

Campaign against war drive

Washington is accelerating preparations for war in Mideast



Antiwar protest on October 20 in San Francisco. Some 5,000 people demonstrated.

The following statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party was released by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes November 1.

Working people, students and other youth, unionists on strike, and everyone resisting the employers unremitting assault; GIs, reservists, and veterans; farmers; and all opponents of U.S. military intervention around the world must put at the center of their political activity campaigning against the horrendous war Washington, London, Paris, and their allies are preparing in the Middle East.

We can have no illusions. The war preparations are now accelerating.

All those who oppose the coming war should seek to organize more actions like the October 20 demonstrations that drew thousands of antiwar fighters into the streets. Millions saw them on TV demanding: Bring the troops home now! U.S. out of the Mideast! Let the oil monopolies fight their own wars!

Educational meetings, picket lines, and other events are a crucial part of mobilizing the broadest numbers possible against the bipartisan march toward war — a war that would result in massive slaughter on a scale not seen since the U.S.-organized wars

against Korea and Vietnam.

Every anti-apartheid event, demonstration for Korean reunification, and meeting to defend the Cuban revolution can address the need for such mobilizations and educate on why the imperialist war drive is at the center of world politics.

At the center of this effort is selling newspapers and pamphlets that offer the facts on the war preparations — on its roots and its implications for working people — to co-workers, students, social protest activists, to workers and youth wherever they gather.

The U.S. government and its imperialist allies are not backing off their demands on the government of Iraq. They are closing the doors to any peaceful resolution. This course has been put in motion with the backing of the Soviet government and other Warsaw Pact regimes and many governments of capitalist semicolonial countries in the Mideast and elsewhere in the world.

The Oct. 29, 1990, United Nations resolution demanding Iraq pay war reparations to Kuwait and other countries is another step in the drive toward war in the Arab-Persian Gulf region. Like many other resolutions passed by the Security Council since the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, it provides cover for the bloody war being prepared against the peoples of the Gulf region.

The government of Cuba has been the only member of the UN to consistently and forcefully raise its voice — both in the UN and elsewhere — against Washington's military moves and to point to their devastating implications. Cuba's representatives voted against the criminal blockade of food and medicine to Iraq and Kuwait and the denial of basic necessities to hundreds of thousands of immigrants who worked in Iraq and Kuwait prior to August 2.

From the start Cuba took a principled stand against the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces as a violation of Kuwaiti sovereignty, while keeping a spotlight on the steps being taken by Washington and its allies, who are

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Antiwar fighters need 'Militant'

BY RONI McCANN

Supporters of the *Militant* who are on an eight-week drive to win thousands of new readers to the socialist press are putting campaigning against the coming U.S. war in the Mideast at the heart of the sales effort. They are using the publications to build activities, educate about, and encourage participation in events opposing Washington's war drive.

Selling subscriptions to the *Militant*, along with copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, helps arm working people, trade unionists, students, and others with the truth about the threatened U.S. war and high stakes involved for all of humanity.

This is because the *Militant* presents a clear explanation of the facts about the war drive, and a broader view and analysis of the world in which Washington is preparing for war. The *Militant* helps to organize and mobilize people against the war and offers po-

litical direction on a weekly basis.

A special sales target week began October 20, the day national and international protests against the U.S. war drive were held. Results of that effort show that the best way to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière*, and sell copies of the Marxist journals *New Internationalist* and *Nouvelle Internationale* is by placing the U.S. drive toward war and the coming economic depression at the heart of discussions with workers and young people — on the

picket lines, at factories and mine portals, on college campuses, at antiwar meetings, and at workplaces.

Throughout the target week, supporters in a number of cities took big steps forward in the circulation drive and are now organizing to make their goals by November 17.

Supporters in Salt Lake City and Price, Utah, kicked off their target week by fielding five regional teams that, together with regular Saturday sales, won 35 new subscribers. On

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Eastern strikers get warm response

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

NEW YORK — On October 27, motorists traveling along the expressway that passes by La Guardia Airport here were treated to the following message: "Don't Fly Eastern" and "Eastern strikers support *Daily*

News strikers." Some 50 Eastern strikers and supporters from other unions staged a "human billboard" on the 94th Street bridge that passes over the eight-lane expressway near the airport.

Solidarity with workers at the New York *Daily News* who had been locked out by the bosses and forced on strike just two days before was a prominent feature of the action.

Hundreds showed their support for the Eastern battle by honking their car horns, waving their fists, or flashing the "thumbs-up" sign. This outpouring of solidarity was met by cheers from the strikers as they raised their fists in reply.

Later, the unionists and friends marched to the Eastern terminal for a walk through the airport to make their presence known. Wearing red strike T-shirts, and chanting "Don't fly Eastern" they passed by the nearly empty ticket counter. Almost no passengers were to be seen, illustrating the continued inability of the carrier to attract customers.

On strike for over 600 days, the cleaners, ramp workers, mechanics, and other members of the International Association of Machinists at Eastern continue to press their fight for jobs and a contract.

Although this was not the first human billboard organized by IAM Local 1018, many of the strikers remarked that solidarity from people passing by was the strongest yet. Nearly everyone agreed the battle that recently opened up over the union-busting ef-

forts of the bosses at the *Daily News*, and the immediate linking up between the two strikes, was largely responsible for the highly favorable response.

Following the airport activity, about a dozen Eastern strikers and others piled into the union's van and other cars to form a caravan to the *Daily News* picket lines in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Over the last 10 months, Eastern strikers and unionists at the *Daily News* have joined in common activities and rallies. On the first night of the *Daily News* strike, a contingent of Eastern strikers marched with a banner to the picket line at the printing plant in Brooklyn. Their display of solidarity received sustained cheers.

A similarly warm response was offered the car caravan of Eastern strikers when they arrived at the *Daily News* picket lines following the airport action. Ideas and suggestions were exchanged between the unionists as they discussed how to strengthen their respective strikes.

Striking Machinists in the New York area are planning more activities over the next few weeks. An expanded picket line has been scheduled for November 1 to protest Eastern's start-up of additional flights at the airport in Newark. In addition, a major fundraising benefit sponsored by the New York Central Labor Council is planned for December 7.

Curtis attorney questions cops

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — On October 29 attorney George Eichhorn questioned six police officers under oath in a federal civil rights lawsuit filed against the city of Des Moines and the police by Mark Curtis.

Curtis, a unionist and political activist here, was arrested March 4, 1988, and was framed up on rape and burglary charges by police. Just prior to his arrest, he had been involved in defending coworkers — 16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran — arrested during an immigration raid at the Swift meat-packing plant where he worked.

After his arrest Curtis was taken to city jail, denied an attorney, and stripped naked. Police officers cursed at and beat him, calling him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds." He suffered a fractured cheekbone, a cut under his eye requiring 15 stitches, and bruises all over his body.

Following the beating, the cops took Curtis

to the hospital. After he was treated, they told him to walk back to the ambulance to be returned to jail. When he complained of nausea, the officers told him to keep walking. He became sick and threw up.

Once back in jail, Curtis was thrown naked into a cell and kept there overnight. There were no towels, bedding, or furniture in the room.

Civil rights suit filed

On May 5, 1989, Eichhorn and attorney William Kutmus, filed a lawsuit in federal court charging the city and the police with beating Curtis and violating his constitutional rights. It asks the court to award Curtis \$300,000 in damages.

The suit specifically names police officers Daniel Dusenbery and Charles Wolf as participants in the beating. Other "John Doe" officers, whose names were not known when the suit was filed, are also named.

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On Swedish tour, Tablada explains challenges for Cuba

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN

MALMÖ, Sweden — Some 140 people turned out to hear Cuban economist Carlos Tablada at the Folkets Hus here October 24. Tablada, author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, is on six-week European tour sponsored by his publisher, Pathfinder Press.

The Cuban author was welcomed to Malmö by Mia Ernudd from the Sweden-Cuba Friendship Society. "During this time of very intense anti-Cuban propaganda in the mass media," she said, "we think it is very important that Cuba's voice is heard."

Tablada conducted countrywide speaking tours of Canada in 1989 and the United States earlier this year. He recently concluded a three-country tour in South America. His presentations cover the course advocated by Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution murdered in Bolivia in 1967, and how Guevara's economic and political concepts relate to the political challenges facing Cuba today. Tablada explains why Cuba has survived in the face of 30 years of aggression by the United States and why the revolution is stronger today — playing a role far greater than its size in world politics.

'Failure of socialism'

Tablada challenges those who proclaim the failure of socialism. "When Che Guevara, who had been given responsibility for organizing the economy, visited Eastern Europe," he explained at the Malmö meeting. "He saw that many problems that we and other Third World countries had were solved there. But he also came back convinced that we should not use the same economic model. It was not in line with the way we had made the revolution or started to organize our society."

"But in the middle of the 1970s, during the biggest worldwide recession in the capitalist countries since the war, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union increased their gross national product by 4 percent," Tablada said. "Some people began to ask: Why not apply the same economic model? They won the majority in the leadership."

"So we started copying. We copied the bad sides, and we copied the good sides in a bad way," he said. "This led to the bureaucracy growing to 240,000 — in a country of 10 million."

Tablada pointed out that while the Cuban economy continued to develop, "we stopped building new hospitals, day-care centers, and schools."

"Apart from this," he said, "the working

class was being corrupted; the managers of the companies were being corrupted; ministers and generals were being corrupted."

"In this situation humanity came to our aid," Tablada explained. "And we are grateful to them for this. The human solidarity that was breaking down on the economic plan found a place where it could develop." The economist explained that 300,000 Cuban volunteers went to Africa to fight to defend Angola against the South African apartheid regime. Another 150,000 Cubans have served as doctors and teachers in Third World countries.

This period "showed that Che and Fidel [Cuban President Fidel Castro] were right," Tablada said. "The way we were going, the United States wouldn't have had to fire a single shot. We would have lost our revolution; we would have lost socialism; and we would have lost our nationality. They would have annexed us, like they have annexed Puerto Rico."

Tablada explained Cuba's "rectification of errors" that was begun in the mid-1980s and continues to this day. "During the last four years we have given power back to the people," he said. "Right now we are reducing the number of party functionaries by 50 percent and the state functionaries by 40 percent to 60 percent."

"What will happen to all these people?" he said. "They will feel a lot better. Most of these people have a profession. They are teachers or engineers. Now they can go back to their profession and do something useful."

Tablada fielded questions from the audience after his presentation. Many focused on the current economic situation in Cuba and



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Cuban economist and author Carlos Tablada, second from right, at October 25 meeting in Lund, Sweden. He is on a six-week European tour sponsored by his publisher, Pathfinder.

the difficulties created by the economic problems facing the country's trading partners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"We have three goals to deal with the special situation we are facing. The food program aims to make us self-sufficient by 1995. We are developing industries to replace imports. And we are developing export industries to generate hard currency," Tablada said. "Because of our social programs over the last few years, we have the schools, hospitals, and day-care centers we need. We can manage for some years to come without building more."

Tablada's tour of Sweden will also take him to Lund, Stockholm, Gothenburg, Umeå, and Uppsala. In addition he is traveling to

the Faeroe Islands, Norway, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland. He will then return to Britain, where he began his European tour. He is an invited speaker at a major conference in London on the Third World debt in early December.

In addition to Pathfinder, a number of prominent individuals and academic institutions, as well as Cuba friendship societies in the countries he is visiting, are sponsoring Tablada's tour.

After the meeting here participants purchased 10 copies of Tablada's book in English and Spanish, along with several copies of the pamphlet *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Guevara, published in Swedish by Pathfinder.

Unionists fight felony charges after strike

BY DOUG HORD
AND LUCILLE ROBBINS

FAIRMONT, West Virginia — "I still believe in unions. Poor folks, like most of the folks in this room, would have nothing without unions," International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) member Leland Ramsey, Jr. said in his concluding remarks at his trial here.

Last spring Ramsey and eight other members of IUE Local 756 were hit with trumped up felony charges stemming from a company-provoked confrontation in the local's strike against Asplundh Tree Expert Company.

Sixty supporters broke into cheers and applause when the judge gave Ramsey a suspended sentence with probation. On August 1 Ramsey was convicted of assaulting an Asplundh foreman.

Supporters in the courtroom included family members, fellow strikers, and unionists from several IUE and United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) locals in the area. The Daughters of Mother Jones and the vice-president of IUE Local 161, from Virginia, also attended.

Four Local 756 members still face charges. They include William Ramsey, Sr., and Brad Thompson, both of whom traveled to the IUE

International convention in early September in Detroit. IUE President William Bywater introduced Thompson to the assembled delegates at the convention's opening session.

"The whole labor movement in our area is on trial," Thompson explained. "The Machinists at Eastern who are kicking the biggest union-buster in the country — Frank Lorenzo — out of the airline industry are on trial. The coal miners who fought Pittston to a standstill and emerged victorious with a decent contract are on trial."

Contributions for the defense case can be sent to IUE Local 756 Ladies Auxiliary, Rte. 9 Box 202, Fairmont, West Virginia 26554.

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UN camouflages U.S. war moves in Gulf

The following is the second in a two-part review of the new Pathfinder pamphlet, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations: Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón on the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict and Washington's War Moves*. The pamphlet contains each resolution on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis adopted by the United Nations Security Council in August and September, together with the statements regarding these measures by representatives of the government of Cuba.

BY STEVE CLARK

As the pamphlet shows, the U.S. government has utilized the United Nations Security Council to camouflage the fact that the massive war mobilization against the Iraqi people has been engineered by Washington from the outset. Credence has been lent to this fakery by the council's four other permanent members — the governments of Britain, France,

The Allied imperialist regimes of the United States, Britain, and France had emerged victorious over the Axis imperialist governments of Germany, Japan, and Italy. And despite the reactionary course of the Stalinist regime in Moscow, also part of the Allied coalition, the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union — at the cost of many millions of lives — had turned back the onslaught by German imperialism aimed at subjugating them once again to direct capitalist exploitation.

As the Allied powers neared victory in April 1945, the UN was set up at a conference in San Francisco to give a stamp of legitimacy to the postwar international status quo. Prior to that gathering, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin had met in Yalta in the Soviet Union to divvy up the world into spheres of influence. Behind closed doors, the national self-determination of peoples and countries and the interests of workers and farmers the world over were trampled into the dust.

The peoples of Korea and Vietnam, who were winning liberation from Japanese imperialist domination, were denied the fruits of their victories; Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill agreed to tear Korea in half at the 38th parallel, and endorsed the French colonial reconquest of Indochina. The "Big Three," as they were known at the time, also dismembered Germany and Austria against the will of the people of those countries and moved boundaries throughout Central and Eastern Europe to serve the needs of the victorious imperialist ruling classes and privileged bureaucratic caste that dominated the Soviet workers state.

These three powerful governments were the true "United Nations" at its birth. Their mutual veto privileges in the Security Council established a framework in which they could continue — as they had done throughout the war — to advance their common interests, while blocking each other where their interests diverged.

Subsequently the initial Big Three was expanded to a Big Five, including the



Patrice Lumumba, leader of the independence struggle in the Congo, held by pro-U.S. government forces in 1960 following dispatch of UN-sponsored troops to the country.

governments of France and China. In the latter case, the government of Taiwan held China's UN seat until 1971, when the People's Republic of China was admitted to the UN. (Following the 1949 Chinese revolution, the forces of the former rightist U.S.-backed regime fled to the island of Taiwan, where they declared themselves China's true government. For more than a quarter century Washington backed this so-called Republic of China's claim to the UN seat, and blocked the Chinese government's admission.)

