Speakers for the D.C. rally include Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic and Raul Julia, star of the movie *Romero*.

In Washington, D.C., assembly for the march begins at 10:00 a.m. at the Capitol building. The rally will be held at the White House.

The San Francisco march will start at Jefferson Square Park at 10:30 a.m. and then head for the Civic Center Plaza with a rally at 12:30 p.m.

Protestors from Washington State, Oregon,

and Idaho will converge on Seattle's Center Flag Plaza at 2:00 p.m. for a march and rally.

In Austin, Texas the assembly point will be the Federal Building at 2:00 p.m.

The Los Angeles demonstration has been called for March 25. It begins at Olympic and Broadway at 11:00 a.m. followed by a march to city hall for a 1:00 p.m. rally.

Demonstrations are also being planned in Omaha, Nebraska; Pocatello, Idaho; and Denver.

For more information on the March 24 protests call the national coalition for the Archbishop Romero Commemoration and March to End the U.S. War in Central America in Washington, D.C. Their phone number is (202) 483-3911.

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

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## SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



**Touchy** — In Gaza, the Qatani family named their newborn daughter Intifada (uprising). That's not against the law, but Israeli military



Harry Ring

authorities refused to register Intifada on her parents' ID cards.

**Rock of middle ages** — We reported on the two women being prosecuted for claiming to exorcise demons. Then New York's Cardinal O'Connor blasted rock music as the

work of Satan and revealed two recent exorcisms — both successful, he indicated — had been performed in his diocese. He said that exorcism is only resorted to after other scientific methods — psychological and medical — have been tried.

**Only the rationally possessed** — Rome's Monsignor Balducci, author of a best-seller on how to diagnose demonic possession, warned that of 1,000 people seeking exorcism in Italy, only five were really victims of Satan. Meanwhile, an aide to O'Connor deplored publicity on the issue. He said, "You don't want kooks calling up."

**Give that man a bonus** — Duncan Finlayson, an environmental

consultant retained by Perrier, assures that the amount of benzene in those recalled bottles was less than you would get from breathing fumes while filling a car's gas tank.

**\$15-million heartbreak** — The Nordstrom fashion chain was ordered by a Washington State agency to pay employees \$15 million in back wages for compelling them to work unpaid overtime and otherwise cheating them. Declared Chairman James Nordstrom: "Our family personally cares so much about our employees, it breaks our heart to learn that some... have not been properly compensated."

**You can't buy it?** — We had resolved not to discuss the Trump divorce, but we were touched by his

explanation that the death of three of his aides in a helicopter crash may have contributed to the breakup of his marriage. He said, "It cheapened life to me."

**Do better without them** — Sixteen cars crash tested at five miles per hour sustained as much as \$3,800 in damage because their bumpers protected them poorly. Federal standards were changed in 1982 to require protection only up to 2.5 mph. An official explained that despite the stiff repair bills, you save money because the lighter bumpers reduce gas bills.

**Give'em another carton** — By dying younger, smokers reportedly save Social Security hundreds of billions in retirement checks. Gio

Gori, a health economist, says preventing disease is, of course, desirable, "but it's not going to be cheap. We will have to pay for those who survive."

**Folks do complain about that** — Shell oil advises that one major reason people fall asleep at the wheel is that "Most car interiors are comfortable, with cushioned seats in quiet, carpeted temperature- and speed-controlled environments."

**Burglar-proof** — Mitsubishi has a new TV with a 120" screen. About five feet wide by eight feet high, it comes in five pieces and must be assembled inside the house. Under \$20,000.

## Castro condemns anti-Cuba vote by UN commission

Continued from front page

cover up the U.S. government's many abuses of human rights.

Raúl Roa Kourí, head of Cuba's delegation to the commission, called the resolution totally unacceptable and explained how Cuba had been the only member of the commission to submit to intensive scrutiny by inviting and receiving a delegation from the commission in 1988 to investigate charges of human rights violations. He explained that the U.S.-sponsored resolution demanded Cuba report measures that would normally be called for in "cases of massive and flagrant violations or of a policy of systematic violations of fundamental rights and liberties like the one that prevails in racist South Africa or in the Arab territories occupied by Israel."

Roa Kourí condemned the U.S. government's 31-year campaign of aggression, harassment, pressure, and economic blockade against Cuba. He recalled how numerous Cubans had died in defense of Cuba's independence and sovereignty and how central leaders of the revolution had been targeted for assassination by Washington's secret police. This demonstrates the U.S. government's hypocrisy when it refers to its alleged concern for human rights in Cuba, Roa Kourí said.

### U.S. arm twisting

The vote came in the final days of the 46th session of the commission and after heavy arm-twisting by the U.S. delegation headed by Armando Valladares. Valladares, long touted by the U.S. government and opponents of the Cuban revolution as a former Cuban political prisoner, was a policeman under Batista, the hated dictator overthrown by the Cuban revolution in 1959. Valladares was convicted in 1960 for conspiring to engage in sabotage and served 20 years in prison.

All the imperialist countries belonging to the 43-member commission in Geneva — Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United States — were among the countries who supported the resolution.

In an unprecedented step in UN history, the Eastern European governments of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria sided with Cuba's accusers. Poland and Czechoslovakia cosponsored the resolution submitted by the United States, even though they are not voting members of the commission and attended the session as observers. Hungary and Bulgaria are members of the commission and cast their votes in favor of the U.S.-sponsored resolution. Bangladesh, Gambia, Morocco, Panama, the Philippines, and Senegal also voted for the resolution.

