

# Machinists press contract fight

## Safety indictments, labor actions batter Eastern Airlines

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

BROOKLYN, New York — At a news conference inside the federal courthouse here July 25, U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney announced "that Eastern Airlines, Inc. and 10 of its management employees have been charged in a 60-count indictment with conspiracy to defraud the United States, wire fraud, falsification of material facts to the Federal Aviation Administration, and obstruction of justice."

Outside, jubilant Eastern strikers and their supporters dressed in red strike T-shirts handed out fliers and waited for the opportunity to have their say to the multitude of reporters inside.

"Everyone is pretty excited and we hope this doesn't stop here. It should go higher. They had orders from above," said Derek Robain, an Eastern striker at New York's La



U.S. Attorney Andrew Maloney announcing indictments against Eastern at press conference July 25.

Guardia Airport and a member of Lodge 1018 of the International Association of Machinists.

"The grave hole is dug today," Robain continued. "This is it. Today means the airline cannot survive. I hope they have a wooden

box." That night the picket line at La Guardia kept growing as the news reached strikers and their supporters. Strikers reported the passenger load at Eastern was sharply down.

On March 4, 1989, 8,500 Machinists

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## Northwest workers should join strikers' battle for contract

The strike by the facility cleaners, ramp workers, and mechanics of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) against Eastern Airlines is rapidly heading towards a victorious conclusion. By joining in the fight, workers in the airline industry across North America — especially at Northwest Airlines — can significantly help insure the victory of the nearly 17-month strike.

Unable to shake the strike, Eastern is near collapse. Broad-sided with federal indictments this week for fraud and conspiracy in connection with covering up maintenance

## EDITORIAL

violations, Eastern suffered another blow. These unprecedented charges underscore the Machinists claim that Eastern's planes are unsafe and dangerous to fly.

It's no wonder that Eastern's creditors see the offer by Northwest Airlines head Alfred Checchi to buy a major part of Eastern as the best way out of their mounting problems. Eastern is going down the drain financially, losing millions of dollars every week, threatening the creditors' capital investments.

The goal of the strike — to keep union

Continued on Page 14

## New attack on British miners' union

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — A significant escalation in the attacks on the National Union of Mine-workers was initiated July 17 with the decision of the government to launch an investigation into the union's finances.

The government appointed union Certification Officer Matthew Wake to consider whether the NUM has complied with the 1974 Trade Union and Labour Relations Act, which stipulates that unions have a legal obligation to maintain properly audited accounts.

The move comes as publicity mounts that the miners' union took special financial and accounting measures for a number of years to avoid the effects of sequestration and receivership during the 1984-85 miners' strike. Huge fines were imposed on the union

in the course of the strike for picketing actions and contempt of court.

The courts ordered the union's assets seized and, in an unprecedented move, appointed a receiver to manage the union's affairs. During the strike, the receiver declared that for all intents and purposes, "I am the NUM."

NUM President Arthur Scargill has explained that at an unpublicized meeting in March 1984, the union's National Executive Committee decided to take measures necessary to allow it to continue its affairs in the course of the strike. In line with the executive decision, national officials Scargill and Peter Heathfield organized a maze of 17 bank accounts designed to obscure the union's funding.

They kept the accounts in operation fol-

lowing the end of the strike and period of receivership in order to insure that loans made to the union from other trade unions could be repaid. Some £750 thousand (\$1.3 million) was repaid to the Transport and

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## E. German farmers launch protests as impact of currency union is felt

BY LÜKO WILLMS

FRANKFURT am MAIN, West Germany — Thousands of East German farmers have taken to the streets protesting what an official called "the complete breakdown of the interior market" in East Germany. The chain from producer to consumer is broken, said Peter Kauffold, an undersecretary of the East German ministry of agriculture in Berlin.

Dairy products from West Germany, vegetables from the Netherlands, and agricultural produce from other countries in the European Community have nearly replaced East German goods from Rostock in the north to Dresden in the south.

Many farmers and workers from dairies and slaughterhouses, whose products have been pushed out of retail outlets, have begun setting up stalls on the street, in public places, and often in front of the shops they used to supply.

Members of a milk-producing Agricultural Production Cooperative took their protest to the offices of Leipzig's district government July 10 and dumped their milk in the street. "I hope our minister now starts

acting on our behalf," said one farmer. "Or does he only pick up his mail in Bonn?" Bonn is the capital city in West Germany.

On July 11 farmers blocked all roads leading into Wismar for two hours. "In Wismar county alone, 26,000 hogs are ready for slaughter; 1,300 head of cattle and 5,000 sheep stand in stalls eating and becoming overweight," said Günther Resöft, the chairman of a cooperative. "Even with livestock not being sold, cold-storage houses are filled beyond capacity.

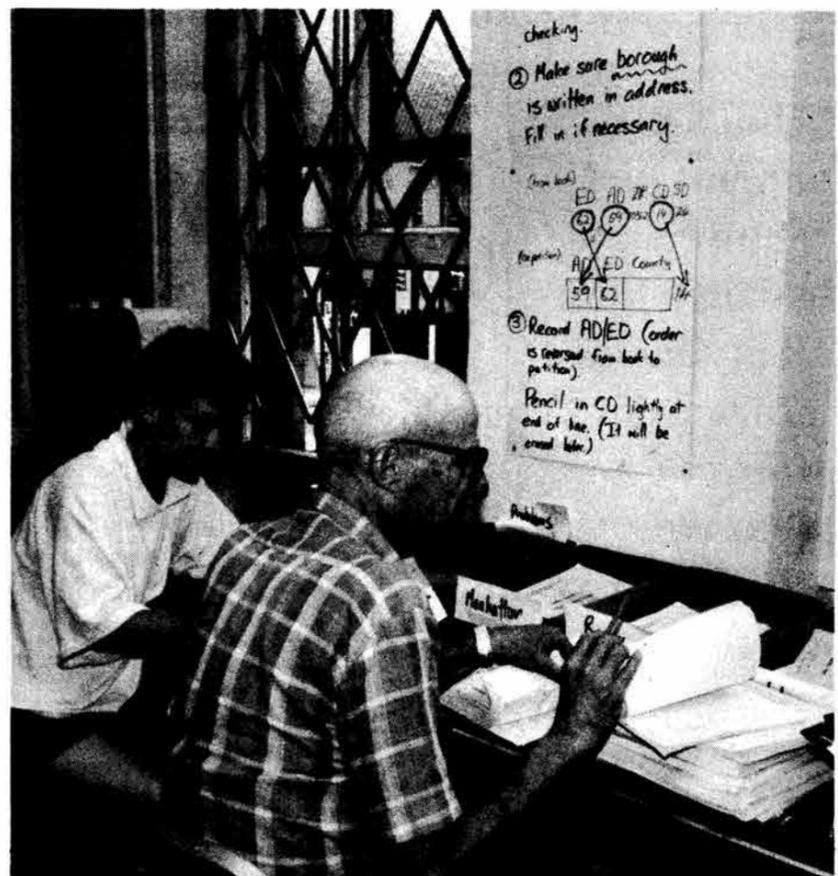
The Agricultural Production Cooperatives farm more than 90 percent of all agricultural land in East Germany. State farms and some individual private farms work the remaining 10 percent. Private farmers were forcibly collectivized by the previous Stalinist-led regime in the 1950s. Individual plots of land were combined in cooperatives and farmers began to earn wages for set working hours.

Meat-packers demonstrate

Workers from an East Berlin meat-processing enterprise demonstrated at the par-

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## 12,607 signed up, 17,393 to go in socialists' New York ballot drive



Militant/Janet Post

Socialist campaign volunteers look up election district information for the 12,607 signatures gotten so far to place the Socialist Workers Party slate on the New York ballot. Petitioners are going for 30,000 names, 10,000 over the legal requirement. Petitions must be filed by August 21. See article on page 5.

# U.S. gov't drops diplomatic recognition of counterrevolutionary Cambodian forces

BY PETER THIERJUNG

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker announced in Paris July 18 that the U.S. government was withdrawing its recognition of the Khmer Rouge-dominated coalition currently fighting to topple the Cambodian government.

Baker also said the Bush administration will seek negotiations with the government of Vietnam on settling the fighting in Cambodia. He said, however, deciding to "change policy does not constitute a decision to normalize relations with Vietnam. It is a decision simply to begin a dialogue with Vietnam about Cambodia."

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach released a statement July 19 welcoming Baker's announcement and declared his government's willingness to begin discussions. "Vietnam has more than once stated its desire to achieve an early, fair, and reasonable political solution to the Cambodian issue on the basis of respect for the national rights of Cambodia and a lasting peace and stability in Southeast Asia," the statement said.

Vietnamese military forces and Cambodian resistance fighters toppled the hated Khmer Rouge regime headed by Pol Pot in 1979. Following Pol Pot's fall, a new government was formed with Hun Sen becoming prime minister in 1985. For 10 years Vietnamese troops remained in Cambodia backing up the new government against Khmer Rouge assaults from bases in neighboring Thailand.

## U.S. role in preventing settlement

In September 1989 more than 50,000 Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from the country, ending Vietnam's military presence there. International talks have been held to arrive at a political solution to the fighting between the Khmer Rouge-headed coalition and Cambodian government troops. But diplomatic efforts have failed largely due to support from Washington for the counterrevolutionary coalition's insistence on a role for the Khmer Rouge in a future government.

Talks on Cambodia have been held recently between government officials from the United States, Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France.

Washington had supported the three-faction coalition headed by the Khmer Rouge since 1979 and had helped it maintain Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. It also provided at least \$20 million a year in aid, along with military intelligence and planning assistance, for the coalition's war against the Hun Sen government.

The U.S. government successfully enlisted the Chinese government's help in keeping the Khmer Rouge in business. The CIA estimated Chinese assistance to the Pol Pot

forces now approaches \$100 million a year.

Washington has attempted to claim that its aid is going to the two factions headed by the former Cambodian monarch Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, a former prime minister, not to the Khmer Rouge.

This attempt, however, to cover up U.S. operations has failed as reports of how U.S. aid winds up in Khmer Rouge hands have been made public. Evidence of growing military coordination between the Khmer Rouge and the other two factions is also surfacing. Such coordination is prohibited by U.S. law, which stipulates the conditions for aid.

In a telegram from his residence in Pyongyang, North Korea, Sihanouk issued a blistering attack on the U.S. government's move calling it "an act of very grave injustice" that offered "a formidable reward" to Vietnam and its "traitorous" ally, the government in Phnom Penh.

"In the future, to survive, to go on fighting, we will have to accept more aid from China," said Norodom Ranariddh, Sihanouk's son and commander of his army.

## Khmer Rouge's record

Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge unleashed a reign of terror and genocide in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 killing more than a million people. Some estimates range as high as 2 million to 4 million killed. Cities were evacuated and the population was pressed into forced labor in the countryside. Elementary school and higher education was abolished. Freedom of religion was suppressed. Child labor became universal, and the seven-day workweek became the rule. Cambodia's population is now about 7 million people.

The Khmer Rouge is today the largest and best fighting component of the counterrevolutionary coalition attempting to overthrow the Hun Sen government. In recent weeks its forces have seized hundreds of villages and military positions in the northern part of the country, although government troops have prevented them from holding this ground.

The increased fighting capacity of the Khmer Rouge and the prospect that it could in the future be in a position to overthrow the government in Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital city, has turned international public opinion against Washington's policy.

The pressure has been reflected in growing divisions among the U.S. rulers over backing for the Khmer Rouge. Congressional critics have argued that aid to the Pol Potists carries too high a price. ABC television aired a one-hour program in early May that lambasted the policy and stirred a public debate among policy makers, some of it documented in the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post*.

U.S. Senate majority leader George Mitch-



Militant/Diane Wang  
Skulls and bones of Pol Pot-Khmer Rouge victims at Choeung Ek extermination camp. More than a million Cambodians were killed between 1975 and 1979.

ell (D.-Maine) condemned the aid to the Khmer Rouge coalition last month as "incredible" and "insupportable."

While welcoming the Bush administration's shift, Mitchell said he did not believe the steps were enough to prevent the Khmer Rouge from again turning Cambodia into a "vast killing field." He was referring to Baker's assertion that U.S. assistance to the Sihanouk and Son Sann factions would continue until internationally supervised elections can be held in Cambodia.

"I consider it a welcome adjustment in our policy in Cambodia," U.S. representative Stephen Solarz (D.-New York) stated. He said the administration's new approach would "help solidify support on Capitol Hill for assistance" to the Sihanouk and Son Sann factions. Solarz, chairman of the House Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee, has been centrally responsible for shepherding aid to the Cambodian contras through the U.S. Congress.

## Drive against Cambodia's sovereignty

The *New York Times* reported July 19 that the Bush administration is aiming for internationally supervised elections in Cambodia to determine the government in Phnom Penh. Prior to elections it wants a strong United Nations role in the country to guarantee the "fairness" of the vote.

In the meantime Washington favors setting up a Cambodian "Supreme National Council" to govern the country. The council would be composed of representatives of the gov-

ernment and of the Sihanouk and Son Sann forces. Khmer Rouge representatives would only sit as "individuals" on the council. Washington previously insisted on full Khmer Rouge participation in the proposed governing body.

Phnom Penh wants such a council to be symbolic. In a June 7 interview with the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Prime Minister Hun Sen excluded giving the Khmer Rouge veto rights in the council or representation separate from the counterrevolutionary coalition. He said the UN role should be limited to monitoring the elections and insisted on his government's sovereign right to continue in power pending elections.

Baker made his July 18 announcement following a two-hour meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who told reporters that the U.S. and Soviet approaches on these issues have "come much closer."

The Chinese government has vowed to continue to support the Khmer Rouge-dominated coalition.

Washington's allies in the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) criticized Bush's shift. ASEAN, a trade bloc between Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, has a position that supports inclusion of the Khmer Rouge in any Cambodian settlement. Countries in the group have provided aid to the coalition's guerrillas. Singapore, for example, sends them \$10 million each year in military hardware.

**'That's my paper. I just renewed because I get all my factual information from the *Militant*. We can believe what we see in the *Militant*. It seems not to be controlled.'**



**RICHARD LEFTERIS**

President, International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 641 Greensboro, North Carolina

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# Québec police tighten siege against Mohawks who claim land

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

OKA, Québec — The Québec provincial police (Sûreté du Québec, or SQ) tightened its siege July 23 against Mohawks resisting police efforts to forcibly remove them from land in Kanesatake near here. The Mohawks claim the land as their own.

On July 22 police prevented a car caravan of 250 Mohawk supporters from the Montréal region from bringing in urgently needed food and other supplies. After blocking entry of the cars and making Mohawk supporters walk 2.5 kilometers to a set of police barricades, two rows of SQ officers in riot gear refused to let the marchers pass through to the Mohawk barricade.

Protest organizers gave the food to Trappist monks whose monastery is just behind the barricades. But later the SQ refused to let the monks' pickup truck deliver the food to the Mohawks.

Later in the day besieged Mohawk leaders from Kanesatake announced that the SQ had told them it would no longer allow any food or medical supplies — even from the International Red Cross — to be transported through SQ barricades.

Mohawks on the Kahnawake reserve on Montréal's south shore have also been behind police barricades for the last 13 days after closing the Mercier Bridge — a key traffic artery into the city of Montréal — in solidarity with the Mohawks at Kanesatake.

The SQ's shut-off of food supplies is an escalation of the cop assault on Kanesatake, which began early in the morning of July 11. That day a squad of 100 heavily armed cops attacked Mohawk barricades set up to stop the City Council of Oka from cutting down a forest and bulldozing the land in order to expand the adjacent private golf course onto Mohawk land.

Mohawks fought back and forced the cops to carry out a disorderly retreat. Mohawks and the SQ then set up barricades facing each other on Highway 344. The police quickly moved more than 1,000 SQ officers into Oka. There are an additional 500 SQ officers in Chateaugay, a city to the west of Kahnawake, plus hundreds of Royal Canadian Mounted Police. On July 17 the Canadian army confirmed it is ready to intervene to break through the Mohawk barricades at Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

Canadian Minister of Indian Affairs Thomas Siddon has declared that the federal government will not negotiate with the Mohawks until they pull down their barricades because the government "cannot negotiate at gunpoint."

In a July 19 statement, Mohawk spokesperson Ellen Gabriel explained why the Natives were justified in taking up arms. "The internal laws of every country, as well as international law, clearly recognizes that all people have the right to defend themselves and their property against unprovoked armed aggression."

Beverly Nelson from the Kanesatake Radio station confirmed July 23 that food supplies are very low and that rationing of food has begun. Linda Simon, who coordinates the food bank, said that by depriving the Kanesatake residents of food, the police hope to force the women and children to leave. Simon declared that these tactics are not working and that the message coming from Kanesatake residents is "we're staying."

The police operation has emboldened racist reaction. For five nights, racist mobilizations have taken place at the police barricades at the Mercier bridge in Chateaugay. The crowds have grown to as many as 4,000 people. Mohawks have been burned in effigy and store owners have been warned not to sell to Native people. Several Blacks and Native people walking through the area have been attacked as cops stood by.

In response to these mobilizations, 300 people, mostly Chateaugay residents, staged a peace march to the barricades on July 23.

The determined resistance of the Mo-

hawks has precipitated an unprecedented wave of actions across Canada in solidarity with the struggles of Native peoples. In the United States Native groups in Washington D.C. organized a protest action on July 17 and are maintaining a 24-hour "justice watch" at the Canadian embassy.

In Kahnawake itself more than 150 Native chiefs from across the country held a three-day conference July 19-21 to discuss how to help advance the struggle of the Mohawks at Kanesatake and Kahnawake. The chiefs denounced the federal Indian affairs minister's refusal to negotiate as long as the Mohawks maintain their barricades. The chiefs called for the withdrawal of the SQ from their positions in Kanesatake and Kahnawake and an amnesty for all Native people involved in the conflict.

Demonstrations of hundreds of people to support the Mohawks have occurred in Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver, and Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia. In Montréal, 600 people protesting violent police attacks



Mohawks at Kanesatake near Oka, Québec. Canadian Minister of Indian Affairs Thomas Siddon has declared that the federal government will not negotiate with them.

against gays and lesbians July 21 also demanded the removal of the SQ barricades against the Mohawks.

By far the largest was held July 22 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, when 2,500 people — including hundreds of non-Natives — joined a march and rally at the Manitoba provincial legislature. Elijah Harper, the Native member of the Manitoba legislature who refused to let the federal government's Lake Meech constitutional proposal pass because it did not recognize aboriginal rights, issued the call for the demonstration.

Harper called on Prime Minister Brian

Mulroney to "tear down the barricades that are surrounding our brothers in Oka. It was not the aboriginal people who staged the situation. Our brothers were forced into that situation. We want justice. We want equality. We want our rightful place in Canadian society."

Natives across the country have also set up blockades of roads running through their land to show their support for the Mohawks. In British Columbia 12 different bands are currently carrying out solidarity blockades. They report receiving tremendous support from non-Natives.