Korean War

Despite Stalin's best efforts to extend the wartime alliance with U.S. imperialism indefinitely, Washington had other needs. In the aftermath of the war, imperialist interests were challenged by workers and farmers in substantial portions of Europe, as well as in China, Korea, Vietnam, and elsewhere. The

prime concern of the U.S. rulers was to preserve imperialist domination and capitalist property relations in face of these struggles.

In the introduction to the new Pathfinder pamphlet, Mary-Alice Waters briefly explains how Washington took advantage of miscalculations by the Soviet government to advance imperialist goals under the pretense of Security Council action.

"Forty years ago," Waters explains, "Washington used UN cover to organize what was in fact a U.S. invasion of Korea to maintain the partition of that country in violation of the national rights of the Korean people. The division had been established by joint agreement of the U.S. and Soviet governments at the end of World War II."

"In 1950, in a series of resolutions pushed through the Security Council by the U.S. delegation," the introduction says, "the Unit-

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IN REVIEW

the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China — which have unanimously backed each one of the U.S.-initiated resolutions.

The Security Council's prominence throughout this mammoth military buildup has prompted discussion about the political character and aims of the UN.

"Since the United Nations was born," Cuba's UN ambassador Ricardo Alarcón said during a Security Council debate August 9, "we have seen how certain great powers have sought to use the Council as a tool for their own strategic interests rather than as a body working for the maintenance of international peace and security." He pointed to the Security Council's decisions on the Iraq-Kuwait situation and U.S. war moves as a clear-cut example.

'Mechanism for international peace'?

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze also addressed this question when he was in New York recently to take part in several UN sessions. Speaking before the Security Council September 25, Shevardnadze pointed to its handling of the Middle East situation as confirmation "that the United Nations has assumed the role intended for it when it was founded, the transformation of the Security Council into an effective mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Earlier that same day, addressing the General Assembly, the Soviet foreign minister warned the Iraqi government that "the United Nations has the power to suppress acts of aggression" and suggested that the Security Council might find it necessary to establish a "rapid response force" composed of units "designated by different countries, including all five permanent members of the Security Council."

Contrary to Shevardnadze's assertion, however, the United Nations has never been a mechanism — "effective" or otherwise — for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Of course, that is how Washington and other imperialist powers seek to present the UN. But, as Cuban President Fidel Castro explained in a December 1988 speech, we "know how imperialism can conceive of peace. Imperialism developed its armed forces for world domination; it has military bases in every corner of the earth, powerful naval and air fleets, millions of soldiers. Imperialism's military conception was designed to impose its order on the world, to impose its peace, like the one called *Pax Romana* in ancient times."

That is why, Castro explained, "There are two types of survival and two types of peace: survival for the rich and survival for the poor, peace for the rich and peace for the poor. . . . As long as injustice prevails in the world, as long as neocolonialist and imperialist oppression exists in the world, as long as plundering exists, there will be two types of survival and two types of peace."

Post-World War II status quo

The United Nations — like its predecessor the League of Nations, which Lenin and other leaders of the Russian Revolution condemned as a "Thieves' Kitchen" — was established on the basis of the outcome of a bloody interimperialist war.

Young Socialists to sell new antiwar pamphlet

BY SELVA NEBBIA

The Young Socialist Alliance has joined an international campaign to promote the new Pathfinder pamphlet, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* by Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón.

"This will be part of our campaign to participate in, champion, and build antiwar actions around the country," said Aaron Ruby, national chairperson of the YSA.

Organized in cities across the United States, the YSA is a revolutionary youth organization of students, young workers, and other youth. Its members are involved in antiwar activities and participated in protests across the United States October 20.

"Since the onset of the crisis in the Middle East, one world power — Cuba — has consistently spoken out against Washington's war preparations," an October 29 press release by Pathfinder Press of New York said, announcing the publication of the pamphlet.

The pamphlet includes statements made by Ricardo Alarcón, the Cuban ambassador at the UN, and by Cuban President Fidel Castro during the course of the Mideast crisis. The full text of each resolution passed by the UN Security Council through September 25 on the Mideast conflict is also included.

"This pamphlet is aimed at the peoples of the world," said Ruby. "Alarcón and Castro are talking to everyone who wants to learn about and fight against the war. Young people will use it at school, in the workplace, and at coalition meetings that are springing up all over the country to organize opposition to the war."

Ruby pointed to the rallies and teach-ins that have been taking place nonstop on U.S. campuses since the Gulf buildup. "These meetings and actions draw from a few dozen to hundreds of young people who are outraged about the war. They don't believe the U.S. government's military intervention is in their interests and are thirsty for information and arguments against the war."

"Many young people are repulsed by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, but clearly recognize the massive U.S. military deployment in the Mideast represents a grave threat to

the peoples there and here," Ruby said.

Members of the YSA are participating with others in the many coalitions being organized on campuses to build antiwar activities. "There is a coalition in the greater New York-Northern New Jersey-Connecticut area that meets regularly at Manhattan's Hunter College," said Ruby. West Virginia State University students organized a speak-out against the war, and a recent teach-in at Columbia University in New York drew 400.

The Progressive Student Network and other student groups have called for protest actions in the Midwest on December 8.

In the Cleveland area, a dozen of those who regularly attend coalition meetings have bought the pamphlet. "We are selling this booklet all over the place," said one activist. "On street corners, at meetings against the U.S. war in the Persian Gulf; at Kent State, Oberlin and Hiram Colleges; at planning meetings for the upcoming tour of Cuban

diplomat Clinton Adlum — everywhere. Next week we plan to take it to the Palestinian mosques in Cleveland," he said.

Since the new antiwar pamphlet arrived in California October 20, Joel Britton, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor there and his campaign supporters have been promoting it at a number of events, including at a meeting of a coalition for peace in the Gulf which attracted 400 people, mainly Arab groups in Los Angeles.

The material that appears in *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* has received little coverage in the major U.S. media, Pathfinder's editors explained in the release.

"The YSA wants to encourage everyone to read this pamphlet," said Ruby, "as they participate in the coalitions to build protest activities. What we do now is a factor that Washington will have to take into account as it deepens its drive toward war."

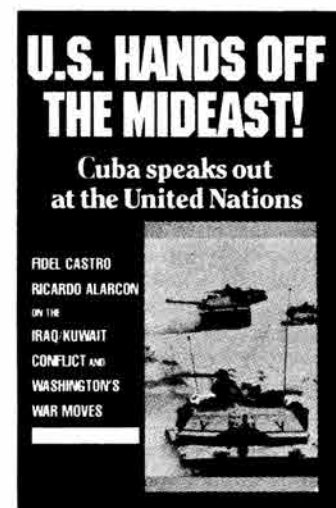
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UN Security Council action: 'One more step toward war'

Cuba's representative speaks on new UN resolution on Iraq

The following remarks were made by Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's permanent representative to the United Nations, during the October 29 UN Security Council deliberations on Resolution 674 (1990).

Representatives of the governments of Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States — the five permanent members of the Security Council with veto power — voted in favor of the resolution. Eight of the 10 nonpermanent members also voted in favor. Representatives of the governments of Cuba and Yemen, both serving two-year terms on the Security Council, did not vote for the resolution.

Since the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait Aug. 2, 1990, the Security Council has adopted 10 resolutions concerning the conflict. Eight of them are available, along with Alarcón's speeches to the council, in a new pamphlet, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* published by Pathfinder (see ad on page 3).

Coming after several days of stepped-up public statements by top officials of the governments of the United States, Canada, and Britain threatening an invasion of Iraq, Alarcón called the resolution "one more step toward war."

On October 25 the Bush administration announced it was sending an additional 100,000 troops to the Middle East to bolster the 240,000 already in or on their way to the region. U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said the additional forces were needed because Iraqi forces are "dug in in a very permanent looking sort of way . . . and we think that it's necessary to make certain that we've got the forces over there to deal with any contingency."

William Webster, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, added that he believed the sanctions against Iraq were having little effect on the country. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein must be removed from power and the Iraqi military disarmed in order for the U.S. government to achieve its goals, Webster said.

In a speech to the Canadian Parliament on October 25, Canada's Minister of External Affairs Joseph Clark said the Canadian government was ready to join a military offensive against Iraq without awaiting UN approval.

So far, the Canadian government has sent three naval ships, a squadron of CF-18 fighters, and 1,700 troops to the Gulf region.

"This is not a movie; this is a situation where war is possible," Clark later told an audience at the University of Western Ontario. "There will be thousands of casualties . . . and we should not rule out the possibility that young Canadian soldiers will not return to this country for celebration but will stay there for burial."

Alarcón's remarks are taken from a transcript of the simultaneous translation provided by the UN. The translation has been checked against the Spanish and edited by the *Militant*.

* * *

In recent days, the members of the Security Council have been bogged down in long discussions on substance and form. We have gone around in circles in an endless squabble over preambles, operative parts, and their various possible combinations. We have done much juggling with letters, numbers, and asterisks. In the meantime, the government of the United States announced the dispatch of another 100,000 soldiers to the region we are discussing. The leaders of the U.S. administration and Congress were openly discussing how to begin the military attack, whether or not there would be a declaration of war, whether authorization would be requested from the Senate or whether the Senate would merely be consulted, and whether the council would in some manner be used for that stated purpose.

Some people may have been surprised that the Security Council was absent from that external debate. They would have been surprised if they recalled the terms of paragraph four of Resolution 665 (1990), which this council adopted two months ago:

"Further requests the states concerned to coordinate their actions in pursuit of the above paragraphs of this resolution using, as appropriate, mechanisms of the Military Staff Committee, and, after consultation with the secretary-general, to submit reports to the Security Council and its committee established under Resolution 661 (1990) to facilitate the monitoring of the implementation

of this resolution."

One might have imagined that this very substantial increase in military forces — which, it is claimed, is in keeping with the council resolution I have just cited — had something to do with monitoring the implementation of that resolution. One might have also imagined that the council's members — two months after the adoption of Resolution 665 (1990), when we are witnessing ongoing discussions on television as to how the war might begin, who would authorize it, and how the decision would be made — might have received at least the first of the reports that they had sought in the resolution. The entire council, legally speaking, had decided that such reports would be submitted since it was presumed that this body would constantly monitor the implementation of the resolution.

No doubt, we should be grateful to the representative of the United States for the courtesy and caution he has maintained to avoid diverting the attention of members of the council from the important metaphysical disquisitions that took up so much of our time in recent days.

The outcome of those negotiations was the resolution the council adopted a few moments ago. In this regard, my delegation would like to make a few comments.

To begin with, it seems obvious that Kuwait has the right to claim compensation for loss and damage caused as a result of the invasion and occupation of its territory. This council has already formulated, and repeated, its view as to who is the aggressor and who is the victim. There was, therefore, no need for another council resolution to affirm the inherent rights of the victim of aggression — in this case Kuwait.

But that is not really the intention behind the resolution that has just been adopted. In my delegation's view, the purpose is to delay a settlement of the conflict in the region and to make the mission of the secretary-general more difficult. More than once today we have heard about the circumstances of last Saturday and reference to the prudent decision of all of us to wait a few days before taking a vote on this text. One would have to wonder whether there is any relationship between the vote on

this resolution and some efforts involving good offices and peace efforts. One might also wonder how the council interprets its own action in deciding today to adopt a resolution that, among other things, requests the secretary-general to undertake similar efforts.

In our opinion, this text, in addition, seeks to give the Security Council certain tasks that do not fall within its purview and at the same time to prevent the council from discharging certain obligations that it does have. First and foremost, it should be pointed out that Chapter VII of the Charter, under which the resolution is adopted, does not give the Security Council any authority whatsoever with respect to legal issues or issues that should be determined by courts of law. Neither that chapter nor any chapter of the Charter grants such functions to the Security Council.

The Security Council, under the Charter, does not have court powers to make decisions on liability or to determine compensation or restitution. The only reference in the Charter to such matters appears in Article 92, which quite clearly defines the International Court of Justice as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The only reference in the entire Charter to the issue of compensation or restitution is to be found in Article 36 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

Powers of Security Council

In this regard, I hope that we all remember that this statute is an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations. In case there are any doubts about the competence and functions of the various organs created by the Charter — the Charter does not confer upon the council any authority to decide upon or to even discuss the functions and powers of respective organs. These are powers clearly conferred upon the General Assembly, as is explicitly stated in Article 10 of the San Francisco Charter, which, dealing with the powers of the General Assembly, says that the assembly may discuss questions "relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter."

In addition, one would have to ask what specific powers the council is giving itself under the terms of operative paragraph two of Resolution 674 (1990) regarding the collating of substantiated information following alleged "grave breaches by Iraq as per its paragraph one above" and the calls on states to provide that information.

What will the council do with that information? What powers has it taken upon itself? Are we turning ourselves into a court of law, despite the fact that the Charter tells us that we are not the ones who have this responsibility?

There are references to international law in paragraphs eight and nine of Resolution 674 (1990) — and that is contradictory, since, as we understand it, the Charter and the Statute of the Court are part of international law. It could also be inferred from these paragraphs that we have some powers to make decisions about liability and responsibility for compensation and restitution "as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq."

The "result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait" is a concept that can have many interpretations. Does it perhaps mean that Iraq is judged to bear the responsibility and that Iraq should have to shoulder the cost of the military deployment by some powers in the Gulf region? Does it mean that Iraq exclusively bears responsibility for damages — related to the crisis or to the decisions adopted by the council to deal with the crisis — that affect third states? Given the wording of the resolution, it could be interpreted this way. Does it mean that the Security Council will not shoulder its responsibilities under Article 50 of the Charter?

Might it be the reason why in the first paragraph of the preamble to this text — in which a number of resolutions are recalled, starting with Resolution 660 (1990), all of which refer to this conflict — mention is not made of Resolution 669 (1990), the only

Text of UN Security Council resolution

The following excerpt of United Nations Resolution 674 (1990) is taken from a text provided by the UN press office.

The Security Council,

1. demands that the Iraqi authorities and occupying forces immediately cease and desist from taking third-state nationals hostage, mistreating and oppressing Kuwaiti and third-state nationals, and any other actions, such as those reported to the Security Council and described above, that violate the decisions of this council, the Charter of the United Nations, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, and international law;

2. invites states to collate substantiated information in their possession or submitted to them on the grave breaches by Iraq as per paragraph one above and to make this information available to the Security Council;

3. reaffirms its demand that Iraq immediately fulfill its obligations to third-state nationals in Kuwait and Iraq, including the personnel of diplomatic and consular missions, under the Charter, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, general principles of international law, and the relevant resolutions of the council;

4. also reaffirms its demand that Iraq permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Kuwait and Iraq of those third-state nationals, including diplomatic and

consular personnel, who wish to leave;

5. demands that Iraq ensure the immediate access to food, water, and basic services necessary to the protection and well-being of Kuwaiti nationals and of nationals of third states in Kuwait and Iraq, including the personnel of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait;

6. reaffirms its demand that Iraq immediately protect the safety and well-being of diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait and in Iraq, take no action to hinder these diplomatic and consular missions in the performance of their functions, including access to their nationals and the protection of their person and interests, and rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the withdrawal of the immunity of their personnel;

7. requests the secretary-general, in the context of the continued exercise of his good offices concerning the safety and well-being of third-state nationals in Iraq and Kuwait, to seek to achieve the objectives of paragraphs four, five, and six above and in particular the provision of food, water, and basic services to Kuwaiti nationals and to the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the evacuation of third-state nationals;

8. reminds Iraq that under international law it is liable for any loss, damage, or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third states, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation

of Kuwait by Iraq;

9. invites states to collect relevant information regarding their claims, and those of their nationals and corporations, for restitution or financial compensation by Iraq with a view to such arrangements as may be established in accordance with international law;

10. requires that Iraq comply with the provisions of the present resolution and its previous resolutions, failing which the Security Council will need to take further measures under the Charter;

11. decides to remain actively and permanently seized of the matter until Kuwait has regained its independence and peace has been restored in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

12. reposes its trust in the secretary-general to make available his good offices and, as he considers appropriate, to pursue them and undertake diplomatic efforts in order to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis caused by the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait on the basis of Security Council resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990), and 664 (1990), and calls upon all states, both those in the region and others, to pursue on this basis their efforts to this end, in conformity with the Charter, in order to improve the situation and restore peace, security, and stability;

13. requests the secretary-general to report to the Security Council on the results of his good offices and diplomatic efforts.