Twelve countries voted against the resolution — the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, Mexico, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Ukraine, India, and Cuba — and 12 abstained, all of them Third World countries.

"If one day imperialism dares to attack our country, if one day they dare to invade this country and cause rivers of blood to run, it will not only be our blood, but theirs as well," the Cuban president told the women's federation.

"If one day that takes place, the responsibility for the bloodshed will also fall on those countries, those governments of countries that until yesterday were part of the socialist camp," Castro said. "The blood will also be on Poland, on Czechoslovakia... They will be responsible to a great extent for any crime that is committed against Cuba, and the re-

sponsibility will fall equally on Hungary and on Bulgaria. I will not say it will fall on confused peoples, but on the leaders, on the governments that have dared to write such an infamous page in history."

Castro continued, "We, who have an idea of what principles are and of the times when the empire wanted us to abandon our principles, can measure the magnitude of the betrayal. It is as if tomorrow," he said, "we were to sell out the Puerto Ricans, who we have defended for 30 years before the United Nations, so that the Yankees would give us a loan, do us some favor."

## Pathfinder booth big draw at Havana bookfair

Continued from Page 11

in comments written in the visitors' register book at the Pathfinder stand.

"We hope you will go on telling the world the truth about the struggles of the people of the world. We are very moved that inside the empire itself there exist people who publish the truth," wrote Nestor and Alexander, two trainee waiters.

One of the 130 comments in the register was that of Ricardo, a young student who sat at the stand for three days reading book after book. "Above all, I want to congratulate you on the work you are doing."

Referring to the U.S. economic, political, and cultural blockade against Cuba, he added, "Despite your small resources, your ideas are large and they made a window in the huge wall that has been imposed on us. See you at the next bookfair!"

"The Pathfinder representatives noticed that there is an enormous push to learn English," Baumann said, "because in the world of science and technology major books are published in English." Pathfinder's titles were therefore accessible to many Cubans, he explained. Most Pathfinder titles are only available in English.

While more than 3,000 new titles are published each year in Cuba, most are technical or cultural titles, Baumann said. The publishing of political literature has not kept pace with the demand, he explained, and this also accounted for the interest in Pathfinder's books.

Pathfinder also exhibited books by leaders of the October 1917 Russian revolution and of the Communist International in its early years, including V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. "Many people were drawn to examine the works by Trotsky," Baumann said. "They had never actually seen any of his books before, although many of Trotsky's major works are available in libraries in Cuba."

### February 'PM'

The most controversial piece of literature at the Pathfinder booth was the February issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. "People who saw its headline 'One million Azerbaijanis protest Soviet troops' did an immediate double take," he said. The Spanish-language monthly featured an editorial that contrasted the occupation of Azerbaijan by Soviet troops to Lenin's stance during the early years of the Russian revolution of support for the demands of the oppressed nationalities.

Because it expressed views different from those in *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, a few at first thought the magazine was a right-wing publication. Articles in *Granma* have referred to the nation-

"It is as if tomorrow we were to sell out the cause of the Salvadoran people," the Cuban leader added, "as if tomorrow we were to sell out the cause of the Sandinista people, or if we had sold out the cause of the Angolan people, or if we had sold out — in exchange for favors from imperialism — the Namibian people, or the cause of the Palestinian people, or the cause of the Black people of South Africa."

Cuba, along with Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Libya, introduced before the commission in February a resolution condemning the U.S. invasion of Panama and calling for Washing-

ton to immediately end its occupation of the country. The resolution passed over strenuous U.S. opposition in a 14-8 vote.

Ten days before the commission's vote on Cuba, a group of parliamentary deputies in Poland, representing various parties including former members of the Polish United Workers Party (the Stalinist Communist Party), called on Cuban authorities to begin a process of "democratization" on the island. The text of the declaration, signed by 147 of the 460 deputies, was read at the third and final plenary session of the Polish parliament by Jerzy Zuawiecki, a member of Solidarity.

alist movements in the Soviet Union as unfortunate and a danger to the working people of the Soviet Union and to Cuba itself. When several people looked more closely at *PM* they "sat down and started to read the whole issue. Some literally took two hours and read every article," Baumann said.

A couple of readers remarked that *PM*'s perspective on developments in the Soviet Union was one they had not encountered before and that they would "have to do some more thinking about the entire thing," he said.

Books at the fair were for display only and many visitors were anxious to learn how to get copies. Baumann said the entire stock of Pathfinder's titles were donated at the conclusion of the bookfair to Cuba's National

Library and the library at the University of Havana.

Cubans that Pathfinder representatives have met during the course of their recent distribution efforts stopped by the booth, spent some time there, and helped greet people. Among them was Aldo Soler, the Cuban artist who painted the portraits of Fidel Castro and Karl Marx on the Pathfinder Mural, and Carlos Tablada, the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, which is published in English by Pathfinder.

Bridget Elton contributed to this article. She is from Britain and was one of Pathfinder's representatives at the Havana bookfair.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSLETTER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

March 21, 1980

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On March 5 a U.S. Senate committee froze indefinitely the \$75 million loan the Carter administration promised to Nicaragua months ago. Responding quickly and angrily, thousands of workers, students, and other Nicaraguans poured into the streets here March 6 in a militant protest demonstration.

Opposition to Washington's stepped-up pressure against the Nicaraguan revolution has been mounting here since February 27 when the U.S. House of Representatives went behind closed doors to hear a secret CIA report on alleged "communist infiltration" in Nicaragua.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

March 15, 1965 Price 10c

Alabama Gov. George Wallace and Dallas County Sheriff James Clark stopped the March 9 freedom march of Negroes and their white supporters from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery.