## July strike, actions in South Africa protest violence in Natal Province

BY GREG McCARTAN

Some 3 million workers across South Africa stayed off the job July 2 pressing demands on the apartheid regime for a halt to the violence in Natal Province.

The strike kicked off a week of actions called by the African National Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), United Democratic Front (UDF), and the South Africa Youth Congress. At the end of the week, rallies, marches, and other meetings were held in more than 20 areas.

The actions focused on Natal, located in the eastern part of South Africa, because of the rising death toll in the region. Some 3,000 have died there over the last four years as a result of attacks against supporters of the ANC and UDF.

Within Natal lies the KwaZulu Bantustan, one of 10 "homelands" where a majority of Africans are forced to live. These "independent" or "self-governing" areas are under the jurisdiction of authorities who have traditionally been tied to the apartheid regime.

### Role of Inkatha

In the KwaZulu homeland the chief minister and head of the police is Gatsha Buthelezi. He also leads a political organization called Inkatha which claims a membership of 1.7 million Zulus.

While the South African government has portrayed the fighting as a conflict between Inkatha and the ANC, calling it "Black on Black violence," much evidence has emerged exposing the role of the police, government, and Inkatha in perpetrating the violence.

The coalition organizing the week of actions called on the government to lift the state of emergency in Natal, disband and disarm the KwaZulu police, arrest and prosecute Inkatha members responsible for organizing attacks on areas where ANC and UDF supporters live, and guarantee freedom of political activity.

"There has been an overwhelming response by the masses of our people nationwide to the call made by COSATU, the UDF, and the ANC for a one-day stayaway action to pressurise the government to end the violence in Natal," a statement issued by the three organizations said.

They noted the action "should finally lay to rest the claim that Inkatha represents the people

of Natal. Eighty percent of workers stayed away in Natal, despite Inkatha's virulent opposition to the stayaway and their attempt to use strong-arm tactics to disrupt it."

COSATU reported a 75 to 85 percent stayaway from industries around Johannesburg, and a nearly total stoppage in the eastern Cape region.

"Virtually every family knows someone who has been directly affected by this terrible carnage" in Natal, the statement said. "Therefore, our organisations are determined to continue with our programme of mass action for peace until the government takes decisive steps to end this violence."

### Government campaign against action

Leading up to the stayaway the government and the big-business press went on a massive campaign against the action. South African Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok accused the organizations of "incitement and intimidation of innocent workers to obey the call for the stayaway."

"The reasons given for, and the aims of, the stayaway are also incorrect, unconvincing, and unattainable," he said. "The government is not responsible for the violence in Natal."

The government will mobilize the army and the police to insure "any person wishing to go to work should not be hindered," Vlok said.

The Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, and the National Council of Trade Unions all opposed the stayaway.

The country's two main newspapers in Afrikaans, the language of the descendants of the Dutch settlers in South Africa, came out strongly against the action.

An editorial in the *Transvaler* said the "stayaway is supposed to be a campaign to end violence in Natal. In reality it is an attack on Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi. No wonder. He is the representative of moderation in black ranks.

"He wants to see a true democracy in the country, the end of the ANC's armed struggle, and an end to the economic stranglehold through which the ANC and its allies seek to manipulate everyone."

Buthelezi claimed the stayaway's goal was to "isolate me as president of Inkatha and minister of police and chief minister of KwaZulu."

"Surely," he said, "it is time their cynical actions are seen for what they really are—

bully-boy politics in progress aimed at eliminating all opposition to them."

At a July 14 Inkatha conference, Buthelezi called on Inkatha to form a new multiracial political party. "We will not allow the ANC and its South African Communist Party partner to crush all opposition and emerge as the only viable political party," he said.

While in the United States, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela discussed the issue of Natal on the June 21 ABC "Town Meeting" program with Ted Koppel. By satellite hook-up Buthelezi said Mandela wanted to meet with him but was barred from doing so by the ANC's leadership bodies.

Mandela responded, "If I have not seen you it is because of decisions which we have carefully discussed amongst ourselves, of which I am a part."

Meeting with Buthelezi "is no longer simple" Mandela said, because "the government has taken advantage of the differences between my organization and your organization. They are using those differences for the purpose of trying to eliminate the ANC."

"The main problem facing the people of South Africa," Mandela told Buthelezi, "is the involvement of the government and its police in the violence that is taking place in Natal."

The stayaway came in the midst of a rising number of bombings by right-wing organizations in the country. On July 6 a bomb blast injured 29 people in downtown Johannesburg. The bomb was planted in an area where Blacks board vans, or "minibuses,"—the main transportation used by Blacks between their jobs and their homes in the townships.

Attacks have also been launched on offices of the ruling National Party, Democratic Party, and the newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*. And a powerful bomb was defused at the National Union of Mineworkers' offices.

In the Orange Free State the regional offices of the NUM were destroyed by a bomb made from blasting material used in mining.

The ANC said these bombings are "a direct consequence of four decades of National Party policies and the racist indoctrination of large sections of the white population."

The liberation organization called on the "authorities to disarm and disband the ultra-right groups and other neo-fascist organizations promoting racial violence against our people."

# New support from Canadian labor movement

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed up by police on rape and burglary charges. He was convicted in September 1988 and is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Despite harassment by authorities, he continues to be politically active in prison and refuses to be

mitted, 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*.

Significant new support for Mark Curtis' fight for justice has come from the labor movement in Canada. The Central Council of the Con-

tee June 18. "Therefore we agree that the name of our organization be used publicly in order to win new support."

Jess Succamore, the national secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical, and Allied Workers, sent the following message to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee:

"I am pleased to report that our Executive Board has endorsed the work of your committee. Please add our union to the list of endorsers."

"As a union that has been involved in many struggles with employers, we have witnessed firsthand how our 'justice' system frequently serves the interests of those employers at the expense of the rights of working people. It would appear that Brother Curtis is a victim of this conspiracy between corporations and the legal system."

The British Columbia Provincial Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada has endorsed "the objectives of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee," Fred Wilson, provincial secretary, wrote in a letter to the Curtis committee.

When Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife, visited Canada recently, Wilson sent the following message to a public meeting for her:

"The frame-up of Mark Curtis

exposes the limits of democracy and justice in the U.S.A. today. Surely American leaders can claim no moral grounds for preaching about democracy and human rights to the rest of the world when its own legal system is abused to victimize social and political activists like Mark Curtis."

"Mark Curtis deserves a new trial which will honestly assess all the relevant facts and make a fair judgment free of the prejudices that permeate American society."

ATLANTA — "I'm here to support Mark Curtis, help internationalize this case, to oppose the harassment lawsuit, and to support Mark's rights to function politically in prison," Gary Washington, a shop steward of Graphics Communications Union Local 527 told a July 14 Militant Labor Forum here.

"This man is under fire," he continued, "and when any fighter is under fire, I'm coming to their aid."

Joe Keenan from the Irish Northern Aid Committee also spoke at the forum. He explained Joe Doherty's fight for political asylum in the United States and against moves by the U.S. government to deport him. Doherty has been incarcerated in a New York jail for over seven years without charges filed against him.

"Like Mark, Joe is a political prisoner of a government, which claims to be a champion of freedom and civil liberties," Keenan said.

Other speakers at the meeting included Jorge Gonzalez, a student at Georgia Institute of Technology and a member of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and Maria Benitez, a supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. A collection at the forum raised \$70 and was divided between the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and the National Committee for Joseph Doherty.

A recent debate in Des Moines has some state leaders citing racism as the reason why Blacks, who comprise 1.6 percent of the state's population, make up 21 percent of the state prison population. The state has only one Black county attorney and one Black district judge. State Prison Warden Crispus Nix cites economic reasons: "If you're rich and Black, you won't go to jail either." — from *Odyssey*, a publication by inmates at the Massachusetts Correctional facility in Norfolk.

Nix is the warden at the Fort Madison prison where Curtis is incarcerated.

Salm Kolis from Atlanta contributed to this week's column

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, based in Des Moines, is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis and to defend his rights in prison. More than 8,000 unionists, defenders of democratic rights, political activists, prominent officials, and others — from the Philippines to Sweden, from South Africa to Canada — have endorsed the committee's efforts.

For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Com-

federation of National Trade Unions (CSN) in Québec's Laurentides region, north of Montréal, has joined in the international defense campaign.

"The members of the executive committee of the Laurentides Central Council of the CSN, which represents some 8,000 members in 85 locals, unanimously decided to make known through its structures its indignation with the American authorities for the lack of democracy they showed towards an activist defending the most deprived," Gilles Turcotte, president of the Central Council, wrote the defense commit-

## Unionist tapes testimony in trial he can't attend

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — The testimony of political activist and unionist Mark Curtis in a harassment lawsuit against him was recorded via video camera July 17. The proceeding took place at the Fort Madison, Iowa, state prison where he is incarcerated.

The trial in the lawsuit occurred July 9.

years in prison. Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman Curtis was accused of assaulting, filed the civil suit in 1989 to get financial damages from him.

In another ruling prior to the civil trial, Judge Gamble decided that Curtis' 1988 criminal conviction proved his guilt and made him liable for damages. The ruling limited the civil trial to determining the amount of the financial judgment to be awarded the Morris.

Curtis was represented at the videotaping by attorney George Eichhorn. Stuart Pepper, attorney for the Morris, was not present, but questioned Curtis over a telephone hookup.

Eichhorn explained in a July 24 interview that Curtis' testimony was taken with the understanding that financial damage would be imposed on him. "Liability was already established," he said. "Our concern was to minimize the damages."

According to Iowa law, punitive damages "are allowed to punish and discourage the defendant." There is no rule to fix the amount of financial damages. "One of the elements in looking for the amount of an award is to determine what amount of money would punish the individual given their financial situation," Eichhorn said.

He questioned Curtis about his past, present, and future income. "He makes 24 cents an hour at the prison," Eichhorn said. "He may get a five cent raise, which would bring him up to 29 cents an hour."

Eichhorn asked Curtis what his plans were after his release from prison. "He said he would continue his political and volunteer activities at the same degree as before he went to prison," the attorney explained. "He said he would get a union job, maybe in meat-packing or something else he has done in the past."

Eichhorn said that as a worker with an

income that low, the court could consider a small judgment as sufficient punishment.

Pepper asked Curtis if he was remorseful. "The question was irrelevant," Eichhorn said. "It had no relation to determining the amount of damages."

"Curtis answered that he empathized with the trauma that the young woman described. He said he was not the one who assaulted her and that if the woman had been assaulted, that whoever was responsible for it should be brought to justice and the woman compensated," Eichhorn said.

### Mark Curtis Defense Committee

Pepper also questioned Curtis about his relationship to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "He was trying to show that Curtis' financial situation had been enhanced by the defense committee," Eichhorn explained. "He asked questions about the budgets, where the committee held its money, and how much money was being spent. He answered that he had no information on these matters."

Eichhorn then questioned Curtis about the

purpose of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Curtis said that "it has a dual purpose — to advocate Mark Curtis' case and to organize people to speak out about their rights, and to use the Mark Curtis case as a way to address their concerns," the attorney explained.

Through Curtis' testimony, Eichhorn established that Curtis is not an officer of the defense committee, that he does not control its activities or the way it spends its money. Curtis testified that he has no contract with the defense committee, nor does the committee have any legal obligation to him. He testified that any money he receives from the committee is a gift, not a financial obligation.

On July 20 Pepper requested a hearing before Judge Gamble and asked him to grant a subpoena to call the treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for questioning. The judge said he would make a decision on this after he had seen the videotape of Curtis' testimony. Final summary arguments will be presented to Judge Gamble August 10.



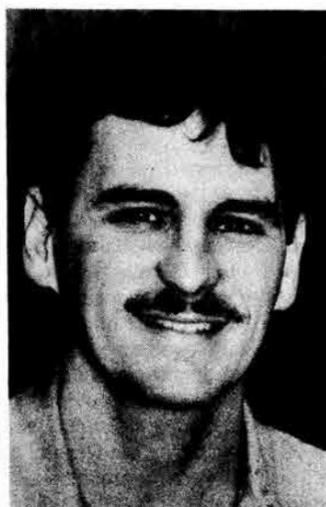
Militant/Sylvia Giesbrecht

Attorneys William Kutmus and George Eichhorn, along with Curtis' wife Kate Kaku, leave Des Moines courtroom July 9 after opening of harassment suit against the framed-up unionist. Curtis was denied the right to be present at trial that could result in lifelong financial penalties.

The Iowa state attorney general's office intervened in the case July 5 and won a ruling from Iowa District Court Judge Arthur Gamble preventing Curtis from coming to Des Moines for the trial. Curtis' attorney William Kutmus, however, convinced Judge Gamble that videotaped testimony should be taken from Curtis.

Curtis was framed up by Des Moines police on rape and burglary charges and was convicted in a 1988 criminal trial for a crime he did not commit. He was sentenced to 25

### Mark Curtis Defense Committee materials



**The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis** by John Gaige. A pamphlet that explains the political background to Curtis' case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp. \$1.00

**The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis**, a VHS video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis' fight for justice, scenes from the trial, and interviews with Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and others. This video is available for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$10.00

**Justice for Mark Curtis: 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'** Buttons. \$1.00

**State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis.** Transcript of September 1988 jury trial proceedings that found Curtis guilty of rape and burglary. 446 pp. \$30.00.

**Brief of Mark Curtis' appeal to Iowa Supreme Court.** 20 pp. \$.50

**Mark Stanton Curtis v. City of Des Moines, et al.** Civil lawsuit brief submitted in U.S. District Court by Curtis claiming damages against Des Moines police who beat him after his arrest. 10 pp. \$.50

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

# Rail and airline workers in race for D.C. offices

BY MARTY MICHAELS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The 1990 Socialist Workers Party election campaign here was launched July 21 with a full day of activities. The party is running five candidates in the country's capital, including two local leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Throughout the morning and afternoon, campaign supporters initiated a petitioning drive to gather well over the 6,000 signatures required to place two SWP candidates on the November ballot — Sam Manuel for U.S. Senate and Ike Nahem for mayor. Both candidates are members of the United Transportation Union. Manuel is a brakeman on the Norfolk Southern railroad and Nahem is an Amtrak passenger engineer.

Seven other candidates from the Democratic, Republican, and D.C. Statehood parties have also announced for mayor. Among them is Walter Fautroy, a Democrat currently holding the position as the District's nonvoting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives.

The city council here has authorized an election for two U.S. Senate positions and one representative to the U.S. Congress. These are "shadow" offices that the District of Columbia would be entitled to if it were a state. Those winning election to these po-

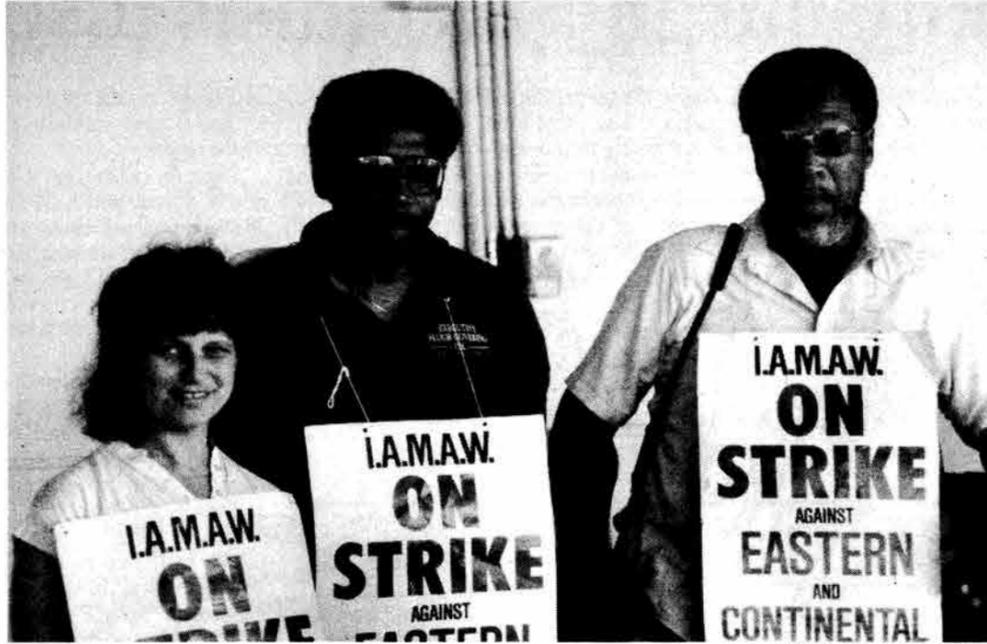
sitions will not be seated.

The goal of SWP campaign supporters is to gather 4,000 signatures each for Nahem and Manuel — 1,000 more than the 3,000 signatures of registered voters legally required.

The SWP ticket also includes Susan Winsten, a member of the International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, running for D.C. delegate to the House of Representatives; Emily Fitzsimmons, an aircraft cleaner and also a member of the IAM, for U.S. Senate; and Dan Furman, a meat-processing worker at a United Food and Commercial Workers Union-organized plant, for U.S. Congress. Fitzsimmons and Furman are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Discussion on perspectives

All five candidates participated in a forum that evening to discuss the perspectives of the socialist election campaign. Campaign director John Cox began the forum by announcing that the day's petitioning effort had netted 944 signatures, well above the day's goal of 600.



Susan Winsten, a striking Eastern worker and socialist candidate in the U.S. capital, with fellow pickets at Washington National Airport. She is one of five SWP candidates in the District.

Senate candidate Manuel, who gave the main presentation, explained that the events of 1989-90 — from the Eastern strike in the United States to the massive upheavals in Eastern Europe — have paved the way for a discussion of socialist politics. Far from indicating the "death of communism," these events open new opportunities for discussing communist politics and winning new forces to the communist movement.

Contrary to what they say, the capitalists "are unhappy about the workers' mobilizations in Eastern Europe," Manuel said. "They haven't been able to convince workers that

capitalism is all that good. These workers aren't willing to accept high unemployment and austerity measures."

The Cold War has ended not only in a defeat for U.S. imperialism, but with the weakening of U.S. predominance in the capitalist world, Manuel explained. "The mobilizations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have also weakened the grip of the Stalinist bureaucracies, which had driven working people out of politics.

"The Soviet people could not have even been inspired to fight in Angola against the universally hated apartheid army of South Africa," Manuel noted. He contrasted this to the example of the 300,000 Cubans who fought as volunteers alongside Angolan troops.

## New York candidates join Eastern picket

BY ANNA SCHELL

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Socialist Workers state election ticket have been fanning out through this city and nearby counties to collect 30,000 signatures to put the names of the candidates on the ballot in the November 6 election. Twenty thousand signatures of registered voters have to be filed with the board of elections in Albany, the state capital, by August 21.

One early morning team petitioned in the meat-packing district on Manhattan's West Side. On another day a team signed up people at Grand Central Station and introduced the socialist campaign to rail workers.

One of the most successful efforts has been collecting signatures in Manhattan's garment center where tens of thousands are employed in the production of clothing, the city's largest industry. So far, more than 750 people have signed. The campaigners are distributing fliers in Spanish, French, and English.