UN Photo
Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's chief representative to the United Nations, discusses UN Security Council resolution adopted October 29. Action delays "a settlement of the conflict in the region" and takes "one more step toward war."

resolution adopted so far by the council on the issue of fulfillment of its responsibilities under Article 50 of the Charter? Is this one way of saying that we shall, in a formal manner, enshrine the inertia and insensitivity of this council to the many requests for assistance submitted to the council by a large number of states, members of the United Nations, to help deal with the adverse impact upon them deriving from the implementation of Resolution 661 (1990)? If that is so, we believe the council is not only trying to take upon itself powers it does not have but is also indirectly avoiding fulfillment of responsibilities that it does have and with which it should not fail to comply.

Operative paragraph 12 of this resolution refers to the secretary-general of the United Nations. It is quite striking how very different this text is from paragraph seven. In that paragraph, when reference is made to the "safety and well-being of third-state nationals in Iraq and Kuwait," the council does not hesitate to refer to "the continued exercise of his good offices," referring to the secretary-general. When it comes to this very important but limited aspect of the issue, we seem to be willing to speak of the continued exercise of the good offices of the secretary-general. But when it comes to examining the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the crisis, when it comes to dealing with the key issue, the more substantive issue, we use language that is strange, to say the least.

First we say the council "reposes its trust in the secretary-general." Clearly all of us have reposed our trust in him — when we elected him, when we reelected him, and throughout his term of office as he discharged his responsibilities. But now we don't even say he should exercise his good offices, much less continue what he has been doing, but rather simply that he should make the offer. This seems to indicate the reluctance of the council to support and promote efforts the secretary-general himself has been making, something he was doing in fact even before the council explicitly asked him to do so.

Diplomatic efforts for peace

What has really been going on in the past few months, however, is an effort to get this council to support very clearly and without any hesitation the possibility of diplomatic efforts, of efforts for peace that we are convinced the secretary-general can carry out. It is curious that we have had to confront such difficulties, when we think of another Security Council resolution mentioned in the first paragraph of the preamble here, Resolution 670 (1990). In one of the preambular paragraphs of Resolution 670 (1990) it says the following:

"Welcoming the secretary-general's use of his good offices to advance a peaceful solution based on the relevant Security Council resolutions and noting with appreciation his

continuing efforts to this end."

After such a great effort to achieve the wording of operative paragraph 12 of today's resolution, one would have to wonder whether the Security Council really welcomed with satisfaction or appreciation the efforts of the secretary-general in this crisis. Did we really express our gratitude for these continuing efforts that we noted barely a month ago on September 25?

My delegation would like to say that it has full confidence in the secretary-general, not only because of his sensitivity and awareness as a distinguished diplomat, a worthy citizen of the world, a man of responsibility who had already done and, we are certain, is ready to continue to do everything he can to ensure that peace will prevail and to achieve implementation of the resolutions of this council in a peaceful manner.

We regret the fact that the Security Council has not been in a position to express more clearly and less hesitantly this kind of gratitude and support. Yet we continue to place our trust in him, in his ability and will, for among other things he has to deal not only with the great complexities of the issues we are discussing, but also with the peculiar manner in which this body has been dealing with these issues.

"One more step toward war"

In our view this resolution — despite the fact that it contains, albeit in a limited manner, that positive ingredient regarding the efforts of the secretary-general — is by and large one more step toward war. In this specific case, in fact, there might even be attempts to manipulate peace efforts, as have in fact occurred in the long period of negotiations between what were originally two separate texts. It is also a step along a course, which we believe to be unacceptable, to give this body functions that it should not have and that it has no right whatsoever to take upon itself, although at a given time in history temporary majorities may make it possible to gather the necessary votes to reinterpret the Charter and to have this council take on responsibilities not given to it by the Charter.

By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$13.95
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In addition, we believe that from a political and moral standpoint the Security Council — and in particular some of the cosponsors of this text — is not in the best of positions to deal with such issues as those dealt with in Resolution 674 (1990). At one time in the past, ports in Nicaragua were mined and a dirty war was launched against that country. This member state of the organization went to the highest court of the United Nations, our court, the International Court of Justice, and that court attributed liability and made decisions that were never respected by the main proponent of this resolution."

For 23 years the Palestinian territories have been occupied by a foreign power. Very soon, we hope, we shall once again be considering a report on the situation prevailing in that occupied country to see what we can do to protect the lives of its inhabitants. I wonder whether at that time someone will recall the need for us to turn ourselves into a court, or will we once again adopt the traditional phlegmatic attitude of the council when it comes to dealing with the occupation of Palestine. Does this mean that an occupation and its tragic consequences for the victims cease to be a violation of the law because they have been going on for 23 years? Is the violation of international law permissible? Is inaction with respect to its tragic effects upon the people victimized by that aggression normal simply because the aggressor has been able to outmaneuver the international community for 23 years?

We do not yet know how many died as a consequence of the U.S. invasion of Panama, or what the consequences of that aggression were for many citizens of that country in the past, and continue to be even in the present. Can we be confident that at some time this council will state its views on that dreadful military attack or concern itself with the consequences, past and present, of that event for the population of that country?

We have heard statements — and we be-

2. In February 1984 the U. S. government began mining Nicaraguan ports. The Nicaraguan government protested this and placed its case before the International Court of Justice, the principal judicial body of the UN, also known as the World Court. In May 1989 the court ruled unanimously, "The [U.S.] should immediately cease and refrain from any action restricting, blocking or endangering access to or from Nicaraguan ports, and, in particular, the laying of mines." The court also passed a resolution supporting the right to sovereignty and political independence for Nicaragua. The U.S. judge on the court voted against the resolution.

Canada socialists hit war drive

The following statement was released Oct. 29, 1990, by the Communist League candidates for mayor of Montréal, Michel Dugré, and of Vancouver, British Columbia, Nancy Walker.

Working people across Canada should loudly condemn and begin to organize opposition to Ottawa's participation in the imperialist drive toward a bloody and massive war in the Middle East, which will cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers there and around the world.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has recently stated that Ottawa is ready to help launch a military offensive against Iraq and that Canadian soldiers could begin dying in the Middle East by Christmas. This further exposes the lie that Canada's army is for making peace, not war. Each step taken by Canadian imperialism over the past three months has shown the opposite.

As a member of the United Nations Security Council, Canada has supported every escalation of the imperialist military intervention since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The Canadian government has sent over 1,700 soldiers to the region to help enforce the criminal blockade of food, medicine, and other essential goods to Iraq. This is the first such direct involvement of the Canadian

army since the Korean War in 1950–53. Moreover, the troop deployment came at the same time as another 3,000 troops were sent to crush the Mohawk struggle for land and sovereignty near Montréal.

Canada is not involved in the Middle East to establish democracy in Kuwait. It is there to defend Big Oil interests and to restore complete imperialist domination over the toilers of a region that has witnessed major revolutionary upheavals over the last half century. Now is the time for action. Working people all across Canada should mobilize against Ottawa's war drive at work, in school, in our unions, in meetings and rallies, and in the streets — as has begun to happen in the United States and other countries.

Already a coalition against the war in the Middle East has been formed in Toronto. This example should be emulated across the country. All opponents of the impending war should demand that Canadian and other imperialist troops be withdrawn and that the criminal blockade of Iraq be ended. We should also demand that the millions that Ottawa is spending for war instead be used for badly needed social projects — like affordable housing, quality health care, education, and public transportation.

lieve them to be legitimate — regarding the concern that everyone should feel about the violations that an occupier might be committing against the Kuwaiti population: violations of their individual rights, their human rights, their rights to their property, their right to live in peace and tranquility in their own country. It seems to us that this concern is legitimate. But it is and must be legitimate in all cases in which international law is violated and aggression is committed against peoples. Many thousands of Angolan children are suffering the irreparable consequences of the antipersonnel mines laid in that country by armed bands financed, organized, and equipped by the United States. It is not difficult to get the facts; if the Security Council wants to collect the information, it exists and is well known. The figures are shocking, just as shocking as the terrible consequences of this war — imposed upon them from outside with the support and encouragement of a major power, a permanent member of the council — will be for future generations of that people.

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War drive, economic crisis show need for fund

BY JAMES HARRIS

"Enclosed is a check for \$100.00 as payment on my party-building fund pledge," writes a contributor to the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund from Charleston, West Virginia.

"Saturday, I was forced to work a double shift, after already putting in my 40 hours, at the chemical plant where I work. I ran across the street

the broad work of the Socialist Workers Party.

Since the party-building fund was launched in August, the U.S. government has opened a drive to wage a massive war in the Middle East. In addition, the growing capitalist economic crisis will be combined with deeper employer and government assaults on the unions and the democratic rights and standard of living of

have begun talking to as many supporters of the party as possible about the fund. One supporter has already responded with a \$1,000 donation. We think that more people will want to make such contributions." Schwarz said that having a fund drive director in each area is important to the effort.

In Los Angeles the fund goal of \$16,000 is nearly \$5,000 over the amount initially pledged. This was accomplished by reaching out to friends and supporters of the movement in the area. Party supporters are calling people throughout the region and asking them to make contributions. Discussions on the fund have been organized at meetings of party supporters in both Los Angeles and San Diego.

Another important aid in the fund drive will be the political meetings hosted by branches of the SWP from mid-November to December 1. These meetings will feature talks by party leaders on the political events shaping today's world — what the war drive in the Middle East and the march toward world depression mean for workers and farmers, and why building a socialist movement and communist parties is a necessary perspective for working people the world over.

Contributions can be sent to Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

James Harris is the director of the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND



to the grocery store on my lunch break and saw a man standing on the median in the roadway. He was holding a sign that said, 'Will work for food,' much like the picture in the November 2 issue of the *Militant*.

"I was struck once again by the horrifying absurdity of being forced to work 16 hours a day while a worker goes hungry because he can't find a job. I gave him a few dollars, and I want to raise my pledge by \$200. At least my overtime money can be used to fight the system that enslaves us all."

This note came in response to an appeal for contributions to finance

working people. These facts highlight the need for the fund today.

To meet the goal of \$150,000 by December 1, supporters of the SWP's work across the country are stepping up the pace of contributions and increasing their pledges. To date the fund drive is behind schedule. We have \$61,744 on hand and \$149,607 has been pledged. To be on schedule, \$100,000 should have already been sent in.

To help boost the amount pledged, the New York branch of the SWP is discussing how it can increase contributions. Bob Schwarz, New York fund director, said, "We

Where We Stand

Area	Pledged	Paid	% of Total
San Francisco	4,205	2,800	67
Houston	4,575	2,935	64
Salt Lake City, Utah	3,250	1,810	56
Austin, Minn.	1,500	830	55
Detroit	6,100	3,360	55
Brooklyn	6,260	3,324	53
Twin Cities, Minn.	4,220	2,135	51
Atlanta	6,295	3,140	50
Philadelphia	4,405	2,105	48
Phoenix	1,400	650	46
Cleveland	5,280	2,435	46
Chicago	7,570	3,365	44
Los Angeles	11,336	5,036	44
New York	9,386	4,036	43
Omaha, Neb.	2,275	943	41
Miami	1,710	700	41
Newark, N.J.	6,165	2,500	41
St. Louis	7,600	2,905	38
Oakland, Calif.	9,500	3,590	38
Charleston, W.V.	3,770	1,400	37
Pittsburgh	6,690	2,385	36
Des Moines, Iowa	1,820	600	33
Washington, D.C.	2,470	805	33
Kansas City	2,905	755	26
Birmingham, Ala.	5,175	1,160	22
Price, Utah	1,450	300	21
Morgantown, W.V.	3,554	714	20
Baltimore	3,800	735	19
Seattle	6,205	1,150	19
Greensboro, N.C.	1,710	265	15
Boston	2,325	75	3
Other U.S.	2,880	1,980	69
International	1,821	821	45
TOTALS	149,607	61,744	41
SHOULD BE	150,000	92,308	62

UN camouflages U.S. war moves in Mideast

Continued from Page 3

ed Nations lent its authority to one of the largest military operations ever conducted by Washington. The entire 1950-1953 Korean War was fought under the UN flag. The Security Council authorized the U.S. government to command the forces dispatched to Korea from some sixteen countries."

Waters explains that the Soviet government and other UN members have challenged the legitimacy of the 1950 Security Council resolutions, since these measures were adopted without the participation of the Soviet delegation. At the time, the Soviet government was boycotting the Security Council to protest Washington's rejection of seating the People's Republic as China's representative to the UN.

The introduction points out that in 1975 the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for dissolution of the so-called UN Command in Korea. Since only unanimous decisions of the five permanent Security Council members are binding in such matters, however, the blue flag of the UN still flies over U.S. troops stationed along the border that divides Korea today!

Murder of Patrice Lumumba

The greater clarity shed by recent events on how the UN Security Council functions to promote imperialist interests is important, since revolutionists have paid a heavy price in blood for failing to understand and act on this reality.

In 1960, for example, UN forces were complicit in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, prime minister of the African country of the Congo (now Zaire), who had led that country's independence struggle against Belgium. Faced with a secessionist movement organized by the former Belgian rulers, Lumumba appealed to the UN to send a peacekeeping force to help defend the newly established independent government.

Washington voted for this request for UN troops in the Security Council, as did the four other permanent members. At the very same time, according to a 1975 U.S. Senate report, the CIA was plotting Lumumba's assassination as "an urgent and prime objective," in the words of then-CIA director Allen Dulles. The Senate report accepted as a "reasonable inference" that the order to kill the Congolese

leader came directly from President Dwight Eisenhower.

When the UN-sponsored troops — many supplied by the government of imperialist Sweden — arrived in the Congo in the summer of 1960, they refused to take any action against the Katangan rightist forces or their Belgian sponsors. Instead, they disarmed Lumumba's forces and closed down government radio stations. The UN troops then stood by while Lumumba was ousted from the government by pro-U.S. forces. The new regime turned Lumumba over to the Katangan rebels, who murdered him in early 1961.

Ernesto Che Guevara condemned the UN role in this counterrevolutionary operation when he addressed the General Assembly in December 1964 on behalf of the Cuban delegation. "How can we forget the betrayal of the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations?" Guevara said. "How can we forget the machinations and maneuvers that followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by United Nations troops, under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? ... Who can deny the sad role that the imperialists compelled the United Nations to play?"

A decade later, when the South African army, egged on by Washington, launched an invasion of Angola on the eve of that country's scheduled independence from Portugal, Angolan freedom fighters did not repeat Lumumba's error. Instead, in November 1975, the Angolan government appealed for assistance from Cuba, which responded by sending thousands of volunteers to help turn back the imperialist assault. This initial victory over South Africa's invading army was followed over the next 12 years by repeated South African invasions of Angolan territory; this conflict culminated in 1988 with the final defeat of South African forces by the Cuban volunteers, the Angolan army, and Namibian independence fighters. That victory opened the way to Namibia's conquest of freedom from South African colonial domination the following year.