Wallace's storm-troop commander, Al Lingo, and Clark's whip-wielding posmen had stopped the attempted march two days before with a brutal assault that injured at least 86 marchers. TV viewers across the country watched the first part of the bloody attack by the troopers and posmen on the

unarmed marchers. The terror lasted into the night when posmen went through the streets beating on automobile hoods with nightsticks and yelling, "We want all niggers off the streets."

Another march was then scheduled for March 9 to be led by Rev. Martin Luther King himself. Governor Wallace announced, he would stop this one too. But on one day's notice, hundreds of volunteers, including many prominent people from all over the country, began pouring into Selma. Across the nation, tens of thousands demonstrated in support of the Selma Negroes, demanding that federal troops be used against Alabama's criminal local authorities.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee who had been clubbed March 7 and later hospitalized with a skull injury, told an angry crowd of marchers taking sanctuary in a church, "I don't see how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam, to the Congo, to Africa and can't send troops to Selma, Alabama."

### March 22, 1965

The unprecedented wave of demonstrations over the Selma events — demonstrations boldly and directly aimed at embarrassing and exposing the hypocrisy of President Johnson — have wrung from him significant concessions on voting rights for Negroes in the Deep South.

The proposed new voting rights law, as promised by Johnson in his March 15 speech to Congress, would eliminate the "tests" now used in the South to disqualify Negroes from voting. It would provide for federal registrars upon petition by Negro citizens.



# What's ahead in Eastern strike

Continued from front page

decade or more during which the labor movement has faced an offensive by the capitalists directed against wages, working conditions, and union rights.

The Eastern ramp workers, cleaners, stock clerks, and mechanics who walked out last year were at the point of desperation by the time March 4, 1989, arrived. They had been through years of concessions, cuts, and compromises, Lorenzo's reign of terror, and miles of government red-tape and mediation that went nowhere. When the picket lines went up, the Eastern Machinists were ready to fight. They had tried everything else.

The United Mine Workers, on the other hand, were virtually the only industrial union not to have taken major concessions during the late 1970s and '80s. Although the mine union was battered and had suffered a defeat in the 1984-85 strike at A.T. Massey, the experience, combativity, and continuity of the earlier battles waged by miners were brought to bear in the Pittston strike.

Out of the Pittston strike and the broader resistance it sparked, many miners were transformed. They are looking for ways to continue to fight around the UMWA's unfinished battles and to deepen solidarity with other unions, especially the Eastern strikers.

New struggles are breaking out — most importantly, the national strike by Greyhound's 9,000 bus drivers, mechanics, cleaners, and clerks. The seasoned Eastern strikers welcomed the Greyhound walkout and are already forging ties with the Amalgamated Transit Union members now on picket lines at bus stations and maintenance garages around the country. Deepening these ties — which takes work and organization — will be important in the weeks ahead.

But the new troops brought into struggle by the Greyhound fight can't be expected to start off playing the same role as the miners. While many Greyhound workers went through the hard-fought 1983 strike, others are going through their first fight now with the current walkout. It is only out of the strikers' experience and testing in struggle that a leadership layer, like the one that has been developing among Eastern workers and that exists among Pittston and other miners, can come forward.

The settlement of the Pittston strike was confirmed February 19, during an AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida. Newspapers and TV reports prominently carried pictures of Trumka, Dole, and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland — telephone receivers at their ears — celebrating the news that the Pittston strikers had ratified the contract.

Note was also taken that AFL-CIO officials chided Dole over the \$120 million federal contract just awarded to Eastern to transport military and other government employees — a gift to Lorenzo that angered Eastern strikers and their supporters throughout the labor movement.

The Executive Council, also passed a strongly worded resolution in support of the Eastern strike, at a time when the settlement of the Pittston strike provided a perfect opportunity to throw the weight of the UMWA and other AFL-CIO unions more deeply into the fight at Eastern. That is certainly what many miners and Eastern strikers are hoping will happen.

At the same time, however, Eastern strikers and their supporters were concerned to hear Kirkland's statement, made on February 20, in which he said, "In the Eastern situation there are no victors."

"We cannot say of course that the strike has been a success for labor because the objectives of it — a fair and decent agreement and the continuation and growth and progress of that airline — have not been achieved," Kirkland said. "But I do say to you this has been no victory for the employer," he added.

The March 7 vote in Congress on overriding President George Bush's veto of the proposal for a "blue ribbon" panel to investigate the conflict at Eastern took place a few days after the strike's year anniversary. Officials of the International Association of Machinists and AFL-CIO had campaigned for passage of this measure.

When the House vote was reported — 261 to 160, 17 votes short of what was needed to override the veto — few strikers were surprised. During their long fight to defend themselves and their union, most IAM members have learned that relief and aid are not forthcoming from Congress and the courts. Machinists have learned to rely on themselves and the support that can be organized from the rest of the labor movement to keep the strike moving forward.

The vote did confirm something important, however. Despite Lorenzo's continued financial losses and difficulties in putting together a stable, "new," nonunion Eastern, and regardless of the impact on thousands of strikers and their families, Lorenzo continues to get everything he asks for from Congress and the courts. Whether it's a defeat for the blue-ribbon panel, approval of the sale of the Latin America routes and other assets, the use of millions from the escrow fund, the transfer of Eastern assets to Texas Air, or injunctions against strike activity, Lorenzo's drive to break the Machinists and rebuild Eastern has been given a green light at every step by the

big-business government and courts. That's their job.

Strikers also are looking at several other challenges facing them directly as well as the International Association of Machinists as a whole.