On July 16 Craig Gannon and Susan Anmuth, the SWP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, participated in the celebration of the 500th day of the Machinists' strike against Eastern Airlines held at La Guardia Airport in Queens. A number of activists signed petitions at the action. Strikers and supporters were especially eager to help Anmuth, who is an Eastern striker and a member of the International Association of Machinists, get her name on the ballot.

One striker said it was good for the strike that the socialist candidates are helping to get information out to the public on the strike and the stakes in it for all working people.

## Support abortion rights

In the Bronx a team got a good response to the SWP candidates' stand in favor of the right of women to choose whether or not to have an abortion. "Several young women," one petitioner reported, "said, 'Absolutely. I'll sign for that!' when they learned about our position on abortion."

Supporters also got the word out about the socialist campaign at several political events. Signatures were collected at a rally against homelessness in Tompkins Square Park on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Other campaign backers participated in a seminar on independence for Puerto Rico at Hunter College on July 21. One conference participant encouraged another to sign by telling him, "If you support the independence and self-determination of Puerto Rico, then you should support the independence and self-determination of women to control their own bodies, and then you should sign the petition." He did.

Other teams of petitioners have been campaigning on street corners in Harlem, Staten Island, and many neighborhoods in Brooklyn. In addition to collecting signatures they are selling the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. So far 119 copies of the *Militant* have been sold.

Candidates and campaign representatives have also been holding meetings to explain the positions of the state ticket since the campaign was launched at a news conference here July 12.

Gannon spoke July 20 on the significance of German unification for working people at a Militant Labor Forum in Brooklyn; and Don Rojas, one of the co-chairpersons of the state campaign, spoke on the same subject at the Militant Labor Forum in Manhattan.

## Slate of six

In addition to Gannon and Anmuth, the SWP candidates include: Aaron Ruby for comptroller; Derek Bracey for attorney general; and Selva Nebbia and Cathy Sedwick for U.S. Congress in the 15th and 11th districts. Ernie Mailhot, the strike staff coordinator for Machinists Local 1018 on strike at La Guardia Airport, is also a co-chair of the campaign.

## 'Militant' renewal drive seeks long-term readers

BY RONI McCANN

Since July 14, 79 *Militant* readers have renewed their subscriptions, including five readers in New Zealand and six in Canada. Of these, 16 are members of unions, including three union miners and six Machinists. Thirty-five renewed for one year or longer.

Supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière* began a three-week campaign on July 14 to win long-term readers. Hundreds of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines and other unionists, students, and working people in communities across the country and internationally signed up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks during the recent circulation drive and their subscriptions are now expiring.

Supporters in Pittsburgh won five long-term readers the first week of the drive and three subscribers indicated they would also renew, including an Eastern striker. Two renewals to the *Militant* were sold by a supporter in a machine shop organized by the United Mine Workers of America.

Another *Militant* reader who works with unemployed UMWA members decided to renew his subscription, as did a local sup-

porter of the Mark Curtis case. Curtis, a union meat-packer and political activist in Iowa, is serving a 25-year sentence there on trumped up rape and burglary charges. An international fight is being waged in his defense. A college student in the Pittsburgh area renewed her subscription and borrowed a video on Curtis' case to learn more.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, supporters won two renewals to the *Militant* and are making calls to line up more visits so they can have person-to-person discussions about the paper.

A team of supporters in Charleston, West Virginia, who sell the socialist publications regularly at a nearby Steelworkers-organized factory are planning a special "renewal plant gate sale" to talk with subscribers inside the plant and introduce the paper to others.

Several renewals sent in this week were accompanied by comments and suggestions. "The style of writing is very intelligent," wrote a reader from Flushing, New York, about the *Militant*. "It addresses you as an intelligent human being and does not talk down nor is it unnecessarily simplistic." She suggested a more up-to-date calendar of city-

## Eastern Airlines fight

Manuel also emphasized the shifting relationships in U.S. politics. "Until recently, this was one arena where the rulers had some dominion because by and large the working class had been driven out of politics, even out of the basic defense of its unions," Manuel said. He contrasted this to the situation today, specifically the fight at Eastern Airlines, where "one capitalist, Lorenzo, has already been sent packing because of the tenacious combat of this 17-month strike.

"When the strikers win," Manuel continued, "it will send a message to two classes. To the working class it will say that if you fight, victory is possible. And to the bosses it will say, think seriously before you launch such a fight, because next time it will be deeper and pose even more questions."

During the discussion period, a participant asked about the socialist campaign's position on statehood for the District of Columbia. Nahem responded, "The socialist campaign unconditionally supports statehood for D.C., which can only be won through struggle."

Following the forum, a young student joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

wide political events.

"I would like to hear more about political prisoners in the United States," wrote a subscriber from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. "I recently read a bit about a project called 'Freedom Now' in another magazine. That, in addition to your coverage of Mark Curtis' case, has made me aware of the injustice in the U.S. justice system." "Freedom Now" is a campaign for amnesty and human rights for political prisoners in the United States.

"I appreciate all the coverage you give to the war in Ireland," wrote a reader from Bridgeton, Missouri. "The capitalist press takes excellent care to paint an ugly picture of the Irish Republican Army but hails the British occupation soldiers as guardians of peace."

"I can't wake up on Monday morning without checking my mailbox to look for my subscription," said a reader from Miami, Florida. Another from North Lauderdale, Florida, who renewed for six months, wrote, "Yours is the best newspaper for the conscious mind. I try to encourage anyone who will listen to subscribe."

# Pittsburgh Machinists discuss stage of the strike

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists 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

tained the credibility of the picket line," said Frank Planinac, describing the strength of the strike against Eastern in the Pittsburgh area. Planinac is president of Lodge 1044 of the International Association of Machinists.

The 40 or so strikers at Greater

supporters at other picket lines and at special labor solidarity activities in the region.

Three times since the strike began nearly a year and a half ago, the Machinists have sponsored walk-throughs at the terminal. The most recent was on July 1, the anniversary of the return of Eastern's scab flights to Pittsburgh, which now number six per day.

Two hundred unionists turned out, including Greyhound strikers, Steelworkers, and members of the United Mine Workers of America from the Aloe coal strike and elsewhere.

During the event, Gary Best of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 23 announced the settlement of the Budget Gourmet frozen food workers' strike, which began in the fall of 1989. "We beat them in a long strike," said Best, "which goes to show what workers can do when we stand beside each other."

Recently, over 25 strikers and supporters wearing red strike T-shirts attended a Pittsburgh Pirates baseball game. The group's pres-

ence was announced on the stadium scoreboard.

Eastern's financial troubles are a constant item of interest and discussion on the picket line. The recent projection by trustee Martin Shugrue that Eastern will lose hundreds of millions of dollars this year is seen by strikers as proof of the effectiveness of the strike.

Rich Pfeuffer pickets on Tuesdays. A ramp worker before the strike, he holds a "We've been Shugrued" sign. "Shugrue is just another Frank Lorenzo," says Pfeuffer. "He doesn't want to settle with us. I saw that right away. But we're not going away!" The determination to keep picketing until victory is very strong.

But what that victory will be is a subject of debate among strikers. During the July 1 walk-through some of the strikers began to chant, "2-4-6-8, Eastern's going to liquidate," reflecting a feeling among some strikers that a fire sale of Eastern is on the agenda.

Now, however one of the biggest discussions among strikers is the buyout talks going on between

Eastern and Northwest Airlines. Some look at the problems the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is having with USAir, the dominant carrier in Pittsburgh, and wonder if a merger is a good idea. "USAir merged with non-union Piedmont," said one striker referring to the 1989 deal, "and it was the Piedmont workers who voted against the Teamsters" in the January 31 representation election the union lost.

Other strikers raise that a possible buyout by a unionized carrier may mean some strikers would go back to work, and they view this as a victory. Pfeuffer and fellow picket Bill Lawrence discussed such a possibility with a former Eastern pilot, now flying for Saudi Arabian Airlines.

"One thing is absolutely sure," commented another striker, "those scabs have got to go before any merger takes place. Otherwise, Northwest will just end up buying themselves a strike."

This column was written by Michael Pennock from Pittsburgh.

**NO CONTRACT NO PEACE**

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

date, Wednesday, July 25, the strike was in its 509th day.

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

"For 17 months we have main-

Pittsburgh International Airport picket inside the terminal building seven days a week from 8:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. They staff an information table in the central intersection of the building and picket at a point between Eastern's ticket counter and its exclusive travel lounge.

The determination to keep the strike in the public's eye runs deep among the strikers. Besides their regular presence at the airport, the Machinists have been very visible

## Strikers push forward; Eastern indicted on safety

Continued from front page

struck Eastern in an effort to stop an attempt by Frank Lorenzo, chairman of Texas Air Corp., from breaking the union and setting up another nonunion carrier like he did at Continental Airlines in 1983. Texas Air owned both Eastern and Continental.

Frank Ortis, national Eastern strike coordinator and president of IAM Local Lodge 702 in Miami, explained in a telephone interview, "One of the main reasons we did go on strike was that the infractions of safety that we brought out to the company and to the FAA were being ignored and being made a mockery of."

"This is why unions are needed at places like airlines," Ortis said. "If one of our union members balked at signing off an item because they were unairworthy, the union would back them."

### First criminal indictment

Eastern has become the first U.S. airline ever to be hit with criminal charges for failing to maintain its planes properly.

Commenting on the indictments, Attorney General Richard Thornburgh said, "The alleged conspiracy relating to the falsification of maintenance and safety records strikes a raw nerve in anyone who has ever boarded an airplane. Thousands of innocent passengers may have been put at risk every day by the criminal actions of these defendants."

Maloney explained the charges resulted from "unreasonable demands, pressure, and intimidation" put on employees by Eastern's

upper management "to keep the aircraft in flight at all costs." He also said the charges covered July 1985 to October 1989 and that the investigation was a "continuing" one. He indicated they were looking into the period since October 1989.

Martin Shugrue, court-appointed trustee of Eastern, had maintained criminal charges against Eastern did not reflect the carrier's current maintenance procedures and practices. Eastern's attorneys had been plea bargaining previous to the announcement of the indictments. But talks between Eastern and the U.S. attorney broke down when Shugrue balked at Maloney's insistence that Eastern also plead guilty to charges of conspiracy.

Ortis stated, "Marty Shugrue can say all he wants about past management and try to cover it up but it's out now, and it's the same management."

If convicted on all counts, Eastern could be fined up to \$30 million. Each of the individual defendants face up to five years in prison and fines of up to \$250,000 for each count. Included as defendants are Edward Upton, former vice-president of maintenance and engineering at Eastern's Miami headquarters, and Thomas Lewis, the maintenance director of Eastern's Northern Region airports. Until a few days before the indictments, Lewis was responsible for Eastern's overall operations in the region, which covers airports in Newark, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore.

"With this pressure on Shugrue," Robain commented, "I hope he continues his nego-

tations with Northwest," referring to Northwest Airlines' interest in buying out Eastern.

Northwest Chairman Alfred Checchi is in the process of making a proposal to Eastern Airlines' unsecured creditors on a buyout of the carrier.

According to reports, such a proposal will include Northwest taking over some of Eastern's assets — 80 of Eastern's newer aircraft, airport gates in Atlanta, and maintenance facilities in Atlanta and Miami.

In return, Checchi would volunteer to oversee the sale of the remainder of the airline to the benefit of Eastern's unsecured creditors.

With 47 gates in Atlanta, a purchase of Eastern would increase Northwest's route system and give the airline a stronger presence in the Southeast where it is the weakest. In addition, purchasing Eastern's newer and better airplanes would mean Northwest could replace some of its own aging DC-9 fleet.

### Losses keep mounting

Shugrue was appointed by the bankruptcy court on April 18 to be Eastern's trustee. His job is to protect the creditors' interests. But Eastern's situation has continued to worsen.

Shugrue has admitted the airline is losing \$1 million a day, and on July 24 CBS news reported Eastern may now be losing as much as \$2 million each day. By the end of the year, Eastern's total losses could reach \$500 million.

Despite Eastern's massive advertising campaign in newspapers and on television and its low fares and money-back programs for disgruntled first-class passengers, the passenger load factor for June was 61.5 percent — 20 percent below what the airline needs to break even.

Now the criminal charges compound Eastern's problems and the indictments will be on many people's minds as they try to decide whether or not to fly Eastern.

Given all of Eastern's problems, airline industry analysts speculate that Eastern's creditors — who are owed \$1 billion — are increasingly interested in a buyout to recoup some of what they are owed.

Should a sale be made to Northwest, the creditors would retain Eastern's existing cash and cash equivalents. Eastern currently has about \$700 million in cash from prior asset sales, which is held in an escrow account. Another \$300 million will be added to that when the sale of Eastern's Latin American routes becomes final in August. And in addition they would receive proceeds from asset sales Checchi arranges.

Shugrue insisted, "We are interested in reviewing a proposal that would acquire all of the assets of the company, including the people that work there" — that is, including the scabs Eastern has hired.

But Shugrue has confirmed that Checchi has held discussions with the IAM. The Machinists union represents 20,000 workers at Northwest and 8,500 at Eastern.



Militant/Nancy Cole  
Frank Ortis speaking at Miami walk-through last year.

At this point the results of such discussions have not been made public, and Northwest has not yet presented a plan for merging the two airlines' operations, including the work forces.

Guy Cook, head of IAM District 143, which represents the 20,000 members of the union at Northwest, said, "If there is a deal, and they try to bring those scabs here, we're going to have a war. I think Checchi knows that," referring to Shugrue's suggestion that a buyout of Eastern include taking on the scabs.

### Increasing strike's visibility

Feeling that the strike is winning and a victory is close, the Machinists are increasing their efforts to maintain a strong and visible strike. As each day passes now they receive more solidarity.

Strikers on the picket line at the La Guardia Airport in New York report that a table they staffed on July 24 received many "good luck" and "keep at it" comments from passengers entering the airport.

And recently, representatives and members from 18 unions met at the offices of the New York Central Labor Council to organize support for an IAM-sponsored event at the La Guardia Airport on August 4.

A successful expanded picket line of 50 people was held at Los Angeles International on July 21.

And a walk-through planned for August 5 at Washington National Airport is receiving a good response.

## For Eastern strikers, union coal miners, and other fighters on the front lines of today's labor battles, the 'Teamster' series is a must. . . .

Workers fighting to mobilize labor solidarity and defend their unions against employer attacks will find a lot in common with the men and women who built the Teamsters union in Minnesota in the 1930s. Their story is told in the four-volume Teamster series by Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of the organizing drives and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1983.

The Teamster strikes won a tremendous victory for the labor movement, inspired workers around the country, and helped pave the way for the formation of the CIO. The series includes *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*.



*Teamster Rebellion*, \$14.95; *Teamster Power* and *Teamster Politics*, \$16.95 each; *Teamster Bureaucracy*, \$17.95. Available at Pathfinder Bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$1 for shipping and handling.)

# What happened to Shugrue's '100 days' at Eastern Airlines?

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

As of July 25, 39 days have gone by since Martin Shugrue — court-appointed trustee for Eastern Airlines — launched the "100 days" campaign to convince the public to give the carrier another try. July 25 also marks the 509th day of the Machinists' strike against Eastern.

Shugrue made the promise that "for the next 100 days Eastern is going to get a little better every day."

But a look at what has happened since the campaign began gives a different picture. Every day of the "100 days" campaign Eastern's situation is getting worse.

\* \* \*

**June 17.** Shugrue's massive advertising campaign begins. Numerous television ads are run during prime time. The next day, full-page ads start appearing in newspapers around the country in an effort to get airline passengers to come back to Eastern.

**June 20.** Eastern issues a memo to employees reporting that meetings have been held with two major airlines about "future business relationships," but that they are not imminent. Initially, both Pan Am and Northwest were interested in a possible purchase of Eastern. The media speculates the purpose of the memo is to "quiet rumors" among the Eastern "family."

The same day in Atlanta, Eastern Machinists on strike and members of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) start visiting hundreds of travel agents there to counter Shugrue's efforts in early June to win back agents' trust and support. Many tickets on airlines are purchased through travel agencies.

**June 21.** It is reported that Shugrue will ask unsecured creditors and the court to approve a \$50 million withdrawal from escrow to make lease payments on the airline's planes.

Such a payment is necessary to prevent the possibility of lease holders taking possession of the aircraft.

When Shugrue was first appointed trustee in April, a withdrawal of \$80 million was approved at that time. Shugrue now says that withdrawal was earmarked to cover operation expenses only through June.

**June 28.** An Eastern 727 returns to Tampa when an ice-clogged fuel line shuts down one of its engines after takeoff.

This follows on the heels of another incident in early June when an Eastern DC-9 makes an emergency landing in Atlanta after one of its two engines is damaged by a blown tire on takeoff.

Eastern strikers in several cities issue leaflets detailing the list of incidents that show it's not safe to fly Eastern.

Eighty strikers and supporters chanting, "We want a contract now!" picket the Eastern terminal at Washington National Airport.

**June 30.** More than 600 Machinists and their supporters march around the Miami International Airport to demand a "contract now," calling on Shugrue to settle with the union. "We're not going to go away," declares Charles Bryan, president of District 100 of the International Association of Machinists.

Seventy-five Eastern strikers and supporters in Detroit hold a spirited and visible picket at the Metro airport.

Forty people carry out a three-and-a-half hour protest against Eastern inside Boston's Logan International.

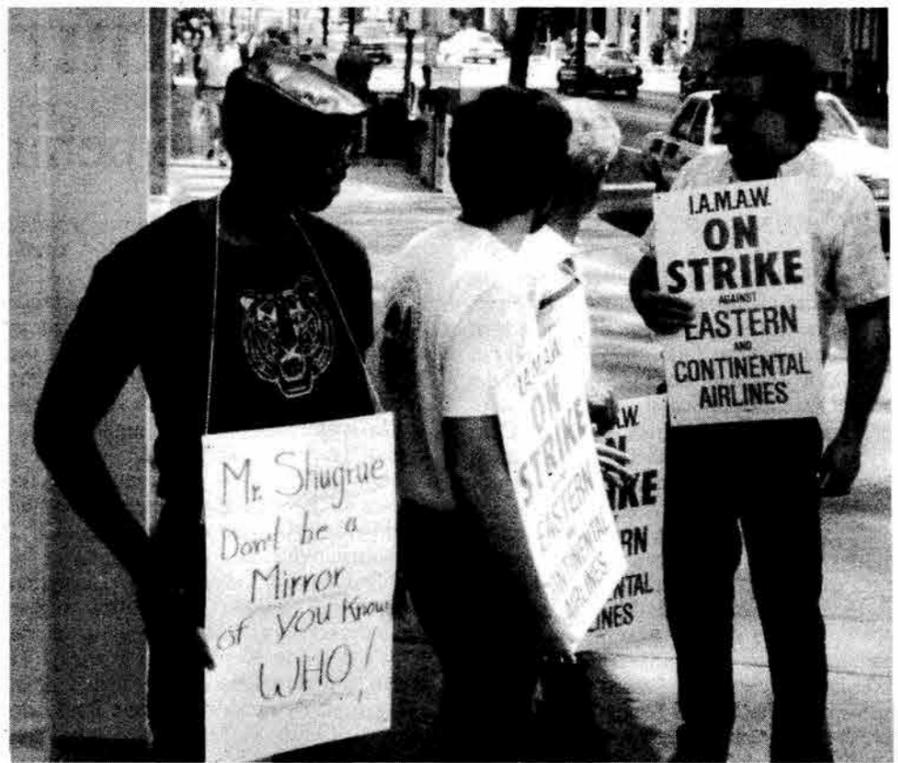
**July 1.** Two hundred Machinists, coal miners, Steelworkers, bus drivers, and workers from a dozen other unions turn out for a rally and walk-through at Greater Pittsburgh International to support the Eastern strike.