'Big Five' agreement on Iraq

Washington's war mobilization against Iraq is the largest military operation to take place under UN Security Council endorsement since the Korean War. The U.S.-initiated aggression in Korea occurred at a time



UN Security Council voting to enforce trade embargo against Iraq. Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union voted for each U.S.-initiated resolution.

when the Soviet government had decided against participating in Security Council sessions, where it could have exercised its veto privilege had it chosen to do so. The current war moves in the Middle East, on the other hand, are taking place with the unanimous votes of all five permanent members of the Security Council.

The Korea and Iraq examples alone reveal how the structure of the United Nations — from its origins — block the Security Council from ever acting against the interests of U.S. foreign policy. With its veto privilege (and that of its British and French allies), Washington can and does block any UN measure that advances the interests of workers and farmers anywhere in the world. And when the Stalinist regimes of the Soviet Union and China fall in step behind imperialist ends, the Security Council can be used aggressively to promote those counterrevolutionary policies.

For two years, however, a unique situation exists in the Security Council: between January 1990 and the end of 1991, Cuba has a seat in that body. As shown by the new pamphlet, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, the Cuban government is putting this time and opportunity to good use.

"Mobilizing world public opinion, and U.S. public opinion in particular, as a counterweight to Washington's drive toward a war is the goal of all those concerned about the future of humanity," Mary-Alice Waters explains in the introduction to the pamphlet. "Towards this end, Cuba is once again using the United Nations as a tribune from which to speak out and chart a course of action in defense of the interests of working people around the world."

* * *

Opponents of a U.S. war against Iraq will find the pamphlet a valuable source of information and political arguments, both for themselves and for others they are seeking to convince. Its cover and internal layout, designed by Toni Gorton, help make it attractive and accessible. The editors have provided a useful chronology; notes to explain unfamiliar names, documents, and events; and a map.

The pamphlet can be purchased at Pathfinder bookstores around the United States and in other countries, and will be on hand in plentiful supply at the antiwar teach-ins, demonstrations, and other protest actions that will continue to mount as Washington presses forward with its aggression.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

High school students reading the *Militant* in Malmö, Sweden.

Antiwar fighters snap up 'Militant'

Continued from front page

October 27, a sales team from Utah headed for Sheridan, Wyoming, where coal miners have waged a fight for several years against the bosses at Decker Coal Co. At a Mine Workers' union hall, a union member subscribed to the *Militant* and one bought a copy of the U.S. *Hands Off the Middle East!* pamphlet.

Afterward, on their way to a college campus in Boise, Idaho, the supporters stopped in Missoula, Montana, to check out the university there. A big sign on the student government offices announced, "No blood for oil! Speak-out today!" Some 300 students packed a hall and engaged in an animated discussion about the U.S. war drive.

Speaking from the floor of the meeting, *Militant* supporter Greg Rosenberg drew a round of applause when he stated, "The U.S. government is preparing a massive war against Iraq that we have no interest in." He explained that Cuba was the only government in the world that opposed the war and urged everyone to get a pamphlet that tells the truth about Washington's war drive.

In a few hours, 15 students bought copies of U.S. *Hands Off the Middle East!* Cuba *Speaks Out at the United Nations* and nine subscribed to the *Militant*.

The sales team members decided to stay over for another antiwar rally called for the following day where 11 more subscriptions were sold, 3 copies of *New International*, and 17 pamphlets.

Militant supporters, who leafleted for an upcoming meeting with touring Cuban economist Carlos Tablada outside a student bookstore in Lund, Sweden, signed up two new readers of the paper. The students also bought copies of the U.S. *Hands Off the Middle East!* pamphlet. "Carlos Tablada speaks about the future of humanity," one *Militant* supporter told the students, "and that future is threatened by this war. Cuba has fought against the military buildup."

One way supporters in Newark, New Jersey, campaigned against the U.S. war drive was by selling the socialist press at a housing complex near the Fort Dix army base in southern New Jersey. "I'm totally opposed to the troops being there," said one GI who bought a copy of the paper. "What they show on TV about the guys being happy is not true."

Some who have come back told me morale is low, the equipment breaks down all the time because of sandstorms, and many want to come back." Two GIs and the spouse of another subscribed to the *Militant*.

Supporters in Phoenix won 23 new readers during the target week — more than double what they had won in the previous four weeks of the drive. At an October 20 protest in Tucson, four participants signed up to get the *Militant*.

In Miami supporters set a target-week goal of 45 and won 44 new readers by fielding teams everyday. On November 2, Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a well-known figure in the opposition movement in Haiti and candidate for president of that country, will begin a tour of several U.S. cities in Miami. A stadium there that seats 30,000 has been reserved and *Militant* supporters have put in a bigger-than-usual order for *Lutte ouvrière*.

'New International' sales

Supporters in Baltimore made big strides forward in sales of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*. By making an effort to introduce everyone to the magazines and explaining their contents, they reported, many workers, political activists, and students will decide to read one or several. So far, two coworkers, four farm workers, and six political activists are among those who have purchased the journals.

Militant supporters can build on the momentum gained during the target week to strive to make the goals in the international sales drive. For the next 20 days, 247 new readers a day are needed to put the subscription campaign over the top.

To help with this effort, many supporters have volunteered to hit the road on sales teams being organized to the coalfields of Western Canada, as well as areas of Louisiana, southern New Jersey and Delaware, and Florida. A team on the road in the coalfields of southern Indiana and Illinois has won 20 new subscribers so far, including seven on area campuses and six at mine portals.

By striving to win thousands of new readers to the socialist press over the next 20 days, supporters can deepen the campaign against the U.S. war drive and get out the truth to a broad layer of working people around the world.

Socialist leaders to speak on war drive, Korea unification

BY JAMES HARRIS

Over the next several weeks the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party Jack Barnes and National Committee member Margaret Jayko will be speaking in several cities in North America on the struggle for Korean reunification. The two were the SWP leadership delegation to the celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), the governing party of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea).

Barnes and Jayko were in North Korea for nearly two weeks. They were able to tour the country and meet with leaders of the WPK. The trip enabled them to gain first-hand knowledge of the massive devastation caused by the 1950-53 U.S. war against Korea, the enormous efforts of the Korean people to rebuild their country in its aftermath, the continued subjugation of the southern part of the country by the U.S. military occupation, and the consequences of the imperialist-imposed division of the country. They also learned first-hand of the powerful desire of the Korean people, both north and south, for national sovereignty and unity.

In their presentations and discussion following the talks, Barnes and Jayko will place the fight for the reunification of Korea in the framework of the U.S. government's preparations for a massive war in the Mideast and the accompanying march of capitalism toward a worldwide depression. They will explain why the world's workers and farmers should support the struggle by the Korean people for reunification of their country.

The events are part of a series of fund-raising meetings for the Socialist Workers Party-

Building Fund that are being organized by branches of the SWP across the United States. Jayko will be speaking in Oakland on November 17 and Seattle on December 1. Barnes will speak in New York on November 10 and Washington, D.C., on November 11.

Washington's Accelerating War Drive

- The massive military buildup against Iraq
- Eyewitness report on the fight for reunification of Korea
- Capitalism's slide toward worldwide depression
- What are the stakes for working people?

Hear Jack Barnes

National Secretary,
Socialist Workers Party
New York: Sat., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m.
P.S. 11, 320 20 St. (between 8th and 9th Aves.). Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.
Washington, D.C.: Nov. 11, 7:00 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

Subscription Drive SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS		Total		Militant		Perspectiva Mundial		New Int'l		Lutte ouvrière	
Areas	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Austin, Minn.	90	56	62%	60	42	18	8	10	6	2	0
Baltimore	125	71	57%	90	43	12	6	20	19	3	3
Seattle	190	104	55%	115	72	48	18	25	12	2	2
San Francisco	175	95	54%	110	61	35	22	25	11	5	1
Price, Utah	80	43	54%	55	34	13	7	10	2	2	0
Oakland, Calif.	190	98	52%	125	64	35	19	25	14	5	1
Miami	200	97	49%	110	75	30	10	40	2	20	10
Salt Lake City	185	89	48%	130	66	23	10	30	11	2	2
Birmingham, Ala.	170	71	42%	138	62	10	4	20	5	2	0
Greensboro, NC	115	48	42%	85	32	13	7	15	9	2	0
Omaha, Neb.	120	50	42%	85	35	18	10	15	5	2	0
Los Angeles	400	164	41%	200	106	115	46	80	11	5	1
Detroit	180	71	39%	140	61	10	1	25	6	5	3
Charleston, WV	135	52	39%	95	44	13	1	25	5	2	2
Phoenix	95	35	37%	55	26	28	8	10	1	2	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	225	82	36%	175	65	17	9	30	7	3	1
Morgantown, WV	155	56	36%	115	53	8	0	30	3	2	0
St. Louis	205	73	36%	162	69	10	1	30	3	3	0
Newark, NJ	340	112	33%	180	59	60	16	70	32	30	5
Pittsburgh	130	40	31%	105	39	5	1	18	0	2	0
Kansas City	125	38	30%	88	31	10	4	25	3	2	0
Cleveland	160	48	30%	115	33	18	5	25	10	2	0
Brooklyn	345	103	30%	190	44	70	22	60	27	25	10
Atlanta	198	58	29%	135	35	20	7	40	15	3	1
Philadelphia	185	52	28%	115	30	38	13	30	9	2	0
Washington, DC	150	35	23%	100	26	20	7	23	0	7	2
New York	520	121	23%	275	54	120	39	95	26	30	2
Chicago	280	62	22%	185	41	45	15	45	2	5	4
Boston	235	52	22%	140	43	45	8	35	0	15	1
Des Moines, Iowa	180	38	21%	135	22	25	16	18	0	2	0
Houston	145	22	15%	98	12	25	2	20	8	2	0
Cincinnati	17	8	47%	12	5	2	2	3	1	-	0
Ft. Madison, Iowa	5	2	40%	4	2	1	0	-	0	-	0
Las Vegas, Nev.	5	0	0%	5	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
Louisville, Ky.	7	1	14%	7	1	-	0	-	0	-	0
New Haven, Conn.*	20	14	70%	14	11	4	3	2	0	-	0
Portland, Ore.	11	5	45%	10	4	1	1	-	0	-	0
Other U.S.	-	0	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
U.S. TOTAL	6,093	2,166	36%	3,958	1,502	965	348	974	265	196	51
AUSTRALIA											
BRITAIN	50	104	208%	30	87	12	2	6	15	2	0
London	174	67	39%	113	38	15	2	42	27	4	0
Cardiff	58	18	31%	40	11	2	1	15	6	1	0
Sheffield	100	27	27%	70	20	9	0	20	6	1	1
Manchester	62	14	23%	45	12	1	2	15	0	1	0
Other Britain	-	15	-	-	8	-	1	-	6	-	0
BRITAIN TOTAL	394	141	36%	268	89	27	6	92	45	7	1
CANADA											
Vancouver*	120	72	60%	80	44	15	11	20	15	5	2
Toronto	155	88	57%	100	58	25	17	25	12	5	1
Montréal	210	117	56%	75	63	35	17	35	10	65	27
CANADA TOTAL	485	277	57%	255	165	75	45	80	37	75	30
FAEROE IS.	10	3	30%	10	3	-	0	-	0	-	0
FRANCE	40	14	35%	10	2	5	1	5	1	20	10
ICELAND	43	17	40%	35	15	2	1	5	1	1	0
NEW ZEALAND											
Christchurch	60	69	115%	51	59	2	1	6	9	1	0
Auckland	110	71	65%	91	58	10	3	8	10	1	0
Wellington	70	37	53%	61	36	2	1	6	0	1	0
Other N. Z.	10	3	30%	9	3	1	0	-	0	-	0
N. Z. TOTAL	250	180	72%	212	156	15	5	20	19	3	0
PUERTO RICO	15	9	60%	2	0	12	9	1	0	-	0
SWEDEN	80	44	55%	43	19	25	22	10	3	2	0
Int'l teams	50	0	0%	10	0	34	0	5	0	1	0
Other Int'l	-	1	-	-	0	-	1	-	0	-	0
TOTAL	7,586	2,956	39%	4,833	2,038	1,172	440	1,274	386	307	92
DRIVE GOALS	7,800					1,225		1,250		325	
TO BE ON SCHEDULE	4,875	63%		3,125		766		781		203	
* Raised goal during drive											

Machinists strike against Eastern

What has been won and the challenges ahead for the labor

The following article will be featured in an upcoming pamphlet by Pathfinder Press on the Machinists strike at Eastern Airlines and the stakes for labor in the battle.

BY JUDY STRANAHAN
(First of a series)

At 12:01 a.m. on March 4, 1989, a historic labor battle opened up in North America. At that moment 8,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) — ramp service workers, cleaners, stock clerks, and mechanics — struck Eastern Airlines, a subsidiary of the third-largest airline company in the world, Texas Air Corp.

Since that time, the rank-and-file fighters of the Machinists union at Eastern have stood up with dignity and stubborn persistence, and used union power to wage their fight. They have received solidarity from unions around the world and have extended their solidarity to others.

The strikers beat back, outlasted, and forced out Eastern's boss Frank Lorenzo, who was determined to add this airline to his "union-free" Texas Air empire. In so doing, these fighters defeated the point man in the employers' 10-year offensive against labor.

The Eastern strikers then took on and made light work of Martin Shugrue, the trustee appointed in April 1990 by the U.S. bankruptcy court. Shugrue attempted to breathe new life into Eastern after the court removed Lorenzo. The strikers showed that another Continental Airlines, where Lorenzo broke the unions in 1983, was not in the offing.

Through the battle waged by the Eastern strikers, new light was shed on the government's role in the offensive against labor. Far from being neutral, the government has in fact helped the bosses behind the scenes, and at times more openly.

The victories and accomplishments of the rank-and-file Machinists in the Eastern strike have reinforced the important victory scored by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) against the Pittston Coal Group, which in early 1990 forced this company to come to a settlement with the union. The miners at Pittston set back the effort by the bosses to break the UMWA's resistance and generalize an earlier defeat suffered by miners at the A.T. Massey Coal Co.

Coupled with the victory by the miners at Pittston, the victories at Eastern make union-busting everywhere a more difficult proposition for the employers. Through the Eastern Airlines fight, a battle-tested rank and file has emerged and spread throughout other parts of the airline industry and in other workplaces in many U.S. cities and parts of Canada and Puerto Rico. At their new work-

places some of these fighters have effectively joined in efforts to strengthen the IAM or other unions they now find themselves members of.

The striking Machinists' success in blocking Lorenzo's plans to run a nonunion airline paralleled the continued deterioration at Eastern. On their strike buttons, banners, and picket signs, they raised the slogan: "No contract, No peace!"

Continental union-busting a 'model'

Many in the labor movement today point to the busting of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in 1981 by the Ronald Reagan administration as the opening shot in a broad offensive against the unions in the United States.

During the PATCO fight the government directly intervened by firing the strikers, who were government employees. In subsequent fights, however, the government basically stood aside and let the employers go after the unions directly.

More so than the defeat of PATCO, the breaking of the unions at Continental by that airline's management prepared the way and became the model for the employers' assault on the unions.

In a hostile takeover in 1982, Frank Lorenzo acquired Continental Airlines and made it a subsidiary of his Texas Air Corp. In 1983 Continental's management demanded from its unions a 40 percent wage cut, work rule changes — which would have led to the elimination of 600 jobs — and other concessions. Faced with these union-busting demands, 2,000 members of the IAM at Continental went out on strike on August 13 of that year.

Lorenzo moved quickly against the walkout, firing strikers and bringing in scabs. His success in dividing the workers at Continental was registered by the fact that the pilots and flight attendants crossed the IAM's picket line and continued to work.