At the Trump Shuttle, an election to decertify the IAM among the airline's 90 mechanics is now taking place. The voting ends March 23 and ballots will be counted March 29. The shuttle belonged to Eastern before Trump bought it. Trump mechanics, as well as workers in fleet service, are currently in the same IAM locals as Eastern strikers in New York, Boston, and Washington, D.C. IAM members at Trump were on strike during the first three months of the walkout, before the shuttle was sold.

The challenge to the IAM at Trump is coming from the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association (AMFA), a company-minded, craft union whose stock in trade is to play on the "differences" between mechanics and other ground workers to convince mechanics they need their own union.

In the Trump vote, the fight to keep the IAM as the union representing all the mechanics, cleaners, and ramp workers has been undermined in several ways. First, the decision last June by IAM officials to order Eastern strikers back to work at Trump before a contract with Trump had been signed was viewed as wrong by many strikers. Trump was a friend of unions, officials said. In addition, little has been done by the Machinists' officials to wage a campaign to keep the Trump IAM members part of the Eastern battle.

Importantly, some Eastern strikers are fighting to convince mechanics at Trump not to fall into the trap the company, with the help of AMFA, has set for them.

The defeat of the Teamsters in the recent USAir election also is a blow to Eastern strikers, the IAM, and all unions and workers in the airline industry. Had the Teamsters won, some 8,000 ramp agents, baggage handlers, and caterers would have retained — or, for many, won for the first time — union representation. However, the importance of this vote — and the stakes for the whole labor movement — was underplayed by IAM officials because the Machinists union was not directly involved.

A third factor weighing on Machinists is the new contract at Lockheed, which is organized by the IAM. Under the new pact, workers in the lowest labor grades got the worst deal by far. New hires will now come in at about \$2 an hour less than before. The whole contract is set up to deepen divisions among union members.

While few of the Lockheed workers felt the contract was a good one, it was approved — despite overwhelming rejection of earlier offers — because they felt the union was unprepared to fight for more, which could have involved a strike.

This is one result of the IAM officialdom's failure to wage a serious fight at Boeing last fall, as many Boeing workers and some officials thought was possible. Instead of the Boeing settlement setting a pattern for contracts at Lockheed and other aerospace companies, Lockheed's owners calculated that the union wouldn't put up much resistance if they went after more. The outcome is a setback for the entire IAM.

While the Eastern strike faces a number of challenges and its outcome is not yet certain, the strikers and their supporters will be in the strongest position to keep pushing for a victory if they continue along the lines they've been fighting for the past year.

Every unionist should throw themselves into helping the Eastern strikers win — this is the central labor battle on the agenda today for all unionists. Unionists in other countries can also help fight for a victory — such international solidarity can make a difference, as workers in Bermuda proved when they recently drove Eastern out of their country through a successful labor boycott.

The success of the March 3-4 actions in mobilizing broad support from the labor movement, bringing together fighters from the Greyhound strike and other labor battles, and in telling the world that the strike is alive and kicking shows what's possible.

What's needed is to keep doing the same thing. Strong picket lines. Rallies and other strike actions. Reaching out for more labor solidarity, including financial support. Forging ties with other fighters. Using every statement by union officials and resolutions by labor bodies to gain even wider backing. These are the main ways the combat-tested Eastern strikers can continue to build on the new momentum won by the strike in the weeks leading up to the March 4 anniversary and how they can continue to do the most damage to Lorenzo.

The March 12 IAM strike bulletin points in the right direction. "Our striking members throughout the country should make every attempt to work with the ATU and its members in planning joint strike activities against both Eastern and Greyhound," the bulletin says. "The Greyhound workers have our full support and solidarity."

The confident and competent Eastern strikers, who have learned to use their own strength and organization to mount a powerful, year-long struggle against a ruthless union-busting drive, are proving that there can be victors in the Eastern fight.

# Bending their knee to imperialism

BY DOUG JENNESS

Dick McBride, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in West Virginia, told me over the phone this week that he had been misquoted in our last issue. The *Militant* reported that the socialist candidate had stated, "We need a government of workers and farmers that will put the well-being of all members of society first."

This is not accurate, McBride said. "It's not the perspective I've been campaigning around. We definitely need a government of working people," he stressed, "but such a

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

government needs to put the interests of workers and farmers first, not those of 'all members of society.' One of the points I've been explaining is that working people need a government that will expropriate the bankers, mine operators, rail and airline owners, steel bosses, and so on, and that will take the side of workers and farmers, both in this country and internationally."

McBride's correction to our coverage is particularly important. Liberals and a good many people who call themselves socialist often talk about the needs of "society," "people," "humanity," or "country," thus covering up the deep class divisions that exist. This tendency to obfuscate the class character of interests, goals, parties, and governments inevitably leads to aiding the enemies of working people. The capitalists and their apologists are the ones who benefit from such abstract and nonclass terminology, not working people who need clarity on who our enemies are.

A case in point is the recent scurrilous action of several East European governments in regard to Cuba. The new "reform" regimes in Poland and Czechoslovakia, both advocates of "human rights" and "democracy" for everyone, have joined Washington in its slander campaign against Cuba by cosponsoring a resolution to have the UN Human Rights Commission examine alleged human rights abuses in Cuba. (See article on page 1.)

Neither Poland nor Czechoslovakia are voting members of the commission; as observers they could have avoided taking a stand on the U.S. government's anti-Cuba resolution. Instead, they demonstrably chose to side with Washington, bending their knee to the capitalist ruling families in the United States who have just about as abysmal a record on human rights as can be found anywhere. Likewise, Bulgaria and Hungary, who are members of the Commission, voted for the resolution.