**July 3.** *USA Today* releases a survey titled, "Few fans for Eastern." The newspaper reports it conducted a survey at the National Business Travel Association convention of 600 in Las Vegas. Fifty-nine percent of those polled gave Eastern Ds or Fs on how well the airline serves business travelers. Only 2 percent gave Eastern an A. Seventy percent picked Eastern as the airline that business travelers in their company most often refuse to fly. One percent said Eastern was the top choice in their companies.

Eastern was the most visible airline at the convention. Its "100 days" commercials were shown repeatedly on a closed-circuit television channel at three convention hotels.

**July 5.** An Eastern DC-9 flying from Newark, New Jersey, to Atlanta makes an emergency landing in Philadelphia because the airplane's nose blew off in midair leaving wires dangling and the windshield cracked. One passenger reports the airplane did a couple of free falls prior to landing.

**July 6.** A walk-through of 60 striking



Militant/Miesa Patterson

Strikers picket Atlanta meeting addressed by Shugrue in early June

Machinists and other trade unionists takes place at San Francisco International. They are joined by other airport workers from Pan Am, TWA and United.

**July 7.** Picketing at the Eastern terminal in Los Angeles International grows to 75 people. They are joined by striking Greyhound bus drivers.

Eastern strikers and striking Greyhound bus drivers totaling 75 people combine forces for a rally and expanded picket at the Philadelphia bus terminal.

**July 9.** Federal mediators overseeing contract negotiations between Eastern and ALPA declare talks at an impasse and call a 30-day cooling-off period beginning July 10. At the end of the cooling-off period pilots can legally strike.

Thirty pilots join Machinists during their regular picketing at Hartsfield International in Atlanta. Dressed in uniform shirts with shoulder stripes, the pilots hand out several hundred fliers as they warn passengers about the dangers of flying Eastern.

Previously on July 2, 15 pilots dressed in uniform joined a Machinists' picket line at Washington National Airport.

**July 10.** Eastern holds scab-hiring session at Days Hotel near New York's La Guardia Airport. Strikers counter by leafletting potential scabs outside. Inside, management is forced to admit to an uneasy audience that if a settlement is reached some scabs will lose their jobs.

## 300 protest cop attack on Arab-Americans

BY DENNIS HOPPI

DEARBORN, Michigan — Three hundred people, mostly Arab-Americans, rallied here June 30 to protest an attack three weeks earlier by police who beat, maced, verbally abused, and arrested 15 Arab-American students at Fordson High School. Mayor Michael Guido was on hand during the assault, which occurred as students were celebrating the final day of school.

Rally participants heard community leaders describe what happened. Ismael Ahmed, the executive director of the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) sharply disagreed with any suggestion that students may have been partly responsible for the police action.

"A young man was bashed into every door of the cell," Ahmed reported. "Another was beaten into a car door, and yet another was repeatedly hurled into a steel-mesh fence by police. And while police were roughing up people, the mayor was overheard saying he wished he had gotten there earlier so he could bust some ass."

"They got into trouble because they were teenagers, not Arabs," Guido told the press earlier. "They were breaking the law and they should pay the price."

"Why is it when we give them a ticket we are picking on them," the mayor continued. "They wear their ethnicity on their shirt sleeve. If they want to do this in my city, I'm sorry, they can go somewhere else."

The students and community leaders are calling for a federal investigation for viola-

tions of their civil rights by the mayor and police. A specific case is what police did to 15-year-old Hassan Bazzi and his family.

He said police punched him in the nose and sprayed him with mace. Then at the police station when his brother, Hussein, yelled "Mommy, Mommy" in Arabic, police jerked his mother, Nora. "They threw me into a room," she told the press, and then arrested both her and her son for disorderly conduct.

Each of those arrested had to post \$500 bond. Students expressed the belief that the mayor had launched the attack in retaliation for damage to his car, which he blamed on Arab youth. "That is complete bull," a spokesman for the mayor told the press. "The mayor does not act that way and never has."

### History of racism

The facts tell a different story, however. There is a long history of racism in Dearborn directed against Blacks, who are virtually excluded from living there, and Arabs, estimated at 20,000 of the city's 86,000 population.

In the 1985 election, the mayor ran an openly anti-Arab campaign, including issuing a piece of literature titled, "Let's talk about city parks and the Arab problem."

In 1989 some 50 Arab-American students at Fordson were ordered into the gymnasium and searched in front of 30 other students after it was alleged that an Arab-American student had cut a white student with a knife.

Arab-Americans are virtually excluded from city jobs, as are Blacks.

At the protest rally, Don Unis, who is one of the few Arabs in the Dearborn fire department, said, "Mayor Guido wants to create two Dearborns, an Arab one and a non-Arab one."

"We must send a clear message to the mayor and the police," James Kahlil, chairman of the Arab American Council, said. "We will not tolerate the excessive use of force. We will not tolerate police brutality. We'll take whatever means necessary to correct this."

"We are not going to be pushed around," Saadallag Goutimy said, and suggested that shops be closed for a day of protest. "We are not going to be stepped on."

Cleve Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 13th C.D., condemned the cop attack. The *Arab American News* quoted Pulley in an article about the protest. "It is crystal clear to me that the Arab Americans have been the victims here," he said. "This act is not unlike those of [former Alabama governor] George Wallace against Blacks in the South."

A statement released by Pulley and Kathie Fitzgerald and John Powers, SWP candidates for governor and U.S. Senate, linked the Dearborn attack on the Arab students with recent killings and cross burnings directed at Blacks in the Detroit area. They protested Mayor Guido's anti-Arab, as well as anti-Black remarks before and after the police rampage, and called for the Dearborn mayor and police to be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

**July 13.** Shugrue holds press conference in New York following a meeting with unsecured creditors and admits Eastern continues to lose \$1 million a day and will lose hundreds of millions by the end of the year.

He confirms the airline continues to have a low passenger load, reaching a "terrible" 54 percent for May and 61.5 percent for June. According to the IAM, the carrier needs a passenger load factor of at least 80 percent just to break even.

Shugrue also confirms that Eastern is carrying out discussions with Northwest on a possible buy-out deal that are "substantive."

The same day it is reported that charges of wire fraud, obstruction of justice, making false statements, and criminal violations for altering maintenance and safety records are pending against Eastern. Up to seven employees and management may be indicted. This news story receives nationwide media coverage.

It is also reported that Eastern's lawyers will plea bargain in an attempt to soften blow to airline of the criminal charges.

**July 16.** Lawyers for Eastern continue efforts to plea bargain over criminal indictments on charges against management for safety violations.

The same day Eastern strikers and supporters on the picket line at the La Guardia in New York celebrate the 500th day of the strike, complete with cake and balloons.

**July 17.** An IAM District 100 bulletin includes a report from the July issue of the *IMF News*, the International Metalworkers Federation newspaper, that the union federation has called on its 13 million members around the world to boycott Eastern.

**July 21.** Fifty unionists and Eastern strikers hold expanded picket at Los Angeles International.

**July 25.** U.S. attorney general's office hands down a 60-count indictment against 10 Eastern management employees on conspiracy charges of covering up safety and maintenance violations.

In the remaining 61 days of the "100 days" campaign, Eastern will face more problems.

Shugrue has admitted that Eastern will continue to lose up to \$1 million a day. That means when Eastern's 100 days are up on September 25, the losses during the campaign could total \$100 million.

This will be on top of a \$95 million payment due on September 15 to the company's pension plan.

On August 8 the cooling-off period for ALPA pilots will end. If no agreement is reached, pilots can join the Machinists in a legally sanctioned strike with the right to picket any of Eastern's facilities.

Strikers are planning a round of activities in August. On August 4 Machinists and other trade unionists will hold a human billboard and expanded picket at La Guardia Airport to publicize the strike. The next day Eastern strikers will carry out a walk-through at Washington National.

Eastern strikers are also looking forward to Labor Day on September 3 throughout the country as a way to increase the solidarity and visibility of the strike.

# Mandela's U.S. tour has impact in world

## Struggles of working people behind massive response to ANC leader

BY GREG McCARTAN

Nelson Mandela's eight-city tour of the United States registered a step forward in the international struggle against apartheid. From the ticker tape parade of hundreds of thousands in New York June 20 to a rally of 70,000 in Oakland, California, June 30 the response to the political message of the deputy president of the African National Congress demonstrated the extent to which apartheid is seen as a crime against humanity.

The breadth of support for the anti-apartheid struggle and the successes scored through the tour register two important — and interrelated — political realities today.

First is that the decade-long offensive by the employers and the government against the rights, union organization, and living standards of working people and the oppressed in the United States has failed to break the resistance to the combined assaults.

Workers in the airline, mining, meat-packing, paper, and other industries have waged important defensive battles against the corporations' attempts to weaken and break their unions. Today, the nearly 17-month strike by members of the International Association of Machinists against Eastern Airlines stands as a powerful example of the capacity of the labor movement to resist the employers' offensive and defend the unions.

The government has also been unable to fundamentally reverse any of the enormous gains conquered by the powerful struggles in the 1960s and 1970s: for Black rights, women's rights, opposition to the Vietnam War, and others.

At the same time, workers who are Black have borne the brunt of the worsening economic and social conditions faced by working people as a whole. Broad layers of workers who are Black have been driven to the knife's edge of poverty and into social conditions that are even more segregated — by race and class — than in the late 1960s or 1970s. Protests against police brutality, racist attacks, and discrimination highlight the conditions faced by the Black population.

Through these assaults the corporations and the government are attempting to shift the burden of the capitalist economic crisis onto the backs of working people. Seeking to widen the divisions among workers, including between the employed and unemployed, the U.S. rulers hope to increase their profit rate and gain an edge over their imperialist competitors. The mass organizations of the working class — the unions — are the big obstacle standing in the way of the employers achieving their goals. This conflict is at the center of politics in the United States.

Because of this, working people, especially those involved in fights today, are open to learning about, or see as their own, the democratic struggle by the masses of workers and peasants in South Africa against apartheid. This accounts for the huge rallies and

## New York adopts new sanctions bill

BY MARGRETHE SIEM

NEW YORK — The New York City Council unanimously adopted an expanded sanctions bill last week, closing loopholes in the city's current anti-apartheid laws.

The bill was introduced by Mayor David Dinkins two days before Nelson Mandela's three-day visit to New York last month.

Mandela's main message as he visited Canada, the United States, and Europe was to maintain sanctions in order to continue isolating the South African regime.

The New York bill will expand existing laws that bar the city from doing business with companies that have ties to apartheid. Banks applying for city contracts will be ranked competitively according to their links with South Africa. In addition, a designated agency will report on whether companies withdrawing from South Africa have provided six months advance notice to their South African workers and have negotiated the terms of disinvestment with them prior to pulling out.

Passage of the bill comes as a direct response to Mandela's call. It will go into effect on September 1.

broad response to Mandela from working people — both Black and white — youth, and other fighters for social justice.

In turn, the political clarity and message Mandela gave his audiences helped to awaken and inspire millions here in the United States. This political impact of the deep-going revolution in South Africa is the second major factor contributing to the success of the ANC leader's tour.

Mandela received an enthusiastic response to his forthright championing of the worldwide fight against racism, sexism, and for human rights; the reasons he gave for the ANC's defense of Cuba, Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Puerto Rican struggle for independence; and his defense of the ANC's decision 30 years ago to engage in armed struggle against the apartheid regime.

Attempts by President George Bush, top elected officials in Miami, and television interview hosts such as Ted Koppel to press the ANC leader on these issues won little public support. The attempt to build a demonstration against Mandela by anti-Cuba groups in Miami was a dismal failure. The 100 protesters were outnumbered by 3,000 supporters.

The fact that many high-ranking public officials joined in welcoming the ANC delegation to the United States, shared platforms with the ANC leader, and gave him standing ovations as during and after his congressional speech, demonstrated the pressure they are under to take a stand against the system of white minority rule.

### Fight against racism and sexism

Although in the United States there is no strict "color line," as in South Africa, "it is intolerable and unacceptable that the cancer of racism is still eating away at the fabric of societies in different parts of our planet," Mandela said to a rally of 100,000 in Harlem.

The fight against racism today "remains one of the most important global issues confronting all humanity, Black and white. It is a struggle that must involve people of all walks of life. It is a struggle that must involve people of different colors, religions, and creeds," he said to the enthusiastic crowd.

Audiences also loudly applauded Mandela's explanation that the ANC was leading a fight for a *nonsexist* South Africa and why the fight for women's emancipation is a central part of the liberation movement.

"We reject sexism and have pledged ourselves to affirm and promote the equality of women in the new South Africa," he told a gathering of religious leaders at Riverside Church in New York.

For many audiences the ANC leader's description of poverty, denial of democratic rights, and police brutality in South Africa rang true to their own experiences. His explanation that the struggle by the masses of people inside and outside South Africa is responsible for the new stage of the fight against apartheid gave renewed confidence to millions that broad forces can be drawn into the fight against racial and sexual oppression.

In speeches from Harlem to the Miami convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to a mass rally in Atlanta, Mandela pointed to the history of the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the United States and explained the potential power of the unions.

He hailed "antiracist freedom fighters" such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X. To auto workers in Detroit Mandela said that "it is you who are responsible for the greatness of any particular country. It is you who will ensure that the foreign policy of this country is one that is designed to reduce international tensions and to promote peace."

### Continue sanctions

A central goal of the tour, initiated by the ANC as part of a 13-country diplomatic offensive, was to explain the need to continue these measures against the apartheid regime until "fundamental and irreversible change takes place in our troubled country," Mandela said.

Such an extensive effort was needed to counter signs that governments in Europe and the United States were on the verge of

relaxing sanctions. These governments hoped to seize on South African President F.W. de Klerk's lifting of some repressive laws as an excuse to resume trade and political ties. Such moves would help to bolster the flagging South African economy and give a political boost to the faltering regime.

The massive turnout at the tour events sent a powerful message to governments and corporations around the world: as long as apartheid exists, sanctions should remain. The Bush administration agreed to continue sanctions and the 12-country European Community, meeting in Ireland June 25-26, voted not to relax any of the punitive measures. Mandela said the response to the tour was "beyond our wildest dreams," and the outpouring of support was "a great source of strength and inspiration to us."

Through Mandela's numerous speeches, many of which were broadcast as major network news events, millions learned more about apartheid, the struggles being waged in South Africa's rural and urban areas, the character and goals of the ANC, and the impact the victory over apartheid will have on Africa and the world.

### National, democratic revolution

Quoting from the ANC's guiding document, the Freedom Charter, Mandela explained the ANC is leading a struggle to forge a nation in South Africa of "all those who live in it, Black and white."

The widening struggle inside South Africa and the victories scored over the past year, Mandela said, indicates the country "stands at the threshold of a major and fundamental democratic transformation. Indeed," he said, "victory is in sight."

In describing the apartheid regime's complete denial of democratic rights to the country's 28 million Blacks; the brutal suppression of the anti-apartheid struggle and the fight for the right to own and farm land; and the denial of education, health care, housing, and decent working conditions, Mandela said a titanic struggle is still ahead before apartheid is done away with.

Taking the moral high ground in speeches at mass rallies, to the U.S. Congress, the United Nations, and union meetings, the ANC leader urged his audiences to join with the liberation movement "in walking the last mile." "We have no illusion," he added, "that it may yet prove to be the most difficult mile of our long march to freedom."

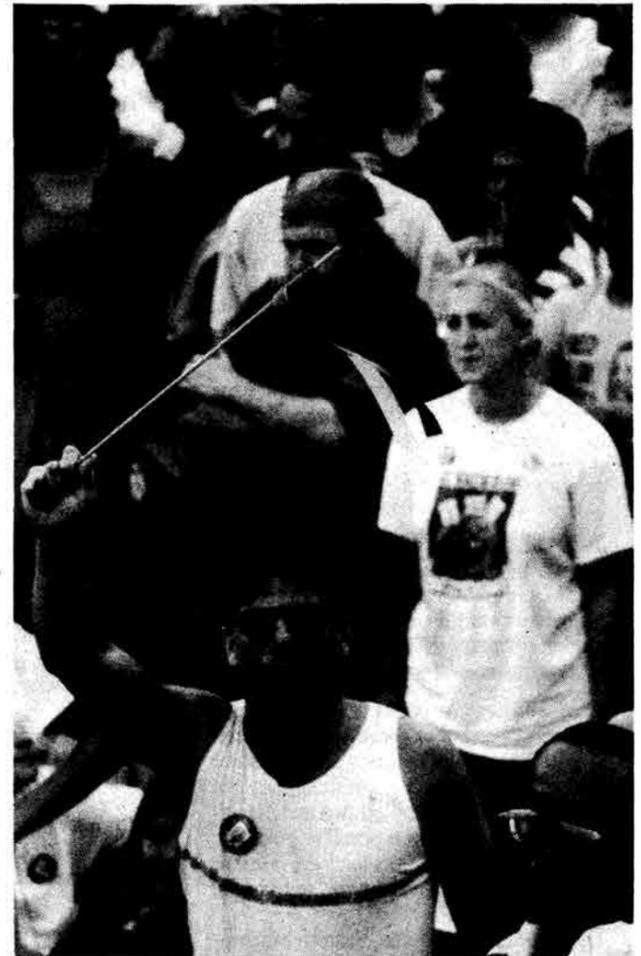
Placing the battle against apartheid in its world historical proportions, Mandela explained in his United Nations address, "It will forever remain an indelible blight on human history that the apartheid crime ever occurred. . . . It will forever remain an accusation and a challenge to all men and women of conscience that it took as long as it has before all of us stood up to say enough is enough."

Racism, he told the gathering, "must be opposed by all the means that humanity has at its disposal. Wherever it occurs, it has the potential to result in a systematic and comprehensive denial of human rights to those who are discriminated against."

### Reaching beyond the already convinced

In this approach, Mandela sought to win to active solidarity with the battle against the white minority regime not only those who were already convinced, but millions of others who can be drawn into the fight.

Mandela emerged from 27-and-a-half years of imprisonment advancing the same



Militant/Don Gurewitz  
Part of rally of 250,000 to hear Mandela in Boston June 23

perspectives he held when the regime arrested him for his anti-apartheid activity. Because of this steadfastness in the struggle, his reaching out to the world to educate and mobilize tens of millions in the fight since his release, and the clarity of his political perspectives, millions, especially among youth, have come to see Mandela as their leader too.