Then, on Sept. 24, 1983, Continental filed for bankruptcy, citing "excessive labor costs." Abrogating its contracts with the unions, Continental laid off every one of its 12,000 employees. The airline then rehired 4,200 workers at half their previous pay.

Prior to these moves, Continental's work force had already granted, or had offered to grant, big concessions. The pilots' association had agreed to \$100 million in concessions; the flight attendants' union offered up \$90 million over a two-year period. Once the cuts went into effect, pilots' maximum pay dropped from \$77,000 a year to \$42,000. Flight attendants, who were making \$27,000 a year, were offered \$16,000.

On Oct. 1, 1983, the Union of Flight

Attendants (UFA) and the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) at Continental joined the IAM's picket line. But by then Lorenzo was successfully running a nonunion operation. The unions at Continental had been broken.

The success of this union-busting drive was used as a club by other airline owners against workers throughout the industry. At every major unionized airline, including United, Pan Am, and Trans World Airlines (TWA), concessions were demanded by the employers and agreed to by a majority of the work force.

Two days after Lorenzo took Continental into bankruptcy, Frank Borman, president of Eastern at the time, threatened to do the same to Eastern unless the workers accepted large pay cuts and other takebacks. The unions at Eastern had already granted concessions to Borman the previous several years.

By the end of 1983, the Machinists and flight attendants at Eastern had agreed to an 18 percent pay cut for one year; the pilots, 22 percent. As an incentive to accept the givebacks, union members received new

Lorenzo's union-busting was used as a club against workers at other airlines.

stock the company issued — stock that is now worthless. As part of the deal, union officials were given seats on the board of directors. A year later the company resisted the scheduled restoration of the 18 percent cut.

Flight attendants — among the lowest-paid workers at the airline — were hit especially hard by the concessions, which included a multitiered wage system. As part of the new wage structure those based in Latin America and the Caribbean were at the bottom.

Through his success in forcing the unions out on strike at Continental, revoking contracts, moving in scabs to permanently replace the strikers, and getting a nonunion operation going, Lorenzo emerged as a point man for the employing class — he was looked to by other employers as an example of how they could break unions in their own workplaces.

Lorenzo sought to further his perspective of building a nonunion airline empire by purchasing Eastern Airlines in 1986. Eastern's workers designate this as the beginning of a "reign of terror," consisting of stepped-up harassment and victimization of workers, firings, forced overtime, and speed-up. Thousands of union members were either laid off or fired outright in this period.

Lorenzo aimed to destroy the unions at Eastern just as he had done successfully at Continental.

Many Eastern strikers today explain how the 1983 defeat at Continental weighed on them as they entered into the fight with Lorenzo. Moreover, after the walkout at Eastern began, Lorenzo was able to use Continental as a weapon against the strike — through "wet-leasing" planes (leasing the plane and the crew) from Continental to Eastern and having nonunion Continental mechanics and other workers service Eastern flights.

Decade-long employer offensive

Over the last decade or so, employers in industries where competition has become especially sharp have pressed for massive job reductions, deep cuts in medical care and pensions, work rule changes resulting in deteriorating job safety conditions, and three and four rounds of concessions. In many cases the employers' demands have posed the question of whether to fight or face the possibility of having the union pushed out of the workplace all together.

The top officials of the unions have shown they are willing to take concessions demanded by the employers and sell them to the unions' members. But faced with the prospect of a drastic short- and long-term decline in union membership figures, officials in some unions have sanctioned strikes and backed

actions to defend the union's very existence.

This was illustrated in a fact sheet put out by the IAM. It explains, "Before Lorenzo's takeover of Eastern Airlines, the employees had demonstrated their total commitment to Eastern by pioneering wage reduction agreements to help their company. They invested nearly \$1 billion in wage reductions during the decade 1976 to 1986. Eastern employees agreed to pay cuts in order to finance the purchase of modern aircraft and to help Eastern acquire expensive computer reservations equipment. In exchange for the pay reductions, the employees were promised a secure future in Eastern Airlines and also received a major ownership stake in their company."

Since the international recession in 1974-75, millions of workers in North America have first-hand experience of concession contracts, speed-up on the job, plant closings, company bankruptcies, the spread of unsafe working conditions, and other aspects of the employers' offensive.

Faced with a declining profit rate, increased international competition, and the beginnings of a long-term economic crisis, the employing class could no longer afford the latitude it had enjoyed since the 1940s to grant gradual concessions to workers. The superrich U.S. ruling families began a systematic drive to make working people pay for this crisis by squeezing higher profits from their labor.

The goal of the billionaire owners of the banks and corporations is to weaken, and where possible destroy, the most important mass organizations of working people — the industrial unions.

In the years following the 1974-75 recession, the bosses launched selective assaults on particular unions. For example, a takeback contract was imposed by the Chrysler Corp. on members of the United Auto Workers in 1979. Coal operators attempted such a probe against the United Mine Workers of America, but the miners answered back with a hard-fought 110-day strike in 1977-78.

All-out rout during 1980s

The retreat of the unions under the initial blows of this offensive turned into an all-out rout in the wake of the 1981-82 economic recession. In industry after industry and union after union, massive concessions were granted to the employers.

The defeat of the unions at Continental came at the beginning of a period in which the union officialdom gave in to the bosses' demands. Workers saw no perspective for successful resistance and began running away from the fight. Top union officials, along with the companies, promoted the idea that concessions were needed to save "our" company and to make goods produced in "our" state or country more competitive.

Union members went along with and often voted for cuts in wages, multitiered wage scales, subcontracting of union work, and temporary-worker schemes that qualitatively deepened the divisions within the work force and among union members.

While affected by the thrashing the labor movement was taking, the UMWA was the only major industrial union that refused to buckle under to the offensive and give such sweeping concessions. Earlier struggles by the ranks of the Mine Workers to democratize their union in order to more effectively exercise union power were decisive in their ability to hold off the coal bosses with strikes in 1977-78 and 1981. The mine owners backed off when the contracts expired in 1984 and did not demand big takebacks.

But the A.T. Massey Coal Co., one of the largest coal operators in the United States, refused to sign the 1984 agreement between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the UMWA. The BCOA is the umbrella association that many coal operators belong to.

Coal strike at Massey

Massey had developed a reputation in coal communities throughout Appalachia as a union-busting operation. The company had successfully opened up nonunion mines in both West Virginia and Kentucky in the early

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.)

Airlines or movement

1980s. Massey's refusal to sign the union contract and its decision to impose a substantial agreement forced union members working at the company's mines in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky to go out on strike.

Many miners recognized that if Massey were successful in its efforts against the UMWA, this would embolden other coal operators to challenge the union.

The miners at Massey put up a tough fight and mobilized support throughout the union in an attempt to counter the company's hiring of scabs and the operation of its nonunion coal mines. But as the strike continued the mobilizations waned. Efforts by the UMWA officialdom to win the fight through court suits and filing unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board failed. In the end the union lost the battle, and Massey was able to keep some of the miners from getting their jobs back after the strike was over.

Nevertheless, when the coal bosses recognized in 1984 that the miners would fight any road attempt to attack their hard-won gains, this was the first indication of the growing resistance among working people to the incessant take-back demands of the employers. Workers began to see through the employers' promises that concessions would lead to job security and future wage increases; in fact they led only to more concessions and a weaker union. At this point a series of fights began to break out.

In the latter half of 1985 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) began to fight back against the brutal conditions being imposed on them by the bosses in the meat-packing industry. These struggles included the strike of packinghouse workers against the Geo. A. Hormel & Co. in Austin, Minn. in 1985-86. This battle, though defeated, had an impact on unionists across North America and inspired a wave of strikes in a number of packinghouses in late 1986 and early 1987.

In 1987 in Watsonville, California, cannery workers scored an important victory and won union recognition as the result of a strike.



Machinists visiting Pittston miners' picket shack in Virginia

and paper workers in several regions of the United States waged a hard-fought though unsuccessful 16-month strike in 1987-88.

Coal operators in the western United States demanded major concessions from union miners in 1986-87. UMWA members resisted with a series of strikes, and in most cases the miners were able to hold their ground. In addition to previous miners' battles, the resistance in the western coalfields played a part in the coal bosses' decision not to take the miners on when the national agreement expired in 1988.

These battles marked an important shift in the ability of the employers to simply demand and get concessions from workers, often



Eastern strikers march in New York Labor Day parade in 1989. Strike has received both national and international solidarity.

under the threat of plant closings or bankruptcy. Growing layers of workers in the United States were becoming more willing to resist the employers' offensive, and some unionists began to put up a fight. While courageous, most of these battles were unable to turn back concession contracts or the hiring of scabs as permanent "replacement workers."

At Eastern, after ten years of pay cuts, reduction of work crews, layoffs, and firings, the workers were ready to fight. They saw this as their only chance to survive the corporate terror that threatened not only their livelihood but their physical safety, and the safety of passengers as well.

Eastern demands concessions

In December 1987, the IAM's contract with Eastern expired. For many months leading up to the date of expiration, the company made demands for huge concessions, including massive pay cuts for all the Machinists members.

new category of employees. A cut in medical benefits was also sought. Hoping to split the IAM membership, the company urged the mechanics to negotiate a separate contract.

Responding to these demands the IAM officials called for a federal mediator to help negotiate the dispute. But in the negotiations, Eastern continued to demand \$150 million in concessions from the Machinists union.

However, after years of having already given millions of dollars in concessions, IAM members at Eastern said "Enough!" In September 1988 the Machinists voted overwhelmingly — 7,596 to 90 — to reject the company's concession-contract demands.

In February 1989 a government-imposed 30-day cooling-off period went into effect. After being deadlocked in negotiations for 16 months, the National Mediation Board called on President George Bush to use the federal government to intervene. This proposal was supported by the IAM officials and the AFL-CIO's top leadership, but was opposed by Lorenzo. Eastern's boss felt confident that his Texas Air Corp. was in good enough shape to defeat the IAM in a strike following his earlier victory against the union at Continental.

In fact, Eastern had long been preparing for a strike. The company had amassed a \$400 million war chest to finance its drive against the unions. And it diverted millions of dollars to Continental for its services in the event of a strike.

Eastern's management thought it was well prepared for a strike and made a vow to keep flying. It hired private security outfits to guard company equipment and property and to intimidate the workers. It hired hundreds of workers to act as scabs to replace IAM members and was prepared to order non-union workers, along with members of management, to perform the IAM members' jobs. Some 200 management personnel were lined up to be pilots. Eastern had expected as many as 600 ALPA pilots to cross the picket line, which would have made it possible to get the planes into the air.

Others did not want the government to step in either. Editorials in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*, reflecting a widespread opinion held in ruling circles, called on President Bush to "stay out of the way."

More importantly, many Eastern workers opposed the president stepping in or any further extension of the cooling-off period. After having had their backs to the wall for years, most of them felt they had nothing left to lose. Many were beginning to come to the conclusion that a fight would be necessary to at least hold the line and to defend themselves from further attacks. The stage was being set for a showdown.

The strike begins

On the morning of March 3 — just hours before the deadline that would end the cooling-off period — Eastern's management locked out all IAM members, saying it feared "sabotage" of company property and equipment.

At the Miami International Airport, workers were told at 10:30 a.m. that they had five minutes to gather their belongings and vacate the property. Police canine units were brought in to enforce the order.

Union shop stewards arrived and the Machinists marched together over to the union hall. When another contingent of workers from the maintenance shops joined the march, chants of "We will win, we will win!" went out.

When midnight rolled around the picket lines went up, and the strike was on. The union set up picket lines at U.S. airports where Eastern has operations, including its biggest base at the Miami International Airport. Machinists working for Eastern in Canada and Puerto Rico began to staff picket lines as well. The strike instantly drew worldwide media attention.

Leading up to the strike, the Air Line Pilots Association had continued negotiations with Lorenzo. It was not clear until the strike deadline whether the pilots and the flight attendants — the latter belonging to Local 553 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) — would continue to work or would honor the picket lines. As the deadline hit, both unions announced they would honor the Machinists' picket lines, and 3,400 members of ALPA and 5,900 members of the TWU joined the strike. Eastern's operations immediately came to a virtual halt.

Prior to the strike, the airline company averaged 1,040 flights a day, carrying about 100,000 passengers. In the first three days of the strike, only 218 planes took to the air, an average of 72 a day.

Eastern workers had served notice to Lorenzo. They had had enough of the "reign of terror" and had decided to stand their ground and take Eastern on. With nothing left to lose, the strikers decided to fight.

"Eastern management refused to negotiate seriously," explained a leaflet distributed on the picket lines by IAM Local 1018 members at New York's La Guardia Airport. The company continued to the end to "demand the unlimited right to farm out our work, pay cuts as high as 56 percent in some categories, massive work rule changes, the hiring of part-time workers, cuts in pension benefits, and more." The strikers said that "acceptance of this contract would mean the breaking of our union."

Strike support rallies took place as the walkout began. In Atlanta, one of Eastern's largest hubs, 1,500 strikers and supporters held an event. A new strike headquarters — several large tents near Eastern's maintenance base — was erected.

At Kennedy Airport in New York, 900 members of the IAM at TWA packed three union meetings to discuss how they could back the strike; they then helped set up a large picket line at the airport. Unionists joined picket lines in Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere.

"This is not just a strike," explained John
Continued on next page

Machinists strike against Eastern Airlines

Continued from previous page

Walker, who had been a ramp refueler with 21 years at Eastern, "it's for the whole labor movement."

With Eastern shut down and the strikers explaining the stakes in their fight to push back Lorenzo's union busting, support poured in. During the first week of the walk-out massive rallies were organized, showing the support the Machinists would be able to garner throughout the course of the fight.

In Chicago, where about 80 Machinists were on strike, a mile-and-a-half picket line of 2,000 unionists marched through the terminals of O'Hare Airport March 11. Four thousand workers from many unions joined the Atlanta strikers; several hundred picketed Washington, D.C.'s National Airport; and 3,000 workers from throughout New England packed the auditorium of the Boston teachers' union to show their support.

The 24 Eastern strikers in Cleveland were joined by nearly 2,000 unionists at an airport rally, and the 25 Eastern workers on strike in Kansas City organized an event of 600.

Miami, the strike center, is the home of 3,900 of the 8,500 Eastern workers on strike. Nearly 7,000 strike supporters attended a rally sponsored by ALPA March 7 hooked up by video with seven other such events, and 3,000 turned out for an event outside the IAM union hall the next day.

Even some of Eastern's noncontract workers in Miami sided with the strike by refusing to cross the picket lines. Members of the Machinists local in Miami looked for ways to reach out to these workers. Noncontract workers were putting in ten-hour days, six days a week before the strike began. Then early in the strike, Eastern began putting the noncontract workers on 50-hour weeks, but at 40 hours' pay, and topped it off by canceling vacations for the rest of the year.

The ranks of the Machinists union began to mobilize to wage an effective fight against Lorenzo. They started exercising some union power to defend themselves from the anti-union drive. Moreover, the first week of the strike demonstrated the extent to which tens of thousands of unionists and others were inspired by the strike and saw the fight as their own.

On picket lines, at rallies, speaking to union meetings, and in the media the strikers focused in on their enemy — Frank Lorenzo, Eastern's chief executive. Buttons and T-shirts with a slash through Lorenzo's name became the symbol of the strike.

Through keeping up the picket lines and centering their fire on Lorenzo, the strikers kept on the course needed to mobilize their ranks and the broadest number of supporters possible.

Lorenzo files for bankruptcy

On March 9, 1989, five days into the strike, Lorenzo took Eastern into Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. Once Eastern filed for bankruptcy the media shifted its focus from the rallies and picket lines of the strikers to the proceedings of the bankruptcy court.