Czechoslovak President Václav Havel and Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki are part of a layer of leaders in Eastern Europe who opposed Communist Party-led regimes in their countries and were put into top government positions as a result of the past year's upheavals. They fawn over the parliamentary democracy of capitalist countries and are pressing to utilize capitalist market methods to spur their economies. They are lining up in Washington, Paris, Bonn, and other imperialist capitals seeking loans and trade agreements.

When Havel was in Washington recently, he addressed a joint session of the U.S. Congress where he spoke about such general concepts as the "family of man" and "democracy." He stressed that "we must all learn many things from you, from how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life so that it will lead to prosperity and not to poverty."

Havel, Mazowiecki, and other leaders of this type may purport to speak for all members of society, but they do not represent or speak for working people in their countries or internationally.

Working people joined with professional, literary, religious, and other middle-class organizations and individuals to help topple the totalitarian stranglehold of the Communist Party regimes that had dominated Eastern Europe for 40 years. Getting rid of the secret police apparatuses and brutal repressive policies lifts a burden off working people. And eliminating restrictions on basic democratic rights of assembly, speech, and the press opens up some elbow room for working people to organize to defend themselves. As the regimes in these countries employ capitalist methods that will lead to increased unemployment, less job security, and cuts in social benefits, workers and farmers will need to be able to organize to protect themselves.

They will be defending themselves from such anti-communist champions of "human rights" as Havel and Mazowiecki. These officials are government leaders in countries where privileged parasitic strata enrich themselves off the wealth produced by working people. The recent revolts have shaken up how these layers dominate, but did not eliminate their privileges or power.

In the course of their coming struggles, workers and farmers will seek international ties with fighters in other countries from South Africa to El Salvador and will seek to learn from the rich experience of the Cuban revolution. They will construct new communist parties, not bureaucratic job trusts like the Stalinist parties that are now shattering. These parties will unambiguously put the interests of working people first.



# The story of the Los Angeles 8's fight for rights

**Voices in Exile: Immigrants and the First Amendment.** Video produced by Joan Mandell, Laura Hayes, and Fred Somia. Narration by Casey Kasem.

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

"War On Terrorism Hits L.A.," blared the banner headline on the Los Angeles *Herald Tribune*. In the early morning hours of Jan. 26, 1987, contingents of federal and local police had rounded up six Palestinians and the Kenyan wife of one of them.

They were charged under provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act adopted during the anticommunist witch-hunt

## IN REVIEW

of the 1940s and '50s. They were accused of being "members of or affiliated with an organization that distributes literature that advocates worldwide communism." A few days later, a seventh Palestinian was booked on the same charge.

Though none had ever been arrested for any crime, they were held without bail and under maximum security. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) moved to have them swiftly deported.

It soon became clear, however, that the government had miscalculated. Despite years of intense propaganda casting Palestinians in the role of terrorists, a wide outcry condemned this flagrant violation of democratic rights. And in the three years since their arrest, the L.A. Eight, as they came to be called, remain in the United States — having bested the government in several legal tests, and despite continuing efforts to force their deportation.

Now, a new video called *Voices in Exile: Immigrants and the First Amendment* tells their story — from their arrest, through their release the following month, tracing the often confusing legal twists and related political questions down to the present.

Filmmakers Joan Mandell, Laura Hayes, and Fred Samia rely on interviews with the eight and their families, their lawyers, and prominent supporters, along with scenes from demonstrations and press conferences. They also include extensive television news footage.

Casey Kasem, the well-known host of the national "Pop Top 40" radio show, narrates the video. Kasem, who was born to Arab immigrants, says that after the arrest of the eight he decided to find out more about them. He discovered they were guilty of one thing: following the events in their country of origin (as have other immigrants before them) and attempting to inform the people of the United States about their views. In trying to stop them from disseminating these views, Kasem explains, the government is violating all our rights to hear them.

Julie Mungai describes the five days she spent in solitary confinement in a room without a window, unable to even bathe.

We learn that the eight and their families paid a heavy price. Some lost their jobs or suffered other financial setbacks. The young son of one couple is still haunted by the sudden arrest.

The government hoped to isolate its victims, claiming they were members of a "terrorist faction" (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). But they won immediate and broad support from the Arab community. James Zogby of the Arab-American Institute sums up the response: "If they can deport one, why not deport the other Arabs?"

The video describes a secret INS "Contingency Plan" that became public soon after the arrests. Developed during the height of the government attempt to whip up hysteria around "terrorism," it outlined a scheme for rounding up, detaining in camps in Louisiana and Florida, and deporting thousands of Middle Eastern immigrants. The INS admitted that the document was authentic, but denied it was ever seriously considered. Charging unconstitutional "selective prosecution," attorneys for the eight point to a provision of the plan calling for a test case to establish a precedent for

deportations based "solely on nationality."

The filmmakers remind us that the government persecuted certain nationalities in the past. Japanese on the West Coast were imprisoned in concentration camps during World War II. And during the antilabor Palmer Raids following World War I, thousands of eastern European immigrants, mostly Jews, accused of supporting the October 1917 Russian revolution were herded onto ships and deported. Among those rallying to the defense of the eight have been Japanese-American and Jewish groups.

As time went by, the government suffered repeated setbacks. At one point an INS judge dismissed all charges, only to have them reinstated. The government has several times altered its charges in response to legal setbacks and popular pressure.

The American Civil Liberties Union, backed by immigrant rights and other organizations, filed a federal suit on behalf of the eight. The judge has struck down several key provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. In a landmark decision, he ruled that immigrants are protected by the First Amendment.