Like other mass revolutionary leaders of our time — Malcolm X, Ernesto Che Guevara, Thomas Sankara, Fidel Castro, and Maurice Bishop — Mandela is leading a mass struggle and acts and speaks as a fighter in the world. He is an example to those entering the struggle of the caliber of leader that can emerge from the struggle of the oppressed and exploited today.

Mandela's tour demonstrated to those who are opposed to apartheid that a better situation exists today to broaden the ranks of those joining in the battle to eliminate this crime against humanity. Forcing Washington and the European Community nations to hold the line on sanctions showed the impact political mass mobilizations and anti-apartheid sentiment exhibited during the tour can have in the world. Building on the accomplishments of the tour, workers, farmers, students, and all progressive-minded people can push forward the opposition to apartheid across the country.

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# Ongoing occupation reveals U.S. goals in Panama invasion

## Exile leader discusses current situation

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS AND ROLLANDE GIRARD

MEXICO CITY — "Two days ago, the U.S. Southern Command announced that the U.S. military forces currently occupying Panama would remain there for yet another six months," said Nils Castro during an interview here in June on the current situation in Panama.

This means the U.S. military occupation that began with the invasion of Panama on Dec. 20, 1989, will last for at least a year, Castro pointed out. Castro is the former international relations secretary for the Democratic Revolutionary Party of Panama (PRD) and a leader of Vanguardia Torrijista. He is currently living in exile in Mexico City.

"The current government in Panama is therefore a puppet government," he said. "In reality it is a colonial administration, not only because it was put in power in a very violent manner, but also because it is only a civilian administration of a regime of military occupation."

For example, Castro explained, every ministry of the Panamanian government has been assigned a U.S. controller. "They don't even call them advisers," said Castro. These controllers oversee every state enterprise and government institution down to "even the smallest police station," he noted.

The U.S. troops have been put in charge of the security of the country, said Castro. "The new Panamanian police officers do not carry arms," he said. "Because many of them are former members of what used to be the Defense Forces, the authorities don't trust them with weapons. The only ones with guns are the U.S. military personnel."

"What has in fact taken place in Panama has been the destruction of the national state. This not only means that the Panamanian officials don't rule over the country's institutions, that there is no Panamanian police force, and that the judicial system does not function, but other fundamental concessions have been made that undermine Panama's sovereignty."

Panama's president, Guillermo Endara, for example, recently signed an agreement in Washington giving U.S. officers the right to board any ship flying the Panamanian flag anywhere in the world, said Castro. "So any U.S. sergeant, whether in Bombay or La Guaira, can board and search any ship flying a Panamanian flag," he said.

Another agreement reached between Endara and Washington authorizes the U.S. Coast Guard to patrol Panamanian territorial waters, and another reestablishes the U.S. Peace Corps in Panama. "Thus the occupation begins to affect not only the military arena, but the cultural and social arena as well."

### 'Capture of Noriega was not aim'

"I think that the invasion had several objectives and the capture of [Gen. Manuel] Noriega was not one of them," said Castro. "The main purpose of the invasion was to destroy the Defense Forces, the small, and young, armed forces that was in the process of being trained in Panama."

"The very manner in which the military attack took place is proof of this," said Castro. "Because, while there was no need to, the first acts of the invasion were to destroy the whole of the infrastructure of the Panamanian Defense Forces. They eliminated its two helicopters, they sunk its two boats, they destroyed all its headquarters and its command and communications posts. In other words, they were out to destroy the institution as a whole."

"During the first five or six days following the invasion, the Defense Forces fought very hard, in spite of the military ineptitude of the military command," said Castro. "The leadership of the colonels failed and because of their political limitations they did not establish the conditions for a longer resistance by the people. But despite the deficiencies of the military command, the fact is that the lieutenants, the captains, the majors, and the civilian militias fought very hard."

Yet, there was no need to destroy the military structure as a whole to take the country, explained Castro. So, why did they do it? "The answer is very simple," he noted, "and it lies in the Panama Canal treaties signed in 1977, better known as the Torrijos-Carter treaties" after the Panamanian and U.S. presidents at the time.

According to the treaties, the military functions of the U.S. military are to gradually decrease, Castro explained, so that by the last day of the century, the last U.S. soldier would have left Panama and the tasks of defense and protection of the canal would be left to Panama.

"But the treaties also say that if in the 20 years span from 1979 to 1999 Panama does not create a military institution that is able to protect the canal, then the United States can stay and carry that task out," Castro pointed out. "That explains why the first aim of the invasion was the elimination of the very institution that was being created to replace the U.S. troops in Panama."

Today, changes are being made to the Panamanian constitution to make it legally possible for the U.S. military bases to remain in Panama beyond this century, in violation to the Torrijos-Carter treaties, Castro noted. "So one of their purposes was also to make Panama a permanent home for U.S. military bases," he said.

"These bases are not to protect the canal. Who would they protect it from?" asked Castro. "The purpose of the bases is for control of, and military intervention in, the region."

If Washington's aim had been to capture Noriega, Castro pointed out, "the occupation would have ended a long time ago. They already have Noriega, yet they are announcing that they will remain in Panama for six more months."

### Economic crisis

Panama's economic and social problems, already serious before the U.S. invasion, have become worse, Castro stated. Before the invasion, he explained, unemployment was already 20 percent due to the economic blockade imposed against the country by Washington 30 months prior to the invasion.

"Today 35 percent of the active population is out of a job," he said.

"After the invasion 30,000 people lost their jobs because many businesses were destroyed or became bankrupt as a result of it," Castro said. "In state enterprises some 18,000 have been dismissed because of cutbacks or for political reasons."

"Thirty percent of the businesses, mostly small and medium enterprises, that were closed during the invasion have not been able to reopen, so the private sector has also shrunk."

The crisis is reflected in many other areas as well. "The overwhelming majority of the rural health centers, for example, have been shut down, as have many rural schools. And while the incidence of illness has increased due to the cuts in preventive medicine and the deteriorating social conditions, there is no fumigation, for example, taking place to kill insects that transmit diseases."

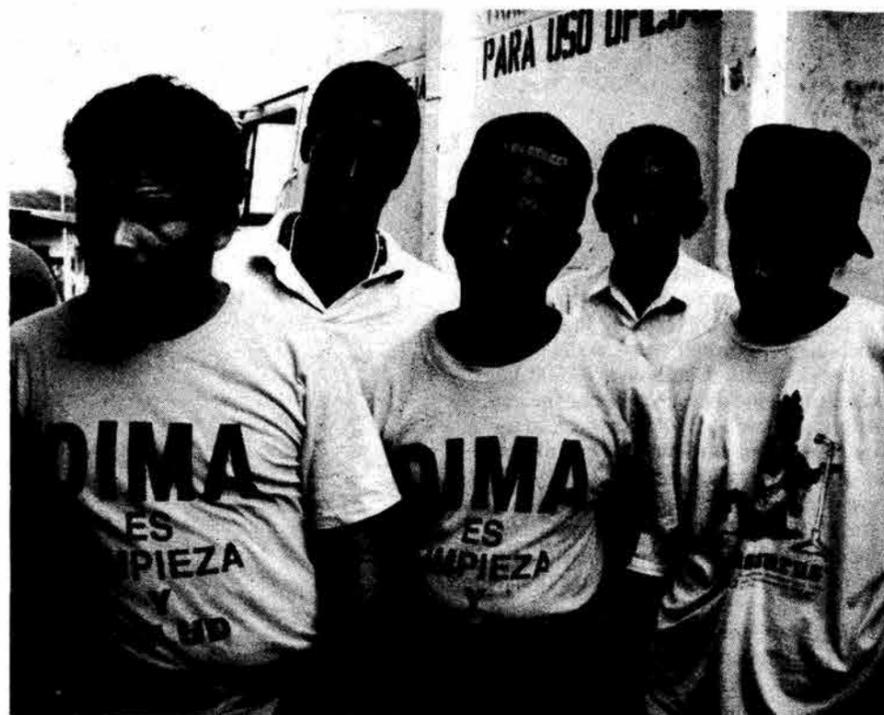
"Loans to farmers who farm small and medium-size plots of land have been suspended," said Castro.

### 'The myth of the U.S. dollars'

"Because of the devastating effect of the U.S. embargo on Panama's economy," Castro explained, "a myth was created that behind the U.S. soldiers would come an invasion of dollars, and many people believed it."

This myth of an "economic bonanza" was promoted among the poorer layers of Panama by the politicians of the oligarchy," said Castro. "So many who applauded the invasion did so because they expected it to bring 'good times.' But by April, May, it became clear that no such bonanza was forthcoming," he said.

Shortly after the invasion, "President Bush himself started out with a promise of \$1



Militant/Seth Galinsky  
Striking sanitation workers in March. Panama's economic and social problems have become worse since invasion, says Nils Castro, former international affairs secretary of Democratic Revolutionary Party of Panama.

billion in aid for Panama," Castro noted. "By the time the proposal got to Congress it was reduced to \$500 million, which Congress then cut down to \$420 million and set the rules for its utilization. The bulk of the aid is to go to servicing the foreign debt, another part is to go to finance a corporation of international investments in Panama. Panama itself is to get a mere \$120 million."

This money will not even come close to covering the estimated \$2 billion Panama lost in revenues as a result of the embargo, nor the \$1.2 billion private businesses lost as a result of the bombings and the after effects of the invasion, Castro said.

"This situation has brought an increase in people's consciousness," Castro pointed out. "People have begun to react, to organize, protest, and to demonstrate against the economic crisis and the occupation."

People are organizing themselves in neighborhood associations, through their unions, and more recently through political parties, Castro said.

"This past May, for example, the largest May Day demonstration in Central America took place in Panama," said Castro. "While it was not a huge demonstration — 10,000 participated — it was a well-organized and militant action. It was a demonstration of the fact that people had lost their fear of the occupation forces."

### New political groupings

As a result of the success of the May Day actions the General Coordinating Committee of Youth was formed, explained Castro. "This organization has grown very rapidly, especially among students," he said. "It is made up of youth groups from all the political parties that existed in the government prior to the invasion and of youth groups of the political parties of the left."

With this new group, Castro explained, "the streets of Panama are once again full of graffiti and fliers with anti-imperialist and patriotic slogans."

The combined success of the May Day protests, activities carried out by the youth groups and the unions, in particular the activities organized by the Public Workers Federation and the Panamanian National Workers Federation, Castro noted, have led to the formation of the United Patriotic Front.

"The United Patriotic Front was called by four organizations: Vanguardia Torrijista [the left wing of the former ruling party, the PRD], the Revolutionary Workers Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the People's Party," which is the former Communist Party in Panama.

"But what was most significant about the call for the formation of the United Patriotic Front was that many other organizations beyond these four parties, and individuals unaffiliated to any group, joined in," said Castro. "Among these were people who are affiliated to the organizations that have arisen over the last few months in the neighborhoods, among the unemployed, and those in peasant associations. So the front has grown very rapidly."

The new organization is housed in the building of the Union of Journalists. "This union itself is a union of unemployed," Castro noted, "since the new regime has fired

most of the journalists who were there before the invasion and has created its own journalists' association to keep a tight control over the media."

### 30,000 march on June 20

The first demonstration organized by the United Patriotic Front was held on June 20, marking the first six months of the military occupation.

"Thirty thousand people participated in the demonstration, which was called on a week's notice," said Castro. "It was a great success."

The demands of the demonstration were: U.S. troops out of Panama, the payment of reparations to the 30,000 families who have been left homeless as a result of the invasion, reparations for the families of the victims of the war, and the holding of elections to choose a government that is not imposed by the foreign army.

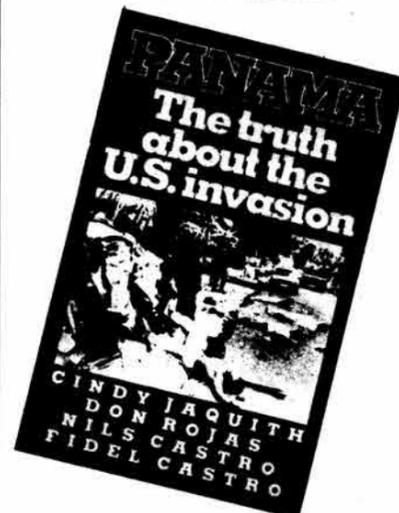
"There were demands for the rehiring of the workers who have been dismissed since the invasion," said Castro, "as well as demands for a solution to the problem of the high cost of living."

What is evident is that Panama is entering a new political period, Castro noted. "New forces are becoming organized and new leaders are being forged in the struggles that have been taking place on a daily basis in Panama. The challenge facing the political organizations in Panama today is to come up with a program that will explain what kind of a society we want to build," he concluded.

From Pathfinder

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# East German farmers launch protests as impact of currency union is felt

Continued from front page  
liament building along with farmers July 12. Some 6,000 pork halves hang in the plant, which has supplied all shops in the city for the last 40 years. Until June, 13,000 hogs were slaughtered there each week. The number dropped to only 1,500 per week in mid-July. The Berlin state-owned farm made its last delivery on July 1, the day currency union with West Germany took place.

In Thüringen, brewery workers blocked the border to West Germany at Eisfeld for a half-an-hour. Their beer deliveries dropped 90 percent after July 1.

The East German government has proposed breaking up government-owned retail enterprises to allow for greater competition with West German capitalist retail chains. Officials say this would solve the current crisis.

In response to this proposal the retail workers' union organized demonstrations of its 60,000 members across the country July 13. They protested being made the "scapegoats of the nation." Several thousand demonstrated outside the parliament building and Dieter Schramm, a union leader in Berlin, said that the government's plan would mean a 70 percent loss of all retail jobs.

"The regulating forces of the market alone are not capable of resolving the contradiction between shortages and hunger on the one hand and the destruction of foodstuffs on the other," a letter to the East German prime minister from the "Unity" Agricultural Production Cooperative in Tanneberg said.

## Joint farmers' declaration

On July 14 the presidents of the farmers' organizations in West and East Germany, Constantin Heereman and Karl Dämmrich, issued a joint declaration calling for emergency aid to East German farmers. The declaration called for credits, fixed prices, and better terms for exports to the European Community and other countries. An emergency congress of representatives from East Germany's cooperatives has been called for July 26.

Two days after the declaration was issued, East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maizière called an emergency meeting of government officials. They decided to guarantee fixed prices for milk and other dairy products, using state subsidies if necessary. The government also resolved to promote meat exports and to buy in bulk grain produced in the coming harvest.

The East German IG Metall union won a new contract recently for some 350,000 metalworkers in the Berlin-Brandenburg district. The contract is expected to set the pattern for contract negotiations in four other



East German farmers and workers from dairies and slaughterhouses, whose products have been pushed out of retail markets by goods from the European Community, have begun to set up street stalls to sell their products.

districts that cover more than 1.2 million workers. The union had organized a series of warning strikes and protests across the country in early July to press their demands.

Workers will receive a monthly 250

deutsche mark raise (US\$1=1.64DM) retroactive to July 1 and on October 1 will receive another 50 DM. The workweek will also be shortened to 40 hours by October 1, with no cut in pay. Layoffs will be postponed until

## New attack on British miners' union

Continued from front page  
General Workers Union (TGWU), the Fire Brigades Union, and the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE). Had "normal" accounting procedures been followed, this money was in danger of seizure by the courts.

In case it is determined that the NUM was acting lawfully in this action, through operating accounts in the name of individuals, the government is considering further legal restrictions on union finances. The employment minister is drawing up a "green paper" containing new proposed trade union laws for the next session of Parliament to which the finance measures will be referred.

### Lightman report

The government moves follow the publication of the union-commissioned "Lightman report." The report, prepared by barrister Gavin Lightman, followed media allegations that Scargill and Heathfield had used money from Libya and the Soviet Union donated in the course of the miners' strike for their own personal benefit.

The Lightman report cleared the national officials of the charges, but the media witch-hunt continued. Newspapers always hostile to Scargill demanded his removal by the union. Some called for the police to be called in. Government ministers, a number of Labour members of Parliament, and trade union officials joined the attacks on the NUM leaders.

But delegates at the miners' union conference in Durham July 9 expressed overwhelming support for Scargill and Heathfield. Fifty-six Labour MPs, including the bulk of the NUM-sponsored MPs, signed a motion in Parliament condemning the witch-hunt. And in a demonstrative show of support, leaders of the TGWU and NUPE attended the Durham miners' gala July 14 at which Scargill was a featured speaker.

The media adopted a new angle of attack centering on the International Miners' Organisation, of which the NUM is a leading affiliate. Scargill is IMO president and Heathfield an officer. The Lightman report questioned whether funds that were received from the Soviet Union and paid into the IMO's accounts shouldn't rather have gone to the NUM.

Scargill explained to Lightman and to the NUM conference that the money donations from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had been specifically intended for "international purposes." This was confirmed by current president of the official Soviet miners' union, Victor Lunyov.

the end of June 1991. And workers will get at least 20 vacation days per year.

Subsidies from the East German government to workers for wages lost because of reductions in the workweek stemming from a decline in production will be supplemented by enterprises and employers. The supplements will increase state subsidies from about 65 percent wages drawn in the last pay period to nearly 90 percent.

In negotiations IG Metall had initially demanded a 400 DM raise, protection against layoffs for two years, and a 40-hour workweek.

East Germany's collapsing economy doubled unemployment at the beginning of July and forced the West German government to pump more money into East Germany. The East German labor ministry reported unemployment rose 60 percent in the first two weeks of July to 224,000, with an additional 500,000 workers applying for wage subsidies. In June some 142,000 workers were unemployed.

The West German government doubled to 8 billion deutsche marks the ceiling for government-backed loans to agriculture and construction enterprises in the east, where July wages have not been paid.

Helmut Haussmann, the West German economy minister, warned East German workers and trade unions against high-wage settlements, saying they would have a negative effect on potential capitalist investment in the east.

The conference decided that the Lightman report would be circulated to the union's areas and branches and any matters raised would be debated out at a special delegate conference in October. The conference also decided to launch a campaign for a £50 (\$90) increase in miners' basic weekly wage rate, leading to a ballot for strike action in the event of an unsatisfactory response from British Coal.

Many delegates publicly expressed the view that the continuing witch-hunt of Scargill and Heathfield was diverting attention from the real issues facing miners: wages, jobs, conditions, and safety.

### National Executive moves

But one week after the conference, the NUM National Executive Committee took the unprecedented step of initiating legal moves to get its hands on the IMO's funds. Under legal advice from Lightman, the executive also decided to sue Scargill and Heathfield for "breach of trust," claiming substantial financial damages. The July 20 executive decision was unanimous; Scargill and Heathfield were excluded from the meeting.

Lightman had advised that unless the legal measures were taken, the entire executive would be legally liable for damages if the actions of the national officials were deemed unlawful.