The carrier's owners were hoping to get the strikers and working people in general to turn their attention toward the deliberations of the court and away from the strike. They sought to convince workers that decisions

Eastern management thought it was well prepared for a strike.

about the strike would be made elsewhere than on the picket lines, and that they could not affect those decisions.

Top officials of the IAM, TWU, and ALPA added to this diversion by claiming that the bankruptcy court was where the decisions would be made on the future of the airline. Instead of deepening the mobilization and organization of the Eastern strikers and other airline workers, the officials put forward the view that the judge could be pressured to make decisions favorable to the strike, such as replacing Lorenzo.

Lorenzo hoped that by getting protection in the bankruptcy court he could restart the grounded airline. Hit hard by ferocious competition in the airline industry, Eastern had already lost millions of dollars in previous years. In the first of several reorganization plans, Lorenzo said he would reduce the size of the airline by selling off 40 percent of



Strikers bring their solidarity to Washington, D.C., abortion rights march in April 1989.

Eastern's planes; selling the carrier's New York-Boston-Washington, D.C. shuttle to Donald Trump for \$365 million; and by the sale of profitable routes — including Eastern's Latin American routes, which American Airlines bought — and part of its Philadelphia operations. He still hoped to defeat the strike and accomplish his goal of a nonunion airline — even if it meant a smaller one.

The job of the bankruptcy court is a narrow one, more restricted than most courts in the United States. Rulings made by the bankruptcy judge are simply aimed to protect the social capital — in this case the planes, equipment, computer systems, terminals, and hangars of Eastern — in the interests of a company's owners and creditors.

Throughout the course of the strike the bankruptcy judge has protected the prudent business decisions of the corporation, as long as they did not threaten the interests of the creditors.

The challenge of the rank-and-file fighters was to see that the outcome of the strike rested on moving forward and keeping their eyes focused on the picket lines and strike activities.

While initially many strikers were drawn into following every aspect of the proceedings of the bankruptcy court, this soon dissipated. As rulings came down that went against the interests of the unions, strikers quickly began to learn that the courts were not neutral. The Machinists pressed forward, keeping the strike firm and continuing to win broader solidarity.

Labor officials seek 'white knight'

Early in the strike, the Machinists were hit with another challenge — the attempt by the IAM, TWU, and ALPA leaderships to seek out a "white knight" to buy the strike-bound airline. The officials said the most important goal of the strike was to keep the "Eastern family" together — just without Lorenzo.

Negotiations took place with several big-business figures, including investor Peter Ueberroth, and later Chicago commodities speculator Joseph Ritchie. In negotiations with Ueberroth, union officials agreed to \$210 million in concessions. Ritchie demanded \$400 million in cuts — an average of a \$7,200 pay cut for each worker!

Initially, many of the strikers supported bringing in these so-called white knights and adopted a wait-and-see approach to negotiations with them. But as more of the plans for concessions were revealed, some strikers began to oppose the idea that the unions should spend their energy on finding a suitable buyer for Eastern. Some started to conclude that a new owner would not necessarily mean a better situation. In the end, negotiations with Ueberroth and Ritchie collapsed and most strikers decided the best thing to do was to continue the fight.

The first sale of a major part of Eastern during the strike was investor Donald Trump's purchase of the Northeast shuttle. Strikers then began to discuss how to fight to keep the union at what is now Trump Air.

This was an important question because it posed the problem of some strikers returning

to work while others remained on the picket lines, thus weakening the overall fight.

Some strikers pointed out that anything sold should be treated as struck work, and that the picket lines should remain up. However, union officials took down the picket lines at the shuttle in Washington, D.C., Boston, and New York, and on June 7 a number of strikers went to work at Trump Air. Initially, they went back without a contract, but eventually a six-month contract that contained some concessions was agreed to.

Something new in labor movement

By the time the first weeks of the strike had passed, it was clear that something new had happened in the labor movement.

For the first time in the 1980s, a sustained nationwide strike was under way, and it had not been either blunted or defeated by the bosses.

As the ranks of the IAM at Eastern continued to keep their picket lines up and as Eastern's financial losses began to mount, many began to get some experience and take initiatives to strengthen the organization and mobilization of the rank-and-file fighters.

Striker Zena McFadden, a member of IAM Local 702 in Miami, wrote in the June 9, 1989, *Militant* "The strike headquarters is open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. At any one time there will be from 25 to 100 people in the union hall." Taking measures to meet their needs during the walkout, strikers set up a food bank, a center to dispatch pickets, and a table where strike T-shirts, buttons, hats, and publicity material could be checked in and out. A thousand bags of groceries were distributed each week.

"No one tells us what to do," an Eastern flight attendant said. "We just see what needs to be done and do it. We're on strike, and we're an army, an army of labor, and that's how things get done."

'Strike is about union's existence'

In Los Angeles a Solidarity Rally for Eastern Strikers was held June 17, 1989. The strikers campaigned among unionists in the area to build participation in the event. "This strike is about the very existence of the union," the rally leaflet said. "Lorenzo wants to bust it like he did at Continental. Today, the fight is at Eastern; tomorrow, it could be at any company organized by the IAM — or any union. Now is the time for all of us to join the fight!"

Washington, D.C., strikers organized two food banks, assisted by the United Food and Commercial Workers and the Teamsters. Hughie Kelly, an IAM member with 21 years at Eastern pitched in to keep the food bank going. "This keeps me busy through the entire week," he said. Explaining he was new to putting together such an operation, Kelly said, "I helped organize a union picnic five years ago, but that's it."

"It's like a 15-round prize fight," another D.C. striker said. "We've taken some blows, but so has Lorenzo. It's surprising — over the last few weeks, our members have stepped up their picketing, and our support is increasing."

Philadelphia strikers began organizing an airport rally when they heard that Lorenzo planned to begin flights from that city July 2, 1989. "Everybody is watching this strike," one Machinist said, "even people not affiliated with this union or any union. When you wear your button they ask you how it's going."

At New York's La Guardia Airport strikers began to organize speaking engagements at area unions, explaining the stakes in their fight and encouraging financial donations and participation in daily picket lines.

A fighting slogan, demonstrating the strikers' determination to block the union-busting drive, became "One day longer than Lorenzo!"

Miners strike against Pittston

By far the most significant reinforcement for the Eastern strike came in April 1989 when 1,700 members of the United Mine Workers of America who had been working under an expired contract for almost 14 months, went out on strike against the Pittston Coal Group.

UMWA members working at Pittston's coal mines in Virginia and West Virginia had also come to the conclusion that a fight was necessary. Pittston demanded the right to carry out unlimited overtime work, including on Sundays, eliminate 600 jobs, and cut health and safety benefits.

Pittston's union-busting goal was clear and the miners were determined to avoid a repetition of the defeat at Massey a few years earlier. Their resolve to fight was grounded in a widening knowledge of the stakes involved for the entire union in the fight.

For the next 11 months the ranks of these two strikes joined together to strengthen each other's battles and use union power to push back their respective bosses.

Both strikes received support from the labor movement, including the official backing of the AFL-CIO. The fights they were

From early on, the rank-and-file fighters put their stamp on the battle.

waging inspired other airline workers, coal miners, and millions of working people who have been suffering a decade-long antiunion offensive by the bosses.

Miners joined the Machinists' picket lines in front of airport entrances at Eastern. And striking Machinists visited "Camp Solidarity" — a strike center that UMWA members set up in southwest Virginia, where unionists and others from around the country and throughout the world came to show their solidarity with the Pittston strike.

Eastern, Pittston strike solidarity

In late May 1989, Eastern and Pittston strikers began a joint 12-day tour in the eastern coalfield communities of Virginia, West Virginia, and eastern Kentucky. One month later striking Machinists participated in the national gathering of the Coal Employment Project, an organization formed in the late 1970s to help women get and keep jobs in the coal-mining industry.

As the fight at Pittston became known throughout the ranks of the miners' union, and Pittston refused to give in, some 44,000 miners struck throughout the eastern coalfields in support of their embattled union brothers and sisters. This began in June 1989 and extended over a six-week period. The action gave a giant boost to the Pittston miners and helped show the resolve of the mine workers to defend their union.

When the miners took over and occupied Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant in Virginia on Sept. 17, 1989, Eastern strikers, other unionists, and supporters joined in a solidarity demonstration of several thousand outside the plant.

Over the course of the Eastern strike, much support has also been won from around the world. One outstanding expression of this solidarity came from the Bermuda Industrial Union. This union campaigned to prevent Eastern from restarting flights in and out of Bermuda. The June 16, 1989, *Militant* reported in the "Support Eastern Strikers" column that the efforts of the Bermuda unions had been successful, and had become an inspiration to the striking Machinists.

(To be continued)

Messages back committee's constitutional rights

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed 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 au-

thorities, he continues to be politically active in prison and refuses to be isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



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 Committee, Box 1048, Des

Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695. If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the Militant.

This week's column features excerpts of messages recently sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. They express support for the constitutional rights of the committee and its supporters.

The group came under attack in a lawsuit against Curtis by the parents of the woman he was accused of assaulting in 1988. The lawsuit, still pending, is aimed at getting a massive financial judgment against Curtis and his wife, Kate Kaku.

The Iowa district court judge presiding in the case ruled that the committee's financial records and contributors should be disclosed to determine if funds raised by the group could be used to pay a court judgment against Curtis.

This intrusion into the committee's affairs represented a serious

threat to constitutional liberties, particularly the rights to free association and privacy, and threatened to cripple the committee's functioning.

After a public campaign and legal steps to counter this assault on democratic rights, the committee won a protective order from the court, limiting the scope of the intrusion and safeguarding the rights of the committee and its supporters. The judge has yet to rule on whether the committee is financially liable in the lawsuit.

* * *

We wish to register our strong objections to any attempt, by means of a harassment lawsuit, to obtain confidential records and seize the funds of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

This suit not only attempts to deprive Curtis of an organized defense, it threatens the constitutional rights of all to privacy and freedom of association. If the names of all who have donated time and/or money to the committee are made public, these individuals may be subjected to intimidation by those who oppose civil liberties.

As unionists who support democratic rights, we are gravely concerned and urge the right to privacy and the financial autonomy of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee be upheld.

Tomás Villanueva
President, United Farm Workers of Washington State
Pat Stell
President, Seattle chapter, Coalition of Labor Union Women
Kim Ramsey
President, International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002, Seattle
Norma Kelsey
President, Office and Professional Employees International Local 8, Seattle

I protest the attack on the freedom of association and the right to privacy of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. By ordering testimony on the financial resources of the defense committee in order to assess damages, the district court in Iowa is attacking the right of supporters of Curtis to band together and to organize to speak out for justice for Mark Curtis.

If this attack is successful, it can be more easily extended to other defense committees, to civil rights organizations, and to trade unions who are defending their members. It is an attack on the most basic and broadest rights in the Constitution — the rights to associate freely, to speak out, and to seek a correction to injustices.

Ray Rogers
Director, Corporate Campaign, Inc.

I would like to express my grave distress at the possibility that the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's books and records may be opened for scrutiny.

Like others, I firmly believe in voluntary political organizations' constitutional right to privacy, especially regarding information on lists of supporters and contributors. This right to privacy is the heart of free speech and association.

I trust that the judicial system in Mark Curtis' case will recognize and uphold this vital part of our nation's heritage.

Barry Wilson
Chairman, Auckland Council for Civil Liberties, New Zealand

This latest attempt to confiscate funds subscribed for Mark's defense comes as no surprise. It is par for the course and evokes nothing but a feeling of contempt and disgust for those behind it.

Momentum in the fight to free Mark must and will be maintained until, like Nelson Mandela, once again he walks tall and free.

Jock Barnes
Veteran trade unionist, Auckland, New Zealand

I fully support the struggle for justice for Mark Curtis and oppose the demand that the books and records be opened for scrutiny.

Dennis Brutus
South African poet

Lawyer questions Des Moines cops in Curtis suit

Continued from front page

After the civil rights action was initiated, Des Moines city attorneys refused to produce the vast majority of police department files on the beating, claiming numerous "privileges."

Eichhorn and Kutmus requested that the city attorneys set a date so they could question all the other officers who they believed were present in the city jail at the time of the beating. For months city officials delayed.

Finally, Eichhorn subpoenaed the officers and set October 29 to take their sworn testimony. The proceedings took place at City Hall, and Mark Curtis Defense Committee coordinator John Studer accompanied Curtis' attorney. City Attorney Bruce Bergman represented the police.

Eichhorn questioned Sgt. Robert Ervin, Inspector Ralph Roth, Detective Carolyn Taylor, Patrolman James Oleson, Sgt. Ronald White, and Commander Kayne Robinson.

Studer reported on the legal developments at the defense committee's weekly meeting October 30. Ervin, who testified that he was in charge of the jail the evening Curtis was brought in, admitted that he had participated in "restraining" the political activist. He said, however, that he could not remember who gave the orders to "restrain" Curtis or whether the cops were sent to accompany him to the hospital after the beating.

Cops remember little

Studer said that the other officers testified they had little to do with the events that night, and remembered even less.

"Inspector Roth testified that he helped hold Curtis down and it was not until later that they noticed Curtis was injured," Studer said. Roth characterized the fracture and facial cut as a "little laceration in the left eyebrow area."

Taylor and Oleson testified they were partners and were at the jail that night, Studer reported. Taylor told Eichhorn that she went to the closed room where Curtis was being held and found him on his face with his hands behind his back. At Dusenbery's request, she slapped handcuffs on Curtis' wrists, she said, and immediately left the room. She said she never heard anything about the beating again.

Oleson testified that he was not around when any of these events took place and could not remember where he was, Studer said.

Sgt. White testified he was not at the jail but was in charge of a number of squad cars that night. This included the one driven by the two officers that arrested and framed

Curtis, Studer said.

White said that he never met Curtis, talked to him, or went to the jail that night.

Studer reported that White said he had a long, varied career with the Des Moines Police department, including teaching at the police academy. When Eichhorn asked what he had taught, he answered, "Physical restraint, self defense, and how to write out a police report."

Eichhorn asked him whether he knew anything about the arrest of the 17 Latino workers at Swift. White said that it was "common knowledge" that there were "illegals" at Swift. "White testified that as an undercover narcotics officer, 'it is my business to buy drugs, and I buy a lot from people who work down there and they're illegal,'" Studer told the meeting.

Finally, Eichhorn questioned Robinson, who was in charge of the shift at the time of Curtis' arrest. The officer is a longtime right-wing political activist. He is on the board of directors of the National Rifle Association, was co-chair of the Jack Kemp presidential campaign in Iowa, has testified before Congress in favor of the use of deadly hollow-nose bullets, and has been accused of being connected with the right-wing terrorist group, the Minutemen, a charge which he denies.

Robinson said he was not at the jail when Curtis was booked and beaten. He did not remember where he was at the time.

Robinson admitted that the police department here maintains an intelligence unit, but claimed he knew little about its activities. Studer reported that the officer testified that he had never heard or participated in any discussions about Curtis, either before or after March 4, 1988.

"All in all, the officers either said they weren't there or attempted to back up Wolf's and Dusenbery's story that Curtis attacked them and his injuries were the natural result of their efforts to defend themselves," Studer reported.

"We will press this suit," Studer concluded, "to prove that the beating of Curtis was a brutal violation of his rights, to make the cops responsible by paying damages, and to defend everyone's space for political activity — free from cop violence."

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Militant/Stu Singer

Curtis following his release from police custody on March 5, 1988.

Several dozen supporters of parole for Curtis plan to attend hearing

BY CHRIS REMPLE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Some 69 supporters of parole for Mark Curtis have asked Iowa prison authorities to be able to attend a state Board of Parole hearing in Fort Madison on November 20. The board is scheduled to discuss whether to release the Des Moines unionist and political activist.