The fight continues on several fronts. The government is appealing the favorable rulings on the McCarran-Walter Act. Some of the eight face deportation on minor visa violations. Formal deportation action against two, who are permanent residents, are on hold until the federal courts resolve the McCarran issues.

A suit filed against the INS last August charges illegal electronic spying against the eight and their attorneys.

Filmmaker Mandell says she is trying to get the film aired on public television, but is not optimistic. Meanwhile, the video is available to organizations wanting to learn more about the case.

To arrange a screening of the video, write Committee for Justice, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, Calif. 90051, or phone (213) 413-2935.

## LETTERS

### Nicaragua I

I believe the results of Nicaragua's elections are the result of economic sabotage by the United States. The people voted with their stomachs, not their hearts or heads.

After 10 years of revolutionary experimentation by the Sandinista Front in restructuring the country and assisting the people to chart a new and independent course, the Sandinistas were ultimately deprived of total control over the reins of government as a result of deteriorating conditions due to the economic boycott by the United States.

So the people of Nicaragua can now "have their cake and eat it too." They can enjoy the "benefits" of renewed trade with the United States while they can feel the pride and self-confidence of having built a revolutionary structure. Having tasted the fruits of "people's power," they will not kneel to any master ever again.

As for the Sandinistas, they can now work through the "democratic" system they themselves created, a system so "democratic" and free they never need to fear the results. They can act as a strong alternative to those who now hold Nicaragua's political reins, as an opposition to closely scrutinize every action and keep Violeta Chamorro and her masters in line to insure that all policies are for the benefit of all the people of Nicaragua.

Ed Meredith  
Caneyville, Kentucky

### Nicaragua II

I am a prisoner here at Attica. I really like the *Militant* and would love to get a prisoner's subscription.

I really like your Nicaragua coverage, and now with the Sandinista loss, a "militant" analysis is absolutely necessary.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

### Socialized medicine

At several convenience stores in the Salt Lake City area, there is a container on the checkout counter where a person can put spare change. A notice says, "Help me get my liver transplant." There is a picture of a boy about five years of age.

This is a desperate plea for

money, and I wonder if he will die if he doesn't get the needed funds. Our society, which is so affluent, is shameless to let a young child beg to receive medical attention.

I've read the *Militant* for years but I can't recall any articles on the value of socialized medicine as it would pertain to this country. This is a concept your paper should emphasize.

John-Michael Eggertsen  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### 13 fired miners

I view United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka and Vice-president Cecil Roberts as finks.

The jobs of the 13 fired Pittston miners should have been secured before negotiations could even begin. These men were political prisoners and the top brass dumped them. This was a long, hard battle and the top brass deliberately abandoned their fighters.

Then, to top this betrayal, Trumka deliberately demoralized the rank and file by holding up the tentative contract for six weeks.

I am with Bud Smith of Logan County when he said you don't even look at a contract that sells out 13 miners (*Militant*, March 2).

The UMWA rank and file could send a message to the top brass of other unions that the firing of one union member is unacceptable and not negotiable by getting rid of Trumka and Roberts.

Any top brass who does not negotiate for all their members are traitors.

Carol Rogers  
Grafton, West Virginia

### Protest attack

A speakout was held to protest the February 18 attack on the Pathfinder Bookstore in Omaha, Nebraska. A plate glass window had been destroyed by what appeared to be a homemade incendiary device.

Diane Shur, representing the bookstore, noted that the window contained a display celebrating Black History Month with books and photos of Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X. "This attack has clearly racist overtones," she said.

Shur called on the mayor and the

police to repudiate this violence and to find and prosecute those responsible for the attack. Bookstore supporters will be organizing a delegation of community activists to meet with the mayor.

Wali Gill of the Omaha National Association for the Advancement of Colored People compared the attack to the recent defacing of the Pathfinder Mural in New York. Gill has visited the mural and wrote New York Mayor David Dinkins protesting the vandalism in that case.

Other speakers included Sandra Nelson of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Rowena Moore of the Malcolm X Memorial Foundation, and Rachel Murray of Students for

I am doing 13 years and can use all the educational material I can get. I was hoping you could send me a free subscription.

A prisoner  
Corcoran, California

### Killings on border

I read one of your papers last week that another prisoner showed me. I wonder why the capitalist news never says anything about the killings and destruction this government does in other countries. First Panama, then who will be next?

I urge you to look into the killings being committed on the U.S.-Mexican border, since I am sure no other

heid, the mass democratic movement within South Africa, and the strength of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

"It is to your credit today for the release of Nelson Mandela, through your demonstrations. And we are here to thank you," Makgetla said.

"You can only go to negotiations if a free man; prisoners never go to negotiations," he said. "You can't go to the negotiating table pointing a gun. You go with a gun on your shoulder. That doesn't mean you have to drop the gun."

Magketla also explained that the sanctions against South Africa should continue. "This is the only pressure we can put that is peaceful."

Participants in the event donated \$290 to the ANC. Seven people bought copies of *The Struggle Is My Life*, the speeches and writings of Mandela, published by Pathfinder.

Valerie Williams  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Drugging prisoners

The government claims they are fighting to rid America's border of drugs. They also claim there are no political prisoners or POWs in the United States.