A wave of newspaper articles and television "news reports" gave backing to the legal moves. They tracked down a previous Soviet miners' union president, Mikhail Srebnny, who claimed that money from the Soviet Union had been given to the NUM.

The government added its pressure. On July 22 a spokesperson confirmed that for some days it had been considering referring the Lightman report to the Director of Public Prosecutions for possible legal action against the union. According to the *Daily Telegraph* on July 23, "What particularly worried ministers was that such large sums of cash... were apparently available to Mr. Scargill during the year-long miners' strike in 1984-85 and could have affected its outcome."

### Rank-and-file criticism

The executive move has been strongly criticized by NUM members around the country. There is strong feeling against the witch-hunt within the ranks of the union. Speaking at the Durham miners' gala, secretary of the Barnsley Main NUM and of the North Yorkshire Panel, David McDevitt, said "Scargill's been good for the union. People said he was scare-mongering when he pre-

dicted huge pit closures. Where are they now?" Since the 1984-85 strike, 100 mines in Britain have been shut down and 100,000 miners lost their jobs.

Rank-and-file NUM member Jim Spaul from Kellingley in North Yorkshire said that there is overwhelming support for Scargill and Heathfield among the miners he's spoken to at his mine. "Today I spoke to at least 40 miners in groups of four or five," he said in a telephone interview July 24. "Most are behind Arthur and Peter. Very few are saying that they should go — just four out of the 40 I spoke with. In general the mood is very, very positive, especially among the younger lads in their early 20s."

"Even one or two of the lads I know who broke the strike toward the end have expressed support for Scargill. They say that the only thing he's done wrong is that he's been consistent and the media don't like it."

On July 23 the 38-member Yorkshire Area Council, representing all the branches in what is overwhelmingly the union's largest region, unanimously called for the issue to be settled out of court.

Spokesperson for the NUM's Yorkshire Area, Ken Capstick said, "This has got to be settled in the union, not in the courts." Capstick explained that the union had "asked Lightman to carry out an inquiry. Once he reported by to us, the political decisions are ours. How we proceed is up to us."

The following day the union's 22-member North-East Area Council condemned the legal action initiated by the executive, demanded that the issue be settled out of court, and called for a special delegate conference to be convened. The area council also decided to convene a special area conference where miners will be able to hear and question Scargill and Heathfield in person. A meeting of the Nottinghamshire Area Council has been called for the weekend.

As protests were mounting from the union's areas, a four-person delegation representing the National Executive flew to Paris for talks with the IMO. Lawyers representing both organizations were present. Following an eight-hour meeting, the NUM delegation said that it would ask the court for a temporary cessation of the legal action by the executive committee.

IMO General Secretary Alain Simon said, "There is no more misunderstanding. There are no more obstacles" to an agreement. He considered that the attacks on the NUM national officials were not a product of financial questions but a "politically motivated attempt to discredit Mr. Scargill and the IMO."

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Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Peasant at Samarkanda farm. Cooperative was established in 1985 after original farm was burned down in a 1984 contra attack.

# Workers, farmers, former contras debate gov't policy in Nicaragua town

BY AARON RUBY

**SAN JUAN DEL RÍO COCO, Nicaragua** — As I rounded the last turn into the valley of San Juan on July 11, a construction truck and a pick-up were blocking the way. Ahead of them, tree trunks covered the road. There was no way through.

Local peasants passing by on foot explained that strikers from a nearby state-owned farm, La Dalia, had barricaded the

**U.S. activist: 'Conflicts like this weren't new to me. I had worked here as a teacher five years ago.'**

road in solidarity with a national strike led by supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

"They won't reconcile themselves to the results of the elections," said one peasant. "Blocking the way just hurts the people," added another.

"Those bums don't want to work," said a rich coffee and cattle farmer, whose shiny new jeep couldn't get through. "We should get rid of those troublemakers once and for all."

A truck filled with peasants pulled up and a group of about 20 men with machetes began to cut through the dozen or so trees. What were now five vehicles proceeded slowly down the road. One mile further, the road was blocked with truck wrecks and burning tires. Standing atop this barricade were farm administration staff from La Dalia surrounded by field hands with machetes.

The nearly 100 travelers trying to get to town began arguing with the strikers. Several women with infants were brought forward. "We're just innocent passengers, boys, let us through," said one woman. The strikers soon agreed to open the way.

Róger Rivas, general secretary of the farm workers' union at La Dalia, told me later that the barricades "caused resentment among the peasants who don't feel a part of this fight. We should have communicated with the peasants, but this was an emergency action to call attention to the demands of the strike."

One of the La Dalia workers' main demands was to prevent the reprivatization of the farm. The former owner's sons had been around to check out the property recently.

## San Juan: a former war zone

Conflicts like this were not new to me, as I had worked as a teacher in San Juan del Río Coco from 1983 until 1985. It was my first time back to this town of 4,000 since then.

The 1979 revolution led by the FSLN brought considerable gains to this zone in health, education, and housing, in particular for agricultural workers. Several large coffee growers in the area were expropriated. The land was primarily turned into state farms. Little land was distributed to poor peasants in San Juan.

The U.S.-directed contra war against Nicaragua that broke out in 1981 severely limited the ability of the revolution to reach out further into the countryside here. The contras won considerable support in the local population early on. San Juan became one of the

principal war zones in the country.

On May 19, 1984, in one of the largest assaults of the war, the town of San Juan was attacked by the contras. They also burned down several farms and installations in the surrounding area. More than 50 soldiers of the Sandinista People's Army and militia were killed as well as nearly 100 contras, before the mercenaries were driven out of town.

Toward the end of 1984 the army began pushing the contras out of the surrounding mountains, making it easier for the revolution to reach the population there.

## UNO leaders discuss plans

As I arrived in San Juan, Edwin Lorente, a former student of mine, stopped me in the street. He proudly informed me that he is now the political coordinator of the National Opposition Union (UNO) in San Juan.

In the February 1990 elections, UNO presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro defeated FSLN candidate Daniel Ortega. In San Juan the UNO coalition won by two-to-one over the FSLN.

The new mayor is Róger Talavera, a comfortable coffee farmer who replaced the FSLN mayor, also a coffee grower.

One of UNO's campaign promises was to return much of the land confiscated by the revolutionary government to capitalist owners. "Some landowners have returned and have been asking about their properties," said Talavera. He thought that the government should act cautiously on returning any land.

"Where land is occupied, the original owner should be reimbursed," suggested Talavera. He gave the example of the Samarkanda farm: "It's easier to deal with the former owner than confront the 64 families living on the farm now. It's a social problem."

Talavera added that the municipal government had almost no social programs set up for the contras who have been demobilized and returned to town. Some 400 have already come back and up to 4,000 ex-contras and family members were expected soon. The municipal government will solicit some of the state-owned land for them, said Talavera, who foresaw problems.

## FSLN defeat: 'a surprise'

Reynaldo Laguna, the local head of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), a pro-FSLN organization, told me he had initially been surprised when the FSLN lost the February elections. A rally of more than 5,000 had been held in San Juan during the campaign to hear FSLN candidate Ortega, then the president.

Laguna and many others in town attributed Chamorro's victory mainly to her promise to end the military draft.

He also noted errors in how the revolution was led in San Juan. Abuses of the population by the armed forces were not always punished. When troops were sanctioned for violations, that fact was not always fully explained to the people.

A polarized situation developed, especially as the war heated up. There was a tendency among convinced supporters of the FSLN to arbitrarily label all peasants as "contras." In town, Sandinistas painted threatening slogans on the homes of suspected contra collaborators, intimidating some residents who hadn't yet made up their minds on where they stood.

Laguna also told me that Sandinista Defense Committees, which had been established to organize the population block by block to advance the revolution, had ceased to function in San Juan by 1985. By the 1989 election campaign, the only political organization for supporters of the revolution was the FSLN campaign committee.

## Peasants forced to sell land

I visited two cooperatives and a collective farm established on the remains of the Samarkanda farm after it was burned down in the 1984 contra attack. As part of efforts to retake the rural areas around San Juan from the contras, poor peasants from arid lands in another zone had been organized to settle on Samarkanda in 1985. Supporters of the



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Members of Samarkanda farm cooperative. Refusal by banks to extend credit has forced 18 cooperative members to sell their lots.

FSLN, they helped keep the contras in check.

But now the Samarkanda farmers are in trouble. The head of the farm, Zeledonio Hernández Padilla, told me, "Nearly 18 members of the cooperatives have sold their lots since June 10, when the bank refused to give them credit." He reported that bank credit to the farm had been limited to maintenance for several years, with no loans for improvements.

Three local capitalist farmers had bought up the land of the 18 members. Sale of land distributed under the revolution's agrarian reform program became legal when a law was approved in March by Nicaragua's outgoing National Assembly, in which the FSLN had a majority.

Several FSLN members from town were also at Samarkanda. They told me they were joining the cooperative and had each received 26 acres of land. The other members have nine acres each.

I stopped at the San Lucas farm community on the way back. A woman at one hut, with an UNO poster on the front door, told me that consumer prices were unbearable. However,

she opposed the strike. She pointed to her son, who will not be drafted, and said she was happy "now that Violeta is president because all the mothers in Nicaragua can rest."

Pro-FSLN member of the collective farm at San Lucas explained that there were only six members of the collective left. The members hire 10 permanent workers to work the land.

Back in town I visited the health clinic established by the revolution. A sign on the front announced that the national health ministry had just ordered all state-run clinics to charge for checkups, which used to be free. Medicine, which had not cost anything for children up to six years old, would also have to be paid for now.

When I asked UNO leader Lorente about this, he defended the new decision. "Under the former government, distribution of medicine was disorganized because it was free," he insisted. "There was a lot of waste. People visited the doctor two or three times a week!"

## Little aid for ex-contras

On July 13 some 100 ex-contras held a meeting in town with Pedro Maldonado Lovo, the regional head of the government agrarian reform agency, and the mayor.

Some of the ex-contras were dressed in clothes bought in the United States while others wore rags. I learned that some were peasants from middle-sized farms while others barely had enough land to live on.

The former contras wanted to know what had happened to the land, money, and other aid they had been promised by the government when they agreed to lay down their arms.

"If you want land you will have to go to one of the development poles," Maldonado explained, referring to the two remote areas of the country the government has set aside for the ex-contras, far from their original homes.

"There is no more available land in this region. After the elections, land was taken by the army majors, captains, and members of the FSLN," Maldonado charged.

He said there were credits and housing materials available to ex-contras. The mayor interrupted to say there were not.

A well-dressed contra leader raised a complaint. Sandinistas in the area were still armed, he said, despite a disarming of civilians in the zone recently.

An army lieutenant present at the meeting said that a full disarmament of the state farms and cooperatives was beginning the next day.

It was clear to me, as I left San Juan, that conflicts are not over in this town. I thought of two peasants at the Samarkanda cooperative who said they believed if more land had been given to the poor peasants earlier, the revolution would have gained more support. "The contras were poor peasants but their chiefs were rich peasants," said one.

"That's why we made the revolution, to get rid of the rich," said the other. "Chamorro wants us to give the land back but the new government hasn't given us anything. We won't give it back!"

**ALABAMA**

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**31 Years of the Cuban Revolution — What Is the Future for Socialism?** Speaker: Sue Skinner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, member United Transportation Union. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.  
**The Crisis Facing Working Farmers Today — the Need for Unity Between Workers and Farmers.** Speaker: Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for commissioner of agriculture, member United Mine Workers of America. Sat., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA**

**Phoenix**  
**The Reunification of Germany.** Speaker: Arnold Weissberg, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

**FLORIDA**

**Miami**  
**The Cuban Revolution: A Symbol of Struggle.** Speakers: Billy Hardemon, People United for Justice; Elizardo Bascoy, Cuba solidarity activist, member Transit Workers Union Local 291; Samedí Florvil, Haitian rights activist; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 6694; Larry Lunsford, radio commentator, WDNA. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 28. Dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.  
**Eastern's Troubles Grow While Strikers Gear Up.** Speakers: Ruben Procter, Jeff Miller, Zena McFadden, Donald Mitchell, members of Outreach Committee of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 702 on strike against Eastern Airlines. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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**Political Perspectives of the Socialist 1990 Election Campaign.** Speakers: Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Iowa governor; Jason Redrup, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: SWP 1990 Campaign Committee. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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**The U.S. Has Lost the Cold War: The Meaning of the Events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.** Speaker: Andrea Morell, member National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

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**MINNESOTA**

**St. Paul**  
**"With Cuba We Have a Dependable Friend" — Nelson Mandela.** Sat., July 28, 1 p.m. and **The Fight Against Apartheid and Racism in the United States.** Sat., Aug. 4, 1 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI**

**St. Louis**  
**Inside Cuba Today: The Deepening Struggle for Socialism.** Speaker: Estelle DeBates, participant in Venceremos Brigade tour to Cuba. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

**NEBRASKA**

**Omaha**  
**U.S. Hands Off Cuba!** Speaker: Joel Gajardo, past secretary for Latin American affairs of U.S. Council of Churches, professor at University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Greetings from Hafeni Hatutale, South West Africa People's Organisation. Sat., July 28, 6:30-9 p.m. Chicano Awareness Center, 4821 S. 24 St. Sponsor: Omaha Central America Response Team. Co-sponsors: Social Concerns Committee, First Unitarian Church; Region Two, Nebraskans for Peace; Second Nebraska District, Rainbow Coalition; Eastern Nebraska Socialist Party; Socialist Workers Party; Omaha Witness for Peace; Youth for Peace.

**NEW YORK**

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**Socialist Campaign Barbecue.** Sat., July 28, 5-7 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Tel: (718) 398-6983.  
**Cuba: Leading the Fight for Socialism in the World Today.** Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.  
**Manhattan**  
**Reception for Héctor Delgado Pérez.** Official photographer for the Union of Cuban Writers and Artists. Photographic display of his work. Sat., July 28, 6-7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Friends of the Pathfinder Mural. Tel: (212) 727-8421.  
**Cuba: Leading the Fight for Socialism in the World Today.** Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., July 28, 8 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Dona-

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**Africa Called, Cuba Answered.** Speakers: Musa Kamara, political activist from Sierra Leone; Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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**Perspectives for Working People in the 1990s: A Socialist Perspective on the Coming Struggles.** Speakers: Michael Pennock, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor; Holly Harkness, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Campaign Committee. Tel: (412) 362-6767.  
**British Miners Defend Their Union: A Report from the Coalfields.** Speaker: Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 630, attended recent British miners' union conference. Sun., Aug. 5, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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**Houston**  
**Viva Cuba Libre! 31 Years of Building Socialism.** Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**WEST VIRGINIA**

**Charleston**  
**The Struggle for Political Rights in Eastern Europe: What It Means for Working People.** Speaker: Maggie McCraw, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state treasurer, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 3-89. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

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**German Unity: What It Means for Working**

People. Sat., July 28, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: 0222-484677.

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**Defend the National Union of Mineworkers. Defend the International Miners' Organisation!** Speakers: Dave Compton, secretary Bickershawe NUM; Pete Kennedy, Communist League. Fri., Aug. 3, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: 061-839 1766.

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**Video of Nelson Mandela Speaking at Wembley Stadium, London.** Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.  
**Solidarity with the Struggle of Native People for Sovereignty and Self-government. Stop the Police Repression.** Speaker: Beverly Bernardo, *Militant* reporter who spent time behind the Mohawk barricades at Oka. Sat., Aug. 4, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

**Toronto**  
**Celebrate Moncada 1953-90: The Cuban Revolution Advances.** Speaker: Rolando Rivero, Cuban consul general in Toronto. Sat., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

**Celebrate Cuba's National Holiday with the Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association.** Featuring Marimba in concert with Jesus Morales from Cuba. Fri., Aug. 3, 7 p.m. Winchevsky Centre, 585 Cranbrooke Ave. Telephone for tickets: (416) 967-5603, 964-3388, or 656-3171.

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**Discussion of Book Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay.** Sat., Aug. 4, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Tel: (4) 844-205.

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**A hat for the chief**—To promote safe sex, the chief of New York's Health and Hospitals Corporation, Emilio Carrillo, wants volunteer health workers to spread the



**Harry Ring**

word about glow-in-the-dark condoms. "They could bring a phosphorescent condom," he explains, "and say, look, these are fun . . . and turn the light off and wave it around."

**News item**—The U.S. Army stockpiles DS-2, a chemical agent

intended to decontaminate military equipment in a chemical war. It causes severe burns and damage to the eyes, liver, and nervous system. It chews up the metals, plastics, and rubber it detoxifies. It's stored in corroded, leaking containers. Each year the army buys a new stash even as it auctions off tons of it as surplus.

**News item**—Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, proposes a Strategic Environmental Research Program. He says the Pentagon is the ideal choice for setting the pace in climate research, pollution cleanup, and disposal of radioactive wastes.

**Nuke the competition**—Send your golf balls to Canada's White-

shell nuclear research lab for a free blast off gamma rays. The irradiation won't make the balls glow in the dark but will, assertedly, give them more bounce. A spokesperson says it will help make folks feel more comfortable about irradiation but adds, "I'm not suggesting people eat the golf balls."

**Gorby & Me?**—During Gorbachev's U.S. visit, filmmaker Michael Moore tried to present him a video of *Roger & Me*, and says he'll keep trying. The film chronicles Moore's efforts to talk with GM honcho Roger Smith about the shutdown of the company's Flint operation. Moore wants Gorbachev to see it because, "I thought he should check out what 80 years of capitalism will do to a town."

**The wounded messenger**—Marvin Roffman filed a \$1 million suit against Trump and wants a similar amount from his ex-boss. Roffman is the casino analyst who Trump got fired last winter from a Wall Street firm for predicting that the Taj Mahal was headed for financial trouble.

**Sure would be nice to see**—Researcher John Trijonis says it's hard for folks to believe that if all sources of pollution were shut down "everything would clear up in three or four days and there would be, on the average, 90-mile visibility." Currently, he says, the eastern United States is blanketed by a "large-scale haze blob" that cuts visibility to 15 miles.

**Sounds a little dogmatic**—"I'm fed up with investment firms that are trying to cash in on the environmental movement."—Peter Camejo, president of Progressive Asset Management, Inc. He asserts that some environmental funds invest in companies that pollute.

**Facts-of-life dep't**—In Foster City, near San Francisco, homeowners who leased the land they built on are now fighting rent hikes as high as 4,000 percent. Declared a company spokesperson, "I sympathize with them, but this is capitalism. . . . That's premier property they're on and they talk like it's the affordable housing section."

## 'This is a textbook for trade unions everywhere'

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

A positive response to *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*, published by Pathfinder last month, has come from Jock Barnes, a veteran trade union leader in New Zealand.

"This is a textbook for trade unions everywhere," Barnes wrote to Pathfinder. "A study that illustrates to the full the unquestionable knowledge of the trade union movement possessed by Leon Trotsky. Pertinent

### Veteran New Zealand unionist comments on new Pathfinder book about challenges to unions.

and real as is his analysis, its even greater relevance to events of today is remarkable."