Curtis is incarcerated at the state prison in Fort Madison. He was framed up by Des Moines police on rape and burglary charges and began serving a 25-year jail term in September 1988.

Those planning to attend the hearing include Chris Spotted Eagle, a Native American filmmaker from Minneapolis; Dow Voss, an organizer for the building trades unions in Coralville, Iowa; Kim Ramsey, president of the International Union of Electronics Workers Local 1002 in Seattle; Harold Dunkelberger, an Iowa farm activist; and Strife Chiloane, a South African student at Iowa State University.

Many supporters, including those planning to attend the hearing, have written letters asking that Curtis be released. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is collecting the letters and will organize a delegation to deliver them to the parole board on November 15. A press conference is also planned.

Patricia Rincón, a victim of a recent assault

by Des Moines police at the United Mexican American Community Center, wrote: "I beg you, please grant Mark his parole. He deserves his freedom."

William Schenck, an Eastern Airlines strike activist from North Carolina and a retired Grand Lodge representative for the Machinists union, plans to attend the hearing. "I urge you to grant Mark Curtis' request for parole since the record shows that he would return to society as a productive citizen and family member," Schenck wrote to the board.

Letters have also come from Rev. G.W. Blakesley of Carlisle, Iowa; the Wear Valley District Trades Union Council in Auckland, New Zealand; Ruth Morris, coordinator of the Black Creek Community Coalition Against Drugs in Downsview, Ontario; Scott Urban, Co-executive of the University of Colorado Student Union; Jaime Vásquez, city councilman from Jersey City, New Jersey; and William Torres, chairman of United Transportation Union Local 620 in Cicero, Illinois.

John Studer, coordinator of the Curtis defense committee, urged supporters to continue collecting letters backing parole for Curtis. They should be addressed to the Iowa State Board of Parole and mailed to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

SWP fields 175 candidates in 23 states and the District of Columbia

Reactionary laws often prevent young people or immigrants from participating in the elections. In Iowa and New York, there are stand-ins for SWP candidates who do not meet the age requirements for ballot status.

* * *

Mary Zins — U.S. Senate
Don Davis — U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
Dana Burroughs — U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.
Ellen Haywood — U.S. Congress, 21st C.D.



Militant/Margrethe Siem Militant/Sara Lobman
Craig Gannon (left) is the SWP candidate for governor of New York. Margaret Pucci, a member of the International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines, is the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.



Militant/Eric Simpson
Maceo Dixon is a member of the International Association of Machinists and SWP candidate for governor of Georgia.

Andrea Morell — U.S. Senate
Russell Davis — U.S. Congress, 6th C.D.
Elizabeth Soares — U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.
Donald Gurewitz — U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.
Christopher Hedges — U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.

David Marshall — Governor

Matt Herreshoff — U.S. Congress, 4th C.D.



Militant/Steve Halpern
Francisco Picado, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member, is running for Congress in Pennsylvania.

Sandra Dillon — House of Delegates,
32nd Dist

Campaign against war drive

Continued from front page

moving to take advantage of the Baghdad regime's indefensible actions.

Washington and its allies are advancing imperialist interests in the region, systematically blocking all attempts at a peaceful resolution of the crisis, and marching steadily toward war.

The single biggest immediate blow that could be dealt the imperialist war plans would be for the Iraqi regime to announce and initiate the complete withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait.

The facts about the imperialist military buildup reveal the seriousness of the drive by Washington and its allies toward war.

- Currently some 240,000 U.S. troops are deployed in the Gulf region — four-and-a-half heavy armored U.S. army divisions plus 45,000 marines. Some 100,000 more troops are on the way, including another heavy armored division. Since the buildup began immediately following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the shipment of troops and weapons of war to the region has not slowed down for one minute. The air and sea lift of U.S. troops has been described by Pentagon officials as the speediest for an operation of its size in the history of warfare.

These troops are not part of lightly equipped mobile units, like those at the center of the U.S. invasions of Grenada and Panama. In fact, the Pentagon soon plans to pull out the Rapid Deployment Force of the 82nd Airborne Division and replace it with a heavier armored division, including troops currently stationed in Europe as part of NATO forces.

- One thousand top-of-the-line tanks and two aircraft carrier groups are stationed in the area. The U.S. navy flotilla includes 55 surface warships and six to eight nuclear-powered submarines.

- Some 500 war planes are flying the skies over the Saudi desert.

- In addition to Washington's forces, nearly 200,000 troops have been sent to the area from 11 countries. This is not only the largest deployment of U.S. forces since the Vietnam War, but the largest deployment of French military forces since the brutal colonial war against the Algerians from 1954–62 and the largest British deployment since the colonial assault on the Argentine Malvinas Islands in 1982.

- The British government forces include 15,000 troops, one armored brigade, and 58 planes. There are 13,000 troops from France, with 75 planes and an aircraft carrier.

- Saudi Arabia has 65,000 troops and 180 planes, two armored brigades, and has amassed other war matériel, including advanced weapons. The deployment by the Syrian government includes 19,000 troops on Saudi soil, plus 50,000 troops along its border with Iraq.

Other countries that have sent military troops include Argentina, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Pakistan, Italy, Morocco, and Turkey. Additional countries have supplied ships and planes, among them Italy, Canada, Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, the Soviet Union, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Portugal, and Poland.

During this mammoth imperialist-orchestrated mobilization of some half-million troops, Washington has put tremendous pressure on the governments of Germany and Japan to send forces into the region, even at the price of provoking a sharp parliamentary debate and widespread opposition in Japan. Both governments are considering doing so, and a historic debate on the overseas use of Japanese armed forces has already exploded in the streets of that country.

On the other hand Iraq, a country of 16 million people, has 430,000 troops amassed near the Kuwaiti border with more than 3,500 tanks and a modern air force.

Two well-equipped armies totaling 1 million troops are now facing each other in the Middle East.

While placing an embargo against Iraq, and then cynically taking advantage of all food and other shortages at embassies in Kuwait to loudly beat the drums for an assault, Washington is taking the time it needs to build up the kind of military force that can sustain an invasion of Iraq. Regardless of how long it will take to gather the necessary forces, no one should have any illusion that this buildup is meant for anything other than a real war.

The U.S. rulers seized on Iraq's invasion of neighboring Kuwait to begin their war preparations. But their goal is to reassert their military and political domination in that part of the world and their economic interests over more than 50 percent of the world's oil reserves that lie under its soil, and to shift the relationship of forces in the Mideast against the Palestinian fighters and all toilers to the benefit of imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation.

From U.S. President George Bush to Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, top officials of the imperialist world have made it clear they seek above all to unleash a gigantic and bloody conflict in the region that will result in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children from Iraq and Kuwait, as well as among the more than half-million immigrant workers still stranded in the region.

Thousands of young men and women in the uniforms of the U.S. military and its allies will die, while tens of thousands will be crippled for life, defending Big Oil and the imperialist economic, political, and military interests in the region.

Even before a shot has been fired, body bags with the remains of young U.S. soldiers who have died as the military gears up in the Gulf are being shipped back to cities across the country. In Iraq and Kuwait, as well as Jordan and elsewhere throughout the region, tens of thousands are suffering the hardships resulting from the inhumane embargo imposed on trade with Iraq.

The military confrontation Washington is getting ready for will also bring economic devastation to millions in the Mideast and to the rest of humanity as well. This is especially true for those who have been hardest hit by the increase in the price of oil in the Third World, countries already devastated by the burden of billions of dollars in debt.

The war in the Mideast "will not only cost many lives on the battlefield there," said Cuban President Fidel Castro in a September 28 speech, but "would also be a catastrophe for the world economy."

"Just as some countries will be swimming in money," Castro said, "others will be swimming in misery, sacrifice, and suffering of every type. For every life lost on the battlefields of the Arab-Persian Gulf, a thousand persons will die of hunger in the Third World. Such a fate would be unavoidable."

The war drive is taking place as the world capitalist economy is heading toward a depression. Unlike the war, the coming depression is not primarily a matter of policy by the U.S. rulers. It has its roots in the never-suppressed capitalist business cycle, intensified by declining profit rates, stiffening international capitalist competition, the mounting debt of the Third World countries, the growing banking crisis, and the collapse of the real estate boom.

As this economic crisis deepens, the ruling families will seek to squeeze working people in the United States and around the world even more, driving down workers' standard of living, cutting back on social benefits, and trying to gut the union movement — deepening misery and social differentiation in the working class.

Finding the capitalist economic system slowly but surely marching toward disaster, the rulers must move to rebuild their world as they have done in the past — through war and the devastation of the lives of millions worldwide.

Far from not wanting a war, the ruling rich have repeatedly sought out war as the solution to their economic, social, and political crises. Such a war would bolster the economy, temporarily boosting profits and production, regardless of the devastating effects on the toilers.

The war drive is truly a bipartisan effort. From Jesse Jackson to Jesse Helms, no official of either the Democratic or Republican parties is speaking out unconditionally against Washington's presence in the Mideast. The only debate in Congress is whether or when to demand that Bush allow it to vote in favor of sending troops into Iraq—which they will do by a large majority once the fighting has been kicked off.

But working people, young people facing the prospects of fighting, and others are speaking out in the thousands. Protests have recently been held in some two dozen cities across the United States. In Israel, France, Sweden, Britain, Argentina, Spain, Japan, Syria, Iran, and Canada opponents of the war buildup have also held demonstrations.

Facing a young post-Vietnam generation they hoped was free of the "Vietnam syndrome," the U.S. rulers are instead finding deep opposition to another prolonged war, even before it begins. A broad layer of veterans who remember the horrors of war from Korea, as well as Vietnam, are already speaking out, joining the young men and women today in uniform who say they will not die for Big Oil.

Demonstrations on October 20 built on the political conquests of what was learned in blood during the U.S. wars in Korea and Vietnam. Each future protest will draw even more broadly on the opposition to a new Vietnam.

In addition, although the employers and their government have dealt the working class and the unions blows over the course of the last 15 years, they have been unable to break the resistance of the labor movement, demoralize working people, or shove them out of the middle of politics in the United States. Combined with continued defensive fights by unionists, this fact signals the forces that can be brought to bear against a deepening and bloody war.

Mobilizations and other events are a crucial part of drawing the broadest layers of working people, including GIs, into actively fighting the war. Such efforts are the best road toward involving unionists and official union bodies in protest activities. They are indispensable to hastening growing labor opposition to the war drive.

An invaluable tool now available to build the kind of movement that will be necessary to stop Washington in its tracks is the recently published Pathfinder pamphlet titled *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*.

A campaign to distribute the pamphlet together with the *Militant* as widely as possible is already under way. We ask you to join this effort to win others to the movement against the war drive.

Bring the troops home now!

End the criminal blockade of food and medicine to Iraq and Kuwait!

Foreign troops out of the Mideast!

Where the Socialist Workers Party came from

BY DOUG JENNESS

November 7 is the 73rd anniversary of the 1917 Russian revolution. (It is often referred to as the October Revolution because the revolutionary government headed by the Bolsheviks came to power in October 25, according to the antiquated calendar used by the tsarist regime.)

This event merits celebration by working people around the world, because it was the first time that workers and peasants established their own government. In the course of doing this, they overthrew the monarchy, eradicated landlordism, and carried out a radical land reform. The new government — based on elected councils of workers, peasants, and soldiers — moved, in its first year, to expropriate the entire class of capitalist profiteers.

The secret deals that had been made between the Russian government and its imperialist allies on how the spoils of war were to be divided were exposed to the entire world.

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

The right of self-determination of nations oppressed by the tsarist empire was honored by the revolutionary government.

Internationally, the October Revolution inspired an entire generation of revolutionary fighters to try to build political parties in their countries like the Bolshevik party. They joined in helping to set up the Communist International in 1919.

In the United States, revolutionary workers, militant class-struggle fighters, and young rebels formed the Communist Party in September 1919. They came from the revolutionary-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, the left wing of the Socialist Party, and significant labor struggles. They recognized the need to break with many of their previous views of politics and organization and began to chart a new course by forming the Communist Party. The new organization attracted the best revolutionary combatants of the time. It actively participated in and helped lead many labor battles, including attempts to organize workers into industrial unions.

These early communists launched a newspaper that served as an organizer for the party and its campaigns, and they engaged in a wide-range of activities to attract and win new members, including election campaigns and public meetings. They stood up against fierce government witch-hunting and large-scale deportations of foreign-born members and conducted defense efforts on behalf of framed-up unionists and political activists.

But by the mid-1920s the Communist Party in the United States was coming under harmful pressure from Moscow. Both the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were becoming deeply bureaucratized. A conservative layer of careerists and self-seekers began to reverse the revolutionary course advanced by the Bolsheviks and the early congresses of the Communist International under V.I. Lenin's leadership.

Under the misleadership of Joseph Stalin, the Communist International was also corrupted. Instead of a movement of communist organizations seeking to collectively hammer out international perspectives and gain a broader internationalist outlook, the Communist International and its parties became hand raisers for Moscow's increasingly reactionary policies.

A majority of the leadership in the Communist Party of the United States became flunkies for the Soviet bureaucracy. However, a small minority, including some of the party's founding leaders, continued to fight for the communist perspective they had decided to devote their lives to when they joined the party.

This placed the communists in irreconcilable opposition to the emerging Stalinist officialdom of the party, and they were expelled in 1928. They continued fighting along the same course and started publishing the *Militant* to help organize the effort to win as many Communist Party members and supporters as possible to their banner. The Communist League of America (CLA) was established and joined with communist fighters in other countries.

As big working-class struggles developed in the 1930s, the communists in the United States actively participated in them. In Minneapolis, they played a decisive leadership role in winning a series of Teamster strikes that led to a significant expansion of union power in the region and won many new working-class fighters and leaders to the communist movement.

These conquests helped open up possibilities of merging with other revolutionary forces. In one step, the CLA merged with the American Workers Party to establish the Workers Party in 1934.

In 1936 the communists entered the Socialist Party where left wing forces in the SP were open to communist ideas. After winning many adherents, including a majority of the SP's youth organization, the communists were expelled. In the opening days of 1938, they established the Socialist Workers Party, the next phase in the organizational evolution of the communist party in the United States.

Today, the SWP is actively carrying on the same fight that the pioneer communists began more than 70 years ago.

Chance of a lifetime — An ad in Britain's *Nursing Times* advises nurses and midwives of job openings in Saudi Arabia, "Superb benefits... excellent tax-free salaries... and much, much more in an



Harry Ring

exciting multinational environment."

Capitalism at its purest — The Hooker Chemical Company began dumping poisonous chemicals into

New York's Love Canal and neighboring waste sites in 1942. In 1945, a confidential company memo called it a "quagmire." In 1953, the poison-drenched waste site was donated to the community to build a school on. A proviso in the deed barred any future damage suits.

Whad'ya want for nothing — A recent news account described the Love Canal school site: "The school was built, houses crowded around and, periodically over the years, chemical residue bubbled to the surface... Full drums of chemicals sometimes popped up through the ground... Schoolchildren would sometimes be burned playing with... hot balls of chemical residue."

Taking care of business — In 1970, nearly three decades after the lethal dumping began, Washington declared a state of emergency at Love Canal. In 1980, the state of New York filed a damage suit against the owners and the suit is, assertedly, now coming to trial. Meanwhile, state officials declared part of the area "safe" and the first new home buyers are moving in this month.

The caring system — After decades of stonewalling, Congress voted in 1988 to issue formal apologies and a fast \$20,000 a piece to surviving Japanese-Americans who were incarcerated in U.S. concentration camps during World War II. Now a four-year process of doling out the apologies and checks has

begun. Half of the reported 120,000 who were interned, however, are already dead.