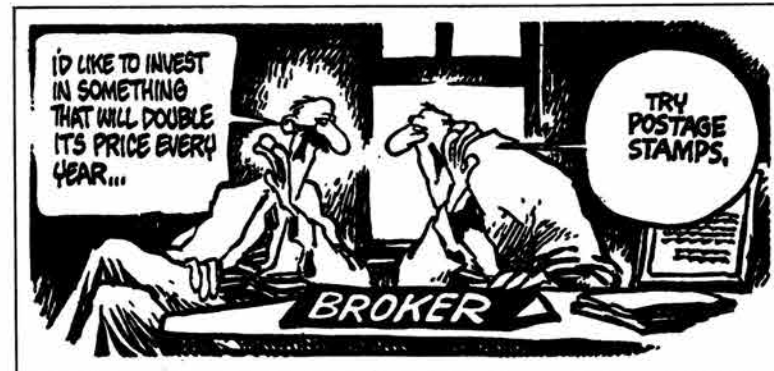
On February 27 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution permits states to administer mind-altering drugs to mentally ill prisoners against their will without court approval.

This is about locking us up because we are no longer any use to them. They have legalized cruel and unusual punishment for those who will not be obedient. And for this violation of our rights, sisters and brothers must die.

We throughout the prison system are under siege, psychological and biological warfare. It's up to you to get out the word. Our futures are in your hands.

A prisoner  
Michigan City, Indiana

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.



Mike Peters

Choice at the University of Nebraska. Messages of solidarity came from a farmer who is active against toxic waste dumping, the Eastern Nebraska Socialist Party, an Eastern Airlines flight attendant, and Hafeni Hatutale, a representative of the South West Africa People's Organisation.

Three TV stations and a radio station covered the event.

Greg Preston  
Omaha, Nebraska

### Opened my eyes

I had the opportunity to read your newspaper and I must say it opened my eyes to a whole new world.

I read an article in the February 16 issue, "America — land of free — isn't so free anymore," in the "Behind Prison Walls" column. I am sympathetic to what that person is going through because I am a prisoner in California and that kind of human rights abuse happens here too.

paper will tell the truth. A program I saw on television showed the injustice that the immigration authorities are committing against the Mexican working class.

A prisoner  
Green Bay, Wisconsin

### 'ANC Day'

February 23 was proclaimed "ANC Day" in Baltimore by the city's mayor, Kurt Schmoke. He issued the proclamation at a Community College of Baltimore event co-sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Some 75 people came to the meeting to hear keynote speaker Zeph Makgetla, deputy chief representative to the United States of the African National Congress of South Africa, whose presentation focused on the rapid changes occurring in South Africa. He credited the current positive steps being taken by the Pretoria government to three factors: international efforts against apart-



## Panama women say U.S. out . . .

BY SELVA NEBBIA

PANAMA CITY, Panama — Condemning the December 20 invasion by U.S. forces and calling for the total removal of the troops from Panamanian soil, 200 people gathered here to commemorate International Women's Day.

"This is going to be a different kind of March 8," said Teodora Rodríguez, "because it takes place in an occupied country with a government that is against the people." Rodríguez, a member of the executive committee of the public workers federation FENASEP, gave the opening speech at the event.

"This meeting will be a tribute not only to those women who died in a fire in the United States," said Rodríguez, referring to the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York City that killed 145 women garment workers, "but a tribute to those who died December 20, victims of the U.S. invasion."

The conference participants met in groups to exchange personal accounts of their experiences during and following the invasion. Later the conference met in a plenary session to hear highlights of the discussion. Women heard testimony of those whose relatives, friends, or neighbors were killed as a result of the U.S. attack; from those who had been arrested or left homeless; and from those who lost their jobs following the invasion.

Several women from El Chorrillo, a working-class neighborhood destroyed by U.S. bombs in the first hours of the invasion, described the night's events.

### 'They destroyed everything'

"My family and I were in our apartment on the 14th floor of a building in El Chorrillo," said María del Rosario Iturralde, 27, who was left homeless. "Our whole building was riddled with bullets and missile fire. They destroyed everything. We will never be able to forgive the U.S. army for what they did here, especially since every time we see them walking down our streets we are reminded of their premeditated attack against the Panamanian people."



March in Panama City commemorating International Women's Day. Banner reads: "For the defense of the rights and gains made by women. Long live March 8!"

"I feel very ashamed knowing that some people welcomed this invasion," added Iturralde.

A group of women who lost their jobs following extensive firings in the government ministries and other public institutions, carried out by U.S.-installed President Guillermo Endara, denounced the dismissals.

"The U.S. forces say they came to overthrow a military dictatorship," said Rosa Herrera, "yet in its place they have installed a civilian dictatorship that is dismissing government workers." Herrera was recently fired after working as a public employee for 10 years.

Thousands have been left without a job, explained Herrera, with no just cause. "The government is doing this as a result of the invasion and to carry out the orders of the International Monetary Fund."

Government workers recently fired have

not received severance pay or vacation pay due to them at the time of their dismissal. "Most of us are still owed back pay," added Herrera.

A member of the Dignity Battalions who fought against the U.S. forces during the invasion also gave her account of the events. She would not give her name for fear of reprisal but described how, with her husband and other members of her family, she responded to the call to fight the invading forces.

"My husband and my nephew were killed in the fighting," she explained. "Since then I have avoided being caught by government authorities by staying in different places."

"We did not fight to defend one individual," she said. "We fought to defend our country." Amid applause from the audience, she pointed to the heroic role played by the Dignity Battalions during the invasion.

Her testimony was followed by chants of "Sovereignty or death, we shall be victorious" and "Down with Yankee imperialism."

Lilibeth Zelaya, an Air Panama flight attendant, also spoke at the event. She appealed to the participants to support the current struggle of the Air Panama workers to reopen the airline and to halt government moves to privatize the state-owned enterprise.