Barnes was the central leader of the biggest upsurge of New Zealand industrial workers in the years following World War II. As president of the New Zealand Waterside Workers Federation, he led that union through a six-month lockout by port owners in 1951.

The book contains articles by Leon Trotsky, a leader in the October 1917 Russian revolution; a prologue by Karl Marx, a founder along with Frederick Engels of the international revolutionary workers' move-

ment; and prefaces by Farrell Dobbs, a leader during the historic 1934 Minneapolis trucking strikes and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1983.

"The articles in this collection," Joel Britton and Margaret Jayko state in the book's introduction, "explain the fundamental dynamics of trade unions, which have served, since the onset of the industrial revolution two centuries ago, as the elementary organizations for defense of workers' conditions and rights. At the same time, these articles outline the necessary link between trade union organization and workers' fight for economic justice and political power—their fight to rid the world of capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression."

In his letter, Barnes cited a passage from the opening paragraph of Trotsky's article "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" written in 1940.

#### Unions and the state power

"There is," Barnes quotes Trotsky, "one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing close to and growing together with the state power."

"What was then a common feature has today become open and undisguised practice by so many renegade unions, or more correctly, union officials," observed Barnes in

reference to the labor movement bureaucrats' policy of collaborating with the employing class at the expense of working people and against their interests.

"If proof of this philosophy should be required surely we have seen it and are seeing it in New Zealand today. Five years ago I publicly affirmed that this 'labour' government should be impeached for the crimes it was committing against the working and underprivileged people of our country. Day by day these crimes worsen," Barnes noted.

#### Administering capitalism

New Zealand today is governed by a Labour Party administration, which acts in the interests of the country's capitalists. This government, first elected in 1984, has implemented sweeping "market oriented" reforms to privatize government departments, reduce import tariffs, remove subsidies to working farmers, and reduce legal protection for unions.

Over the last few years, the government has pushed through economic measures that have resulted in the loss of thousands of government jobs and cuts in social programs. These attacks have hit New Zealand's Maori and Pacific Island workers the hardest. Moreover, in 1989 the government established a racist immigration policy against

Western Samoans, which cut in half the number allowed permanent residency.

Barnes refers to a point made by Trotsky in his article "The Unions in Britain" that discusses what perspectives revolutionaries within the trade unions need to combat the class-collaborationist policies of the trade union officialdom. "Capitalism can continue to maintain itself only by lowering the standard of living of the working class," Barnes quotes Trotsky. "Under these conditions trade unions can either transform themselves into revolutionary organizations or become lieutenants of capital in the intensified exploitation of the workers."

"The essential task of workers worldwide is to recognize the wisdom of these words and take appropriate action. The first step is to keep control in the hands of the rank and file and never relinquish it," Barnes explained.

*Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* is "an exceptional book that should be read by everyone who abhors and recognizes the evils of capitalism and recognizes the vital necessity of a strong, honest, and disciplined trade union movement," Barnes concluded.

The book is available for \$13.95 through Pathfinder bookstores or by mail from Pathfinder at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

## New Zealand auto assemblers fight against firing of unionist

BY KATHY LISSIENKO

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Four hundred Engineers Union members marched on the offices of Vehicle Assemblers of New Zealand on July 13 to protest against the firing of fellow union member Mike Treen from the company's car assembly plant in South Auckland. VANZ is a joint operation of the Ford and Mazda companies.

Chanting, "What do we want? Mike back! When do we want it? Now!" they demanded an explanation from the company's employee relations manager, Tony Wright, who refused to come outside.

"This is a clear case of victimisation," explained a leaflet distributed to members by union delegates. The firing came just six weeks after a successful month-long strike over a redundancy (severance pay) agreement during which Treen "played an active role in the strike committee and took part in negotiations with the company for the union."

The march was held part way through a stormy six-hour, stop-work meeting at the plant held to discuss the firing.

The company's attempt to prevent Treen attending the meeting was thwarted when a dozen workers went outside to get him and marched in a group through the security gate, ignoring the shouts of a manager claiming Treen was trespassing. The meeting unanimously called on the union to take Treen's case to the Labour Court if necessary to win reinstatement, and to take up weekly collections to cover lost wages until then. The protest march was held as a way of giving expression to workers' anger in a situation

where under current labor laws it is illegal to strike over dismissals.

The workers were particularly incensed that the company had hired private detectives to investigate Treen's background. He was fired on the basis of supplying false information on his application form when he began work at VANZ 18 months ago. This justification was totally rejected by the meeting.

Several workers informed the meeting that they had been told by management that the company held Treen responsible for the strike and were out to "get him."

"If the company gets away with sacking Mike," the leaflet explained, "who's next on their hit list? They have already admitted that at least one other worker is under investigation. There are probably dozens of workers at VANZ whose application forms wouldn't be completely accurate. Must all of them now live in fear of being found out and sacked if they speak up?"

The broader threat to union rights was taken up in the leaflet also. "Through this sacking," it pointed out, "the company hoped to avenge their defeat and weaken the union at VANZ. They are out to intimidate other workers from standing up for their rights. . . . The company claims the right to 'use any methods necessary' to investigate its workers. Mike's sacking and the methods used to justify it are a threat to all unionists and supporters of democratic rights and should be protested against."

Kathy Lissienko is an Engineers Union member at Vehicle Assemblers of New Zealand.

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSLETTER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE 60 CENTS

Aug. 1, 1980

A big legal question mark now hangs over President Carter's draft registration plan. A three-judge federal circuit court on July 18 voted the Selective Service Act unconstitutional for excluding women.

The ruling was based on a nine-year-old Vietnam-era suit filed on behalf of four men then eligible for the draft. The suit contended that excluding women, half of the draft-age population, arbitrarily increased the chances of induction for men.

The Justice Department says it will appeal the decision to the Supreme Court.

Antidraft fighters should take a close look at this case. Will it help stop the draft? Is it in the interests of women and men?

The ruling is not antidraft but prodraft. It is not for stopping the draft but for widening it by including women.



The Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam, scheduled to meet soon in Washington, D.C., stands in stark contrast to the secret, conspiratorial meetings President Johnson held recently that resulted in his decision to escalate the war in Vietnam still further.

The Assembly has asked antiwar groups to come to Washington with their ideas and suggestions on how to stop the war. In this spirit, the *Militant* puts forward the following:

1. For the demand, "Withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam now!" The revolutionary forces in South Vietnam, and the government of North Vietnam, have every right to decide about any negotiations with the attacking U.S. forces. But we here in the United States who want to stop the aggression our own government is committing should point out that it has no right to presume to negotiate the internal affairs of the Vietnamese people.

2. The debate and discussion should be widened. The base of the antiwar movement remains on the campus and the movement should continue to consolidate this base.

Negro and civil rights organizations, trade unions, and other community groups have a stake in opposing the Vietnam War. The same forces that are pressing the war are the forces that seek to curtail the unions, keep the Negro "in his place," and that are responsible for maintaining the system that breeds poverty and unemployment.

3. Against the witch-hunt, internal and external. The American people face another danger, that of the growth of the reaction that always goes hand in hand with imperialist war. The antiwar movement should combat the myth of the communist conspiracy as the justification for the Vietnam War, and it should combat it at home and within the antiwar movement itself.

4. The movement should examine the nature of the war. The war in Vietnam is a civil war. On one side is the corrupt, hated, dictatorial regime in Saigon. Its only solid Vietnamese support comes from the small class of landlords and capitalists. On the other side are the masses of the Vietnamese, especially the peasants, who are fighting for land and for freedom from foreign domination. Justice is on their side.

## Defend Native rights in Canada

Native leaders in Canada are demanding the Canadian federal government recognize Mohawk land claims and help resolve the growing confrontation at Oka, Québec. Canadian federal Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Siddon has refused, saying that the Canadian government "cannot negotiate at gunpoint." But who's holding the gun and who pulled the trigger?

The Québec and Canadian governments say armed Mohawks are responsible for a violent situation. Facts say the opposite.

On July 11 about 100 heavily armed officers of the Québec provincial police launched an unprovoked armed assault on Mohawk Indians at the Kanesatake settlement near Oka. The Mohawks had erected barricades four months earlier to prevent the city of Oka from expanding its nine-hole golf course onto Native land.

The cops launched a barrage of tear gas and concussion grenade fire over the barricade, and then opened fire with high-caliber guns. The Mohawks fought back forcing the cops to retreat. Caught in the cross-fire, one police officer was killed.

Today, the town of Oka and the Kanesatake settlement are under siege by heavily armed provincial police. A Mohawk solidarity blockade at the Mercier Bridge at the Kahnawake reserve near Montréal is surrounded by cops and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Canadian army troops have moved into position in Montréal, waiting for a call from the Québec government.

Québec Premier Robert Bourassa backed the actions of the cops, saying "we cannot accept the utilization of violence under any pretext."

Not only do the Québec and Canadian governments accept violence. They rely on it.

There are more than 1 million Native people in Canada. Since the establishment of the first European colonial settlement, they have been systematically pushed off their land by force and violence. The typical treaty ceding land from Native people to European settlers was signed after settlers had destroyed the Native supply of game, starving them into submission. When starvation didn't work, armed force was used to suppress Native resistance.

The result of these policies has been untold suffering for Native peoples. In several reserves the unemployment rate is close to 90 percent, 85 percent live on welfare, 50 percent of those over 15 years old are illiterate, and housing is deplorable. Twenty-two percent of the prisoners in federal penitentiaries are Native. But Native people make up only 5 percent of the population.

The Canadian government maintains these conditions by refusing to seriously negotiate or settle Native land claims — of which there are hundreds across Canada. And when Native people stand up for their rights they are met with force and violence.

Native leaders have made an international appeal to defend the struggle of the Mohawks at Kahnawake and Kanesatake. The labor movement and all fighters for democratic rights should demand:

- Withdraw all cops from Kanesatake and Kahnawake;
- No army intervention;
- Recognize Mohawk land claims;
- Amnesty from police victimization for all Mohawks at Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

## Fight for jobs and a contract

Continued from front page

jobs and a win a contract — is clearly within reach.

Since forcing Frank Lorenzo out of day-to-day management of Eastern, the strikers have clearly demonstrated to Eastern's court-appointed trustee, Martin Shugrue, that without signing a contract there will be no labor peace. Neither Shugrue, Checchi, nor the Eastern creditors can pretend Northwest is buying up a nonunion airline.

Checchi recognizes that workers at Northwest, who are also members of the IAM, are opposed to him simply bringing the scabs at Eastern into Northwest wholesale. Because of the strength of the strike at Eastern he has been forced to meet with the IAM over the buyout proposal.

Union members at Northwest and other airlines should now join in this fight to insure a union operation at Northwest — from top to bottom — and a signed contract with the striking Eastern workers. Forcing Checchi to bring in as many strikers as possible to fill the jobs in the expanded Northwest would consolidate the victory and place the union in the strongest position in future battles against the airline bosses.

As the resolution of the strike draws closer, the employers and the big-business press will attempt to pit unionists at Northwest and Eastern against each other and seek to justify bringing along scabs with the parts of Eastern Checchi buys.

By backing the strikers' slogan, "No contract, no peace!" unionists at Northwest and other airlines can "keep the pressure on" Eastern — uniting the ranks of the IAM and bringing union power to bear on Shugrue, Checchi, and company.

This course puts unionists in the best position to fight for merged seniority lists of the two companies' union work forces. The pattern in previous strikes has been to place the strikers at the bottom of the seniority lists and allow the scabs to continue working. The bosses will go as far as they can get away with in this direction.

Northwest workers can take the moral high ground and reject arguments urging them to "protect your jobs," and other attempts to divide the union between those who currently work at Northwest and those on strike at Eastern.

Keeping Northwest unionized from top to bottom and forcing Checchi to sign a contract with the IAM would be a huge victory for labor. It would mark a reversal of the plans by Lorenzo to build Texas Air into a nonunion empire, thus showing the way forward in the assault on the union movement for the entire employing class.

It would strengthen the IAM by keeping the battle-tested Eastern strikers in the union — bringing their experiences, confidence, and union-building capabilities earned through the fight into the continued struggle against the employers.

The strikers have prevented Eastern from becoming another Continental Airlines. There, Lorenzo was able to bust the unions, cut wages by 50 percent, and create a big nonunion outfit. This gave the green light to other employers

in the airline industry to demand big takebacks in contract negotiations. After buying Eastern, Lorenzo opened a "reign of terror" on the union — cutting wages, forcing speedup, firing union activists, and pressing the workers' backs up against the wall.

Recognizing Lorenzo was out to break their union, the workers fought back. They correctly pointed out that if Lorenzo was able to do to Eastern what he did to Continental he would have a nonunion worldwide operation — among the largest airlines in the world. This course was a direct threat to unions in the airline industry and to the whole of labor.

When the IAM members walked out and set up their picket lines on March 4, 1989, they won the support of Eastern's pilots and flight attendants. Millions of workers who had also been through concession contracts, union-busting, and worsening conditions on the job identified with the strike and saw the fight as their own.

The stakes in the strike were high — stop Lorenzo or lose the union. The strikers were determined not to let Lorenzo repeat the pattern in strikes in other industries: refuse to sign a contract, force the union out on strike, and bring in scabs as the permanent work force.

Because of the determination of the strikers and the broad support they won, it was clear from the outset that if the fight continued long enough a victory would be won. By keeping their picket lines up, reaching out to other unions in North America and around the world for support, and joining in other battles that broke out, the strikers continued to win broader public support, bleed Eastern, and batter Lorenzo's chances of success.

Facing up to the fact that Lorenzo could not put Eastern back together as a nonunion operation and that with each passing day their investments were worth less, the creditors demanded of the bankruptcy court that a trustee be appointed. The judge appointed Martin Shugrue whose job was to protect the creditors' interests.

With Lorenzo out Shugrue hoped he could get the strikers to back off by engaging in a few negotiating sessions and couching himself as someone who can get along with labor. With a massive ad campaign he sought to portray Eastern as an airline moving forward. But the strikers continued to press their fight and Shugrue was left with the option of trying to keep the scab work force tied in long enough to sell off the airline.

The strikers continue to mount expanded picket lines, hold rallies, and reach out to other unions for support. Unionists at Northwest joining and supporting these actions would send an especially powerful signal to Shugrue and Checchi that they back the Eastern strikers' demand for jobs and a contract. Broadening out this effort among other airline workers and unions would be a powerful step towards the final victory of this labor battle — one of the most important in decades.

## Privileged caste or ruling class in the Soviet Union?

BY DOUG JENNESS

A few weeks ago one of our staff members mentioned to me that he had heard from several readers that our use of the term "caste" to describe the politically and economically dominant social layers in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China was puzzling. What do we mean by this designation and how does it differ from calling the bureaucratic stratum a ruling class?

Ever since a privileged layer began usurping power from the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, the question of how to characterize it — and more important, how to politically relate to it — has provoked debate in the workers' movement.

This matter was thoroughly discussed by the communist vanguard in the Soviet Union, which kept fighting for a

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

revolutionary course in the face of the revolution's degeneration and the emergence of bureaucratic domination. For communist workers this question was not an exercise in commentary, but a life-and-death issue of clarifying what was actually happening in the Soviet Union and charting a road forward.

Foremost among these fighters was Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the October 1917 Russian revolution and of the Communist International in its early years. In *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* and *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky closely examined the social and economic structures and contradictions in the Soviet Union. The first book was written in 1936 and the latter in 1939–40. Even after 50 years the analysis presented by Trotsky remains accurate, and both books deserve to be read and studied today. Pathfinder, which keeps these books in print, is publishing a new edition of *In Defense of Marxism* in early August.

In this volume the communist leader explained, "The historical justification for every ruling class consisted in this — that the system of exploitation it headed raised the development of the productive forces to a new level. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the Soviet regime gave a mighty impulse to economy. But the source of this impulse was the nationalization of the means of production and the planned beginnings, and by no means the fact that the bureaucracy usurped command over the economy."

In fact, he said, the bureaucracy was an obstacle to the advance of the planned economy based on nationalized property.

The decades of experience since Trotsky wrote have borne this out in other countries where capitalist property relations have been eliminated and a privileged bureaucracy has fastened itself. Despite relatively rapid initial industrialization, the rate of growth of labor productivity soon peaks and then declines toward economic stagnation and crisis. The experience in both Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union show that this is a law of development for states like this.

The slaveholding oligarchy, feudal landowners, guild masters, and capitalists had a necessary relationship to production in the economies where they dominated. Capitalism without capitalists, for example, is inconceivable. But that's not true of the bureaucratic layer in an economy based on state ownership of basic production. This stratum is not indispensable. There are no deeply rooted inner needs of production in the Soviet economy that require this layer. It is truly parasitic.

Moreover, unlike ruling classes in history, it has no special property relations of its own. The privileged bureaucrats cannot pass on ownership of the strongholds of production — factories, railroads, mines, and so on — to their heirs, even though they do pass along their prerogatives and privileged standard of living to sons and daughters. They are compelled to defend state property by their own methods and for their own reasons as the source of their power and material privileges.

This privileged stratum, which assumes capitalist values, morals, and habits, is more than just a governmental bureaucracy that has risen above the working class — the class that expropriated the capitalists and established the new state property relations.

Trotsky stated in *In Defense of Marxism*, "We frequently call the Soviet bureaucracy a caste, underscoring thereby its shut-in character, its arbitrary rule, and the haughtiness of the ruling stratum which considers that its progenitors issued from the divine lips of Brahma whereas the popular masses originated from the grosser portions of his anatomy."

"But," Trotsky continued, "even this definition does not of course possess a strictly scientific character. Its relative superiority lies in this, that the make-shift character of the term is clear to everybody, since it would enter nobody's mind to identify the Moscow oligarchy with the Hindu caste of Brahmins. The old sociological terminology did not and could not prepare a name for a new social event which is in process of evolution (degeneration) and which has not assumed stable forms."

# How Eastern strike shows need for political action

This week we begin a new column, "Questions for Socialists," which will feature discussion of issues raised in the 1990 Socialist Workers Party election campaigns.

BY YVONNE HAYES

NEW YORK — Following announcement of his candidacy for governor of New York on July 12, the first place that SWP leader Craig Gannon took his campaign was to the Eastern Airlines picket line at La Guardia Airport. In an interview here, Gannon explained why.

"This is an organized fight by working people," he said. "And the socialist campaign is about working people and speaks in the interests of working people."

"The nationwide strike by the Machinists at Eastern has turned into one of the most important labor fights in many years. After a long battle, these strikers are winning."

## QUESTIONS FOR SOCIALISTS

Gannon said. "This is different from what we've come to expect in this country — workers on strike after so long being in a stronger position now than the day that they started."

"The victory these fighters are taking is a big accomplishment for the whole labor movement," he explained. "In the 1980s we took some big blows. In '83 the unions were broken at Continental Airlines by Frank Lorenzo, laying a challenge before the entire labor movement. The challenge was that if you fought, you would be replaced. The pattern was repeated elsewhere — in meat-packing and the paper industry. Even if you carried out a strike, in the end you wouldn't have a job."