But not to worry — Housing starts dropped for the eighth month in a row, the longest slide since they began keeping records in 1959. A bank specialist said that given "the invasion of Kuwait, higher interest rates, falling consumer confidence, we expect the housing industry will continue to decline for the next two or three quarters."

Productivity increase? — According to the feds, in 1978 there were 3,693 U.S. jails, but by 1988 the number had dropped five percent. Meanwhile, from 1983 to 1988 the jail population increased by 51 percent.

Progress, sort of — According to the census folk, women now own an impressive 30 percent of all U.S. businesses. But the receipts of that 30 percent are a fast 13.9 percent of the total.

They also relate to Mexican history — New York's posh Plaza Hotel joined in an October salute to 30 centuries of Mexican culture. They brought up several Mexican chefs to do their specialties for Sunday brunch while accompanied by "classical Spanish guitarists."

Then you'll have to mow the lawn — If you find satellite dishes an eyesore, check out Under Cover, a dish disguised as a patio table and umbrella. \$3,000 to \$5,000.

LETTERS

Farmers and war

Recently I went with Socialist Workers Party candidates Craig Honts and Henry Zamarron to St. James, Minnesota, to campaign. We noticed a line of trucks at a grain elevator and decided to stop and talk to the group of farmers waiting to sell their soybeans. We raised our ideas and solicited theirs. We had a number of very interesting discussions and, since then, have visited other grain elevators in the Austin area.

We found that many farmers, like many workers, are deeply skeptical of the U.S. war drive in the Mideast. Several said the higher oil prices will have a big impact on them. This year's crops are pretty good and prices are such that farmers view this as one of the better years they've had in a while. But, as one explained, there really hasn't been any "recovery" — just a "good" year or two.

Beans are coming in now and corn will come in later, so we plan to continue visiting the lines at grain elevators. As one farmer said, "I have to laugh — you have a captive audience."

B.K.
Austin, Minnesota

Food as weapon

While I don't condone the actions of Saddam Hussein, I deplore the interventionist policies of the world's superpowers, especially my own country.

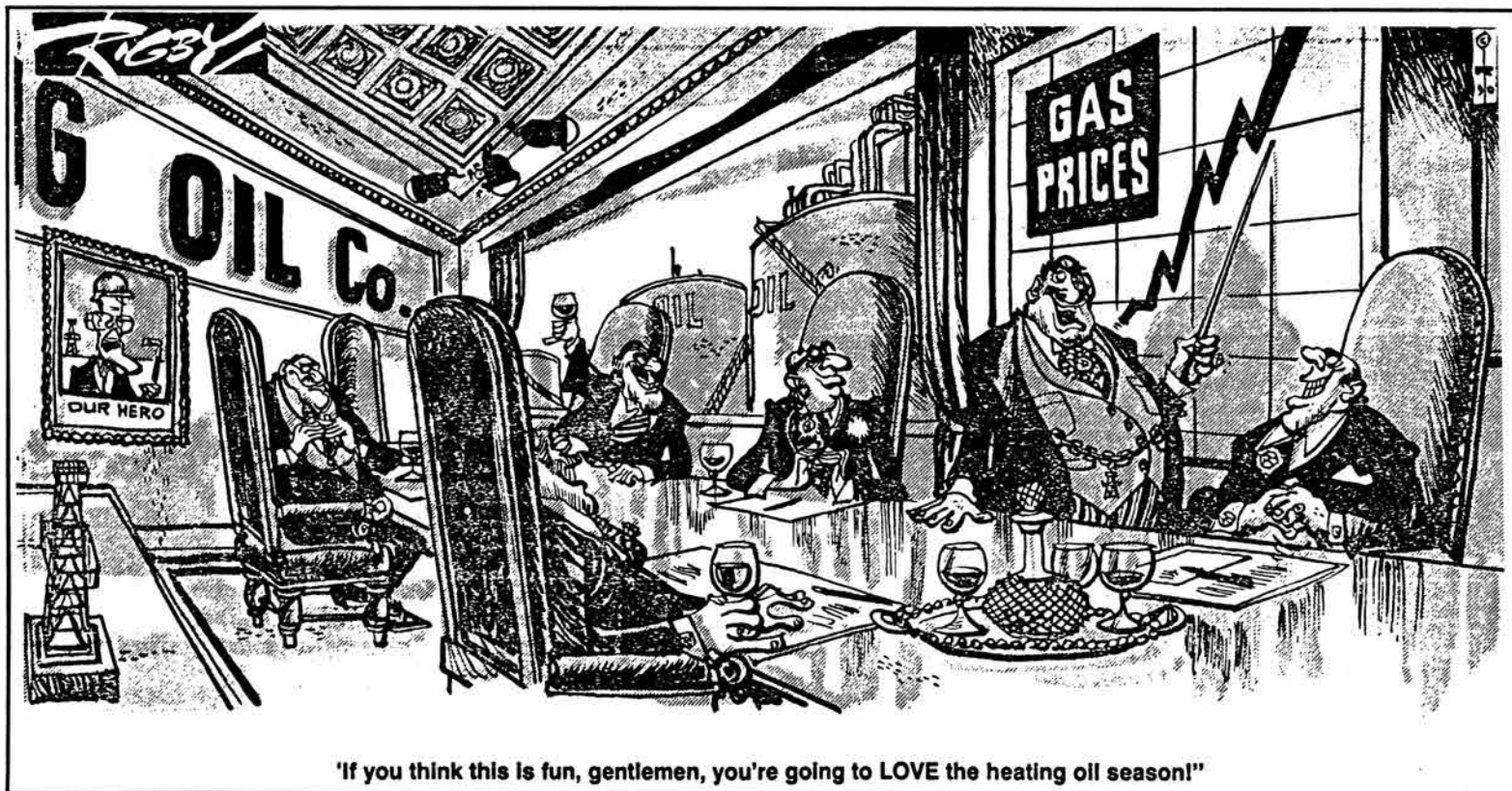
The capitulation of the United Nations Security Council to the United States doesn't surprise me, since many who sit on the council are victims of Western superpower economics and some are deep in debt to Western banks.

The hypocrisy in the so-called peace body called the UN was well put by Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcón.

I am outraged at the very thought of any nation or body of nations imposing food sanctions or using food as a weapon.

As a farmer and a Catholic, I consider food a sacred gift from God. For the United States and other superpowers to try and starve Iraq into submission both politically and economically is as sick and diabolical as the systematic starvation of retarded children by doctors in Nazi Germany. At this moment I see little difference between the condition of Iraq and of those poor souls who suffered in the Warsaw ghetto. It's the same principle.

I am disturbed that most U.S. farm organizations — including two that I belong to, the American Agriculture Movement and the Farmers Union — are supporting the food embargo. They are pandering to the same economic forces that were and are driving thousands of U.S. family farmers from the land, as well as millions of farmers in the Third World and underdeveloped nations.



"If you think this is fun, gentlemen, you're going to LOVE the heating oil season!"

No U.S. farmer will receive economic justice if they believe in starving another nation into submission.

U.S. farmers and workers must begin to understand the economic, political, and moral battle they are engaged in and that they can no longer afford to look the other way at U.S. adventurism abroad.

Let's all pay a parity price for oil, a parity price for food. Let's all agree that workers and farmers must be paid a fair wage and a fair price for their time spent. Let's not forget that the rich thrive on war and conflict and that some powerful and rich people view humans as expendable, human cannon fodder.

Larry Ginter
Secretary, American Agriculture Movement of Iowa, Inc.
Rhodes, Iowa

Invading again

Here we go again, going the wrong direction by invading the Arab Middle East countries because of oil and our fear of communism or socialism, which is called a failure because it was never put into practice in any country.

We haven't learned very much from history because our educational institutions failed to teach what politics and economics mean. This business of one country invading another country has been going on for centuries because of the lack of education and communication. The rich nations have always dominated the poor nations, and the rich have always exploited the poor.

Have we forgotten our country invaded Puerto Rico, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, Chile, Cambodia, and Nicaragua? Our free enterprise system is in bad shape; unemployment, violence, corruption, and crime are on the increase. Now we are invading the Middle East. This is very dangerous to world peace.

The profits going to the oil corporations, bankers, and investors spell chaos. So it is about time to make a change in our free enterprise system and in politics and economics.

Samuel Shyman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Abortion rights

On October 13, 4,000 women and men rallied across Canada to protest against a proposed abortion law that would once again make having or performing an abortion a crime. Actions were held in Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver.

At the Vancouver action, greetings were read from Nancy Walker, the Communist League candidate for mayor. She is an airport worker and member of the International Association of Machinists.

"This fight is part of a rising struggle around the world for democratic rights — of women, of the people of South Africa, and of Native peoples in Canada," she said. "It is also key to the fight of working people to strengthen and unify our unions as the economic crisis deepens."

Walker's greeting were well received.

Colleen Lewis
Vancouver, British Columbia

British miners

One of the participants in the United Mine Workers of America convention in Miami Beach, Florida, in mid-September attracted the interest of coal miners from the United States and Canada in attendance. Paul Galloway, 31 years old, is an underground miner from the Nottinghamshire coalfield and a member of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. He attended the first five days of the UMW convention.

Several miners remembered Galloway from a visit he made to Camp

Solidarity in southwestern Virginia during the Pittston strike. Many more thanked him for the support the British miners gave to the UMW during that strike.

Miners listened carefully as Galloway explained the recent attacks by the British government, the National Coal Board, and the media in his country in the aftermath of the 1984-85 British miners strike. Galloway explained that when the government ordered the union's assets seized, NUM President Arthur Scargill and General Secretary Peter Heathfield took measures to prevent the government from getting any money intended for striking miners.

Many UMW members noted parallels with discussions they had about protecting funds during the Pittston strike when judges levied outrageous fines against the union.

More than 45 miners, including international union officers and other officials, signed a message of support to Scargill and Heathfield, and 40 bought copies of *Response to the Lightman Inquiry*, a pamphlet that answers the slanders against the NUM and its leaders.

Mary Zins
St. Louis, Missouri

Campus protest

Four former Oberlin College students were convicted recently of charges stemming from their participation in an April demonstration protesting discrimination against Black students.

The students had organized a rally of about 200 to condemn high tuition rates that limit minority recruitment and retention, an administration attack on gay organizations, and poor access to facilities for disabled students.

According to witnesses at the trial of the students, police stormed the rally, using choke holds and striking

some protesters in the testicles with flashlights.

The students will be sentenced December 11. Daniel Kiss, one of the leaders of the protest, was convicted of the most serious charge — assaulting a police officer — and faces a maximum of one year in jail. He appealed for support for the four activists.

Messages of support and donations can be sent to Student Defense Committee, MPO 0145, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074.
Maurice Williams
Cleveland, Ohio

Christopher Davis

On October 10 Christopher Davis, a former member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Newport News, Virginia. He was 31 years old.

I first met Chris when he arrived in Newport News. Previously he had been active for several years in the Philadelphia branch of the SWP. He began working at a small garment factory and threw himself into political work. He became a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter.

Chris was also a participant in and builder of the National Black Independent Political Party in the Tidewater area.

Although he left the SWP and became inactive in politics, Chris remained convinced of the necessity of a government run by working people as a giant step leading to the liberation of humanity.

He was a fighter and a friend.
Craig McKissic
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.

'Daily News' workers on strike

Newspaper locks out 2,200 workers in union-busting drive

BY ANNA SCHELL
AND MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — Some 2,200 workers have responded to a lockout by the New York *Daily News* here by declaring themselves on strike. Nine unions at the newspaper set up picket lines October 25 in an attempt to stop the company's union-busting drive.

During an early morning shift that day, a foreman ordered union member Gary Kalinich to stand up while monitoring a conveyor belt carrying newspapers to the loading bay. Suffering from an on-the-job injury, Kalinich had a doctor's note that said he should not work standing up. After protesting the foreman's order, Kalinich was suspended for insubordination.

A business agent for the driver's union stepped in to represent Kalinich. Both were then escorted out of the plant by uniformed guards.

"Before you knew it," explained Kalinich, "the street started to fill up with 30 or 40 guys wanting to know what was going on."

Less than an hour after the incident began, a bus pulled up to the *Daily News* loaded with scabs ready to replace those who had walked out in protest of the company's moves.

Although the union insisted a strike had not been called and urged that the dispute be submitted to arbitration, the company rejected the offer and dismissed some 200 workers.

"We told them that because they had exercised their legal right to strike, we had exercised our legal right to hire permanent replacement workers," company spokesperson Lisa Robinson said.

Years of union concessions

The 71-year-old daily, with a circulation of 1.2 million copies a day prior to the strike, was the third most widely read newspaper in the United States, after the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*.

Pleading poverty and promising to invest in new machinery, the paper's management convinced the unions to give tens of millions of dollars in concessions in 1982 and again in 1987. The company, however, never bought the new equipment and opened contract talks this year by demanding millions more in concessions and sweeping control over hours and working conditions. Union contracts expired in March and no new pact was signed.

Over the past months, the *Daily News* has spent \$24 million in preparation for a strike. The company hired King and Ballow, a legal outfit that specializes in busting newspaper unions, and set up a plant in North Bergen, New Jersey, that could be used as a make-shift newsroom and production facility.

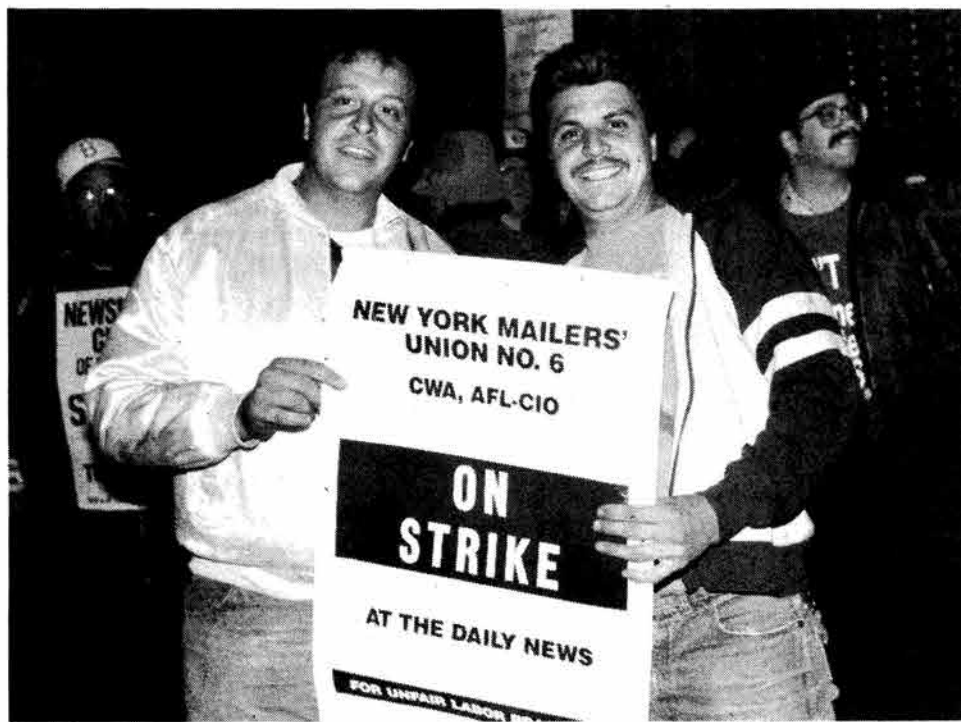
Strike breakers have been trained and housed at the Ramada Inn in North Bergen since April. Workers at the plant in Brooklyn