"I am here to denounce the unjust closing of Air Panama by the comptroller general on January 22," explained Zelaya. More than 300 Air Panama workers were left without a job when the government, claiming the company is not profitable, shut down the airline, she said. "But behind this move are the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, institutions that have a policy of privatizing all government enterprises," she added.

"This is just the first example of the government's attempt to turn over state-owned companies," said the flight attendant. Other Air Panama workers were at the conference to talk to participants and distribute fact sheets explaining their fight.

Sharing the speakers' platform with Rodríguez were Celia Sanjur of the Continental Women's Front, Anaica Mercado of the Organization of Torrijista Women, Norma Cano and Carmen Coronado representing two of Panama's trade union federations, and representatives of two Panamanian women's organizations.

Conference participants pledged to organize a front against U.S. intervention and to demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Panama.

The event ended with a mass for those who were killed during the invasion. The mass was performed by a lay minister. "No one from the Catholic Diocese of Panama was willing to give this mass," Sanjur pointed out.

After the mass, participants marched silently towards El Chorrillo to honor those who died there. FENASEP workers, protesting the dismissal of government employees at a church along the march route, joined the demonstration.

## . . . refugees demand compensation

BY SETH GALINSKY

PANAMA CITY, Panama — Until Dec. 20, 1989, El Chorrillo, one of Panama City's poorest neighborhoods, was filled with bustling streets and two-story wooden houses. As a result of the U.S. invasion, all that remains are the buildings on its perimeter, many with bullet and missile holes. The rest is an empty field.

Some 13,000 Chorrilleros are now crammed into schools, unfinished buildings, relatives' homes, or the U.S.-run refugee camp at Albrook Air Force Base. Hundreds have participated in protests to demand the U.S. government pay compensation.

The Panamanian Defense Forces headquarters on the outskirts of El Chorrillo was a prime target of Washington's invasion force. The attack soon spread to the surrounding neighborhoods.

"So many people died, we still don't know how many or even where our relatives are buried," Mario Quintero said. "There were bodies all over the place."

The fighting began around 1:00 a.m. "The North Americans should have told us they were going to bomb the area," Sonalg Martínez said in an interview. "But they didn't tell us to evacuate until they had already started."

"They said they did this to get rid of Noriega and that members of the Dignity Battalions were resisting from our neighborhood," she stated. "But they had fled as soon as the fighting started."

The U.S.-installed Panamanian government claims that forces loyal to General Manuel Noriega started the fire that incinerated the neighborhood. But residents insist the fire was caused by the U.S. troops.

One young man said, "They did the right thing, invading to get rid of Noriega. But why did they have to destroy our homes just to get at one man?"

One of the buildings seemingly untouched by the fighting is an unfinished five-story apartment building. A hundred families moved into the building on February 25. Both U.S. troops and Panamanian police came to clear the site, but when the residents refused to leave they backed down.

A leader of the group, Juana Rodríguez, explained their action. "I was at the refugee camp at Albrook Air Force Base," she said. "But the conditions are terrible. There are over 1,000 families in tiny cubicles separated only by a piece of plastic. There are insects everywhere. And the only thing they give you for breakfast is tea, bread, and butter."

Like most El Chorrillo residents interviewed, those involved in the takeover of the apartment building stated they were for the invasion.

"The invasion was the price we had to pay to get rid of that monster," one resident said. "We want the U.S. troops to stay here," Juana Rodríguez added. "I have no reason to criticize the invasion."

However, Rodríguez noted that, "With the invasion by the Southern Command we were left with nothing, absolutely nothing. Now it's three months later and we still have nothing. I didn't ask them to come, but at least they should build me a new place to live."

The building's owners removed the only water faucets soon after the occupation began. Panamanian police refuse to allow residents to bring food, water, or even blankets into the building. Many of the children are covered with open sores from sleeping

on the bare concrete floors.

"Promises, promises, promises: that's all we get," Gloria Ortiz said.

Conditions at the nearby Republic of El Salvador public school are not much better. Refugees are crammed into every conceivable nook and cranny. One family is even living underneath the school's staircase without enough room to stand up all the way. The government has said they can remain until school opens at the beginning of April.

In an attempt to force U.S. and Panamanian government action, several hundred refugees from El Chorrillo staged a sit-in on the bridge that spans the Panama Canal on March 2, blocking traffic.

Héctor Avila, a spokesperson for the refugees, explained their demands. "We want compensation. The government has promised \$6,500 but we haven't seen a dime. And even that is not enough for what we lost."

"We also want the government to buy this building, finish it, and give it to the refugees. They talk about democracy, but they forget about the Chorrilleros."

The anxiety of many refugees at the building over the need for Washington to be convinced to compensate them was shown on March 8. Opponents of the new government's attacks on union rights and the U.S. invasion marched silently to Chorrillo to honor the victims of December 20. The demonstrators carried only signs protesting the government's economic policies and celebrating International Women's Day. They planned to place a Panamanian flag and say a few words in honor of the dead. But one of the participants painted on a nearby wall, "Yankees go home. We will avenge the deaths."

As dozens of refugees — shouting support



Refugees at Republic of El Salvador public school in El Chorrillo, where they are crammed into every conceivable nook and cranny.

for the U.S. invaders — converged on the demonstrators, the gathering was forced to disperse.

Juana Rodríguez was angry. "We need the Americans to rebuild our homes. They'll think that we painted that and then we'll get nothing."

Youths from El Chorrillo immediately started slinging dirt and rocks at the wall. Within minutes they found paint and covered up the slogans.