"At Eastern, Lorenzo set out to use the same methods he had used at Continental. He forced a fight with the Machinists, a fight that is now coming to a head," Gannon said. "Lorenzo has been forced out, and Martin Shugrue — who was appointed by the government to protect the interests of Eastern's creditors — has not been able to find a way around having to deal with the strikers."

It was the strength of the strike that "forced the bosses to recognize that the union was central to settling anything" at Eastern, the socialist candidate said.

"The thing strikers and their supporters have been able to do through the battle at Eastern is to keep forcing the

interests of the workers onto the table. They kept saying, 'You can't ignore us, we demand a union, we demand our jobs.' That's what Lorenzo was after and that's the victory that's now being taken."

"The Eastern strike won't be the last fight working people face," Gannon stressed. "With the appointment of Shugrue, we got a clearer picture of what we're up against. We could see something that is often obscured in this country — the government is not a neutral arbiter between workers and bosses. It sides with the bosses, most particularly the interests of the employers as a whole."

Gannon explained that in the courtroom or in government-mediated negotiations over safety, the interests of working people are not represented. He noted the use of court injunctions against pickets at Eastern and the arrests and frame-ups of strikers at Pittston Coal and the Greyhound bus company.

"Yes, the union has a representative on the creditors committee as a small voice. But it's not the union's interests that ever get addressed. What gets addressed are the interests of the owners of the wealth of this society, how to keep that wealth in the hands of the few and not of the many."

"That's how the decisions are made and that's who Shugrue — who is a government appointee — serves. The bankruptcy court is not impartial," Gannon continued. "Its job is to protect the wealth that Eastern represents, not to serve the interests of the strikers or of the flying public. It dumped Lorenzo because it didn't think he could protect the collective interests of the creditors any longer. The government intervened to do that."

Gannon noted that the experiences of the fight at Eastern, along with other important strikes like the one by miners at Pittston last year, is stimulating considerable discussion among workers about the challenges in front of the labor movement and how to become more effective fighters.

"Through the course of these experiences we have been sharpening some of our tools, relearning how to use a strike, how to build a picket line, raise funds, and get support. Solidarity has been won from around the world. People are still joining this battle," Gannon said.

"And solidarity is being extended to other fighters — at Greyhound and many local struggles like the strike of garment workers at Domsey in Brooklyn."

"The government intervention through the appointment of Shugrue shows we need some tools we didn't have going into this," the socialist said.

"We need to think about organizing a political voice, to see our participation in the world in a bigger way to prepare for the battles ahead — not just wait until they're forced on

us, forced down our throats, and we're forced out on the line."

Through fights like Eastern — where workers take on a Lorenzo and wind up facing the bosses as a class and their government — it's easier to see the need for a weapon to fight in the political arena, Gannon said.

"Fighting workers need to consider forging our own party so we can speak in our own interests and discuss among ourselves how to move forward and how to defend what we've won."

"The Democratic and Republican parties have not served our interests," Gannon stated. "They have not pressured Lorenzo, Shugrue, the bankruptcy judge, or the creditors to end the strike. It's from these parties that judges are elected or appointed and that the other current officeholders come."

"We need a labor party based on working people, based on our organizations, that comes out of struggles like the one at Eastern and that has a fighting perspective."

On the picket line at La Guardia, Gannon said, one flight attendant questioned this proposal, pointing to the weakness of the unions over the last decade. "But through the strike," he said, "we've learned that the unions become stronger as we realize that the union is us. We begin to take responsibility for it, to talk about it as 'we' and not 'it' or 'they.' Fighting unions like this need a political voice."

"A labor party would be a tool to take up issues raised by the courts or to challenge the U.S. attorney who stalled on prosecuting Eastern management for the crime of running an unsafe airline, endangering the flying public."

"A labor party could take up issues facing working people that are broader than just one union," Gannon said.

"One thing they keep going after are our health plans. But we're forced to negotiate the health of working people company by company, plant by plant, contract by contract."

"Health care should be a right for every person and everyone in the union movement knows it," the socialist said. "Millions of workers don't have any health coverage, especially if they don't belong to unions. This should be addressed in a broader arena, not just every time a contract comes up. A labor party could do this and take up the environment and other issues that affect all of us."

"And a labor party would be a way we could use to reach out to the world in a bigger way," Gannon explained. "The Eastern strikers continue to win solidarity from working people in many countries. And they continue to extend solidarity — to fighters in South Africa, for example." A labor party would fight for a foreign policy of working people, different than the foreign policy of the rulers of wealth in the world.

## LETTERS

### Thank you

I want to thank you for sending the *Militant* to me. I would like for it to stop because I am leaving to go home this week — July 19, 1990.

I hope that I can become a customer to the *Militant* out there in the streets of New York. I sincerely want to continue the growth of the news that has been given to me. I will call the business office to start my new subscription out there.

Thank you for everything.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

### Malcolm X

I've had your address for some time and was reading *Malcolm X Speaks* where he mentions your paper, a socialist weekly, as the best newspaper anywhere. This was on April 8, 1964, in a speech on the Black revolution at the Militant Labor Forum in New York.

On Jan. 7, 1965, he was again at the Militant Labor Forum, his third time. He said the *Militant* is one of the best papers in New York City, in fact, anywhere you go. He said he had seen it in Paris and Africa.

I got an address off a copy of the *Militant* here but never got a chance to read it. I am from New York but lived in New Orleans most of my life and then in California where I am in prison.

I am studying a lot of literature about Islam and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which Malcolm X had started before his death. I am reading most of his books and the books he read: Will Durant's *Story of Civilization*, H.G. Wells' *Outline of History*, W.E.B. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk*, Carter G. Woodson's *Negro History*, J.A. Rogers' *Sex and Race*, Gregor Mendel's *Findings in Genetics*, and the book by Frederick Olmsted.

I have been here since 1979 and some of the incidents Malcolm speaks about I see are still here in a strong sense. He was a very truthful man.

He was cut short of his goal for human rights. When he returned from Mecca, after seeing all kinds of Muslims of different colors and race, he said he would judge no man until he was guilty.

I would like more information about your newspaper. Sorry to go on like I did but I truly enjoy a righteous man like Malcolm X. All praise to Allah.

A prisoner  
Corcoran, California

### Reba Hansen

I was saddened to read in the *Militant* about the death of Reba Hansen. She and Joe set a fine example for me, and other young people, who came into the socialist movement in the 1940s and '50s.

May she be remembered with respect and affection.

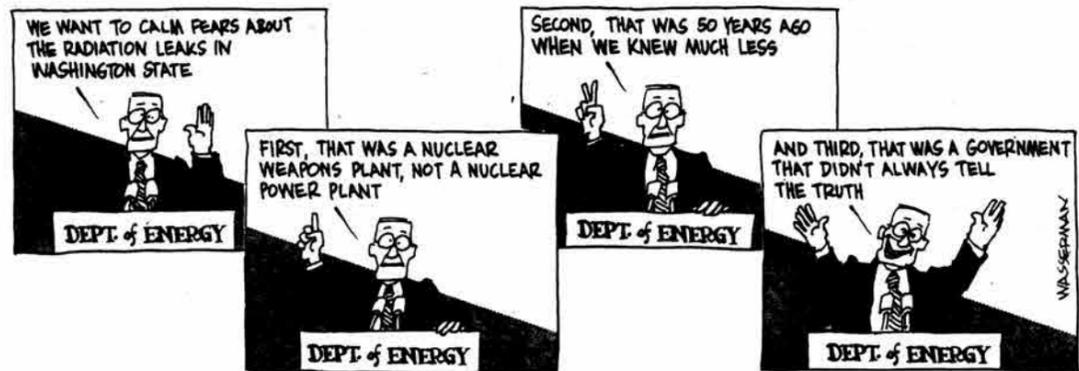
Perry Cartwright  
Woodridge, Illinois

### South Africa protests

July 7 marked the end of a week of actions across South Africa organized by the African National Congress protesting the killings in Natal Province and demanding that the police in KwaZulu be disbanded.

A coworker pointed out to me on July 2 that a strike was going on that would be a test of the support for the ANC because other political groups — the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organization — were opposing it.

Although the headline on a July 3 *New York Times* article minimized the action ("Thousands of South African Blacks stay off jobs"), a statement from the Congress of South



African Trade Unions is quoted as saying 3 million workers stayed off the job.

"In the next few days, our people throughout the country — in the factories, hostels, villages, mines, and townships — will be discussing the issue of Natal and embarking on local demonstrations of solidarity with the people of the region," the COSATU statement said.

Hope the *Militant* can give us more details.

Joanne Murphy  
Detroit, Michigan

### Fight for political space

In late June, during Nelson Mandela's North America tour, I put a large poster-size copy of the African National Congress Freedom Charter up on the lunchroom wall in the mill where I work. Coworkers helped put it up and we discussed the Charter and what it represents.

The next day we noticed the poster had been taken down. A discussion ensued about who might have done it. Everyone agreed that management was responsible and that they had no right to take it down.

When a foreman walked into the lunchroom, workers began to shout accusations at him. The foreman denied responsibility, proclaiming his support for the South African struggle. But workers pressed him

further, demanding to know who in management was responsible. The foreman quickly left.

After more discussion among the workers, we decided the union plant committee would raise this problem with upper-level management. Why, they asked, could Mandela get a standing ovation in the House of Commons in Ottawa, address the U.S. Congress, and meet world leaders, but we can't place on our lunchroom wall the ideas he spent more than 27 years in jail for?

The company denied responsibility for removal of the poster and said we could put up anything we want on the walls. We put up another copy of the Freedom Charter two weeks ago and there it remains — an example of how the anti-apartheid struggle can help workers fight to expand the political space we operate in.

Fred Nelson  
Vancouver, British Columbia

### Useful information

Presently I am incarcerated at the West Virginia Penitentiary. A friend of mine who works with Pathfinder books suggested that I apply for a prisoner subscription to the *Militant*. I feel the information will be very useful in the development of my own political consciousness as well as that of others.

In addition, along with the *Mili-*

*tant*, I request that you send me a copy of the *Burning Spear*, a newsletter associated with the African Peoples Socialist Party.

I'm not exactly sure how this institution will react to such material. However, I am willing to pursue the proper steps to receive these newsletters.

A prisoner  
Moundsville, West Virginia

### Inspiring paper

This week's *Militant* was a great inspiration. The "weekly feature" of Mandela's speeches is always educational. The review of the Socialist Workers Party convention was even more enlightening.

The SWP's unique view of the role of trade unions and of the status of Stalinism's collapse is the precious result of decades of determined struggle on behalf of the toilers of the world.

Nevin Siders  
Mexico City, Mexico

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.

## 300,000 protest in South Korea

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Hundreds of thousands surged into the streets of Seoul, the capital of South Korea, for a July 21 rally to protest the U.S.-backed regime of President Roh Tae Woo. It was the largest antigovernment action in nearly three years.

Workers, students, and professionals joined the protest, demanding greater democratic rights and new general elections. They chanted, "Down with Roh Tae Woo!" as huge air balloons floated overhead. Streamers inscribed with antigovernment slogans trailed from the balloons.

A police attack on a contingent of some

### The largest antigovernment action in nearly three years.

20,000 students following the rally led to an hour-long street battle.

The action was called by opposition political parties and popular organizations. They included the Party for Peace and Democracy headed by Kim Dae Jung, a well-known dissident; Democratic Party; Citizens Alliance; and Committee to Promote the Unity of the Opposition.

Speakers at the rally called for a united front against the Roh government, which they asserted has lost the public's confidence. "Let's strike while the iron is hot," Kim Dae Jung told the crowd. "We must form a new National Assembly and hold new general elections."

"Unification of all opposition forces is a call of the era," said Lee Ki Taek, a leader of the Democratic Party. "Let's make this moment the beginning of a new march for democracy." The day before the rally, the two political parties agreed to merge into a single opposition party by September.

Protests were also reported in other cities. In Kwangju, a city in the southern part of the country, riot police stormed Chonnam University to break up a rally by students and other dissidents.

### Economic crisis and instability

The political stability of Roh's regime is being shattered under the impact of double-digit inflation, sagging exports, and skyrocketing housing costs.

In April South Korea's stock market plunged to its lowest level in years. This angered investors who then vandalized brokerage houses and staged antigovernment demonstrations.

Government efforts over the past year to crush the formation of a national teachers' union and to prevent the establishment of a federation for unions independent of its control have stirred discontent. The jailings of several South Korean nationalists who visited the North have also been unpopular.

Workers launched strikes across the country at the beginning of May, demanding higher wages. Some 20,000 workers walked out at the Hyundai Heavy Industries shipyard in Ulsan. Others, ranging from steelworkers in Pohang to workers at the Korean Broadcasting System in Seoul, conducted job actions.

On May 9 thousands of students launched countrywide protests during the inaugural convention of the new ruling Democratic Liberal Party. Police attacked the students, firing round after round of tear gas, blanketing parts of Seoul for hours.

### Political coup d'état

Roh set up the DLP by engineering a merger last January of his ruling party with two former opposition parties. The goal was to achieve a commanding majority in the National Assembly, relegating it to a rubber stamp for the government's policies. Those who opposed the move called the merger a political coup d'état.

On July 23 all 79 remaining opposition

members of the National Assembly turned in their resignations, pressing the demand for new general elections. Opposition forces are also demanding local elections. Mayors and provincial governors are appointed by the national government.

The July 21 rally and the resignations were triggered by the DLP ramming through the National Assembly 26 bills in 30 seconds in early July. No debate was allowed.

"Three significant laws were included among the 26 bills," Kiyul Chung said in a telephone interview on July 24. Chung is the International Secretary of the International Committee for Peace and Reunification of Korea and is based in Washington, D.C.

Two of the new laws guarantee the government's control over the mass media and make it illegal for nongovernmental organizations and groups to pursue the issue of Korean reunification with the government or groups in the North, he said.

A third law restructures the military to facilitate the joint U.S. command that governs South Korea's 600,000 troops. More than 45,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea.

"These laws completely violate freedom of speech and expose the so-called democratic system in South Korea as one full of hypocrisy," Chung said. "The opposition parties were forced into doing something as a last resort, to show parliament is unworkable."

The government's action also shows that it has "no intention of allowing the effort for the reunification of Korea" to proceed, he said.

Korea was divided when U.S. troops occupied the South in September 1945, right after World War II ended. From 1950-53 U.S. troops under the United Nations flag attempted to occupy the North. But North Korean and Chinese troops pushed U.S. forces back to a line near the 38th parallel. No peace treaty was ever signed to end the Korean War.

On July 5 the government in Pyongyang in the North announced that it would perma-

nently open the border at the town of Panmunjom on August 15, the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese occupation forces. The North Korean government said it viewed the measure as a practical step toward the reunification of the country and called on South Korea to reciprocate.

The initiative came two days after Pyongyang and Seoul announced that their prime ministers would be meeting on September 1 to discuss military and political issues to ease tensions on the peninsula.

A pan-Korean conference called by the South Korean organization Chonminryon, the Coalition for a National Democratic Movement, has been scheduled for August 15 in Panmunjom to discuss reunification issues. A cross-Korea march has also been called. The opening of the border means that full representation from nongovernmental organizations on both sides could be possible.

On July 20 Roh announced that his government would open the border on a trial basis for five days beginning August 15. Lee Hong Koo, Roh's advisor, said the South Korean cabinet would meet to translate Roh's announcement of "free, unrestricted, and unconditional exchange" into a regulated program for a limited number of people. He claimed that individual political beliefs would not be a criterion for approved travel. Unauthorized travel to the North is a pun-



Workers at the Hyundai Heavy Industry shipyard in Ulsan, South Korea, during their strike last May.

ishable crime, and there has been no indication that the government in Seoul will lift the legal sanctions.

A July 21 statement from Pyongyang challenged Seoul to abolish laws prohibiting travel to the North, tear down the massive concrete wall it built at the border several years ago, and open the border permanently. It called for the release of prisoners jailed for traveling to the North.

## S. Korean teachers fight government repression, demand union rights

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — "Teachers in South Korea suffer not only deprivation of the fundamental human rights, but also an unimaginable extent of government persecution," Kim Nam Sun told a July 16 press conference here.

Kim is the vice-president of Chunkyojo, the Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union, and is currently touring several North American cities to win support for the labor organization. She is accompanied by the union's deputy secretary-general, Kim Hyun Jun, and its international affairs adviser, Phee Jung Sun.

The American Federation of Teachers in the United States has extended support to the Korean union, as have some other local teachers' unions and officials. The members of the Chunkyojo delegation were guests at the recent AFT national convention.

Since its founding in May 1989, Chunkyojo has faced stiff repression by South Korean authorities. Riot police arrested some 1,000 delegates at the union's founding conference. After moving the meeting to another location, however, teachers declared the organization's formation.

By the end of June 1989, Chunkyojo organizers had established chapters in 600 schools and regional branches in 15 regions, despite harassment by principals, police, and thugs. More than 20,000 members were recruited to membership out of the country's 300,000 primary, middle, and high school teachers, even though the government de-

clared the union illegal.

Since then more than 1,600 teachers have been fired and 87 have been jailed. Others have been forced to quit the union. The union has weathered the repression and today claims 15,000 members and 32,000 supporting members. Recent opinion polls show that 90 percent of all teachers and 62 percent of the general public support the union, but the government still refuses to recognize or negotiate with it.

Kim Nam Sun reported that many fired teachers have become full-time organizers for the union and that hundreds of thousands of students have participated in support protests.

### No academic freedom

"Our country's educational system is under government control," she explained. There is no academic freedom or independence for teachers. "The Ministry of Education fires or disciplines teachers for teaching outside the curriculum," she said. "There is no place in the classroom to teach objective realities of everyday life."

In South Korea, part of that reality is the 35 percent of the country's budget spent on the military, Kim said. "These funds should go to education." She described how teachers are only allowed to teach 24 hours each week to classrooms averaging 60 pupils each. "With the \$20 billion spent on keeping the U.S. military in Korea, we could provide free education through college for everyone," she said.

The South Korean government uses teachers as "a means to propagandize," Kim said. "If we have a union we can stop this. What the government fears most is that if teachers teach the truth, then students will become critical."

Chunkyojo is fighting for democratic, humanistic, and nationalistic education, the union leader said. "We strongly support the reunification of Korea." The problems of teachers, students, and education "will be resolved when we attain democracy, are reunified, and can govern ourselves. Then we will be part of the fight for a just world," she said.

Because of repressive laws in South Korea, Kim could face persecution when she returns to her country for her remarks and appeals for solidarity, tour organizers said.

Both Kims will wind up their U.S. visit with stops in the San Francisco area on July 27 and 28, and in Los Angeles July 29-August 2.

Solidarity messages or contributions to support families of fired and imprisoned teachers can be sent to Chunkyojo, Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union, Daeyong Bldg. 3F 121-115, Dangsandong 6ka, Youngdeungpo-ku, Seoul, Korea.

Copies of messages should be sent to the Korea Information and Resource Center, 1314 14th Street NW, Suite 5, Washington, D.C. 20005. For more information about the tour, call the Korea Information and Resource Center at (202) 387-2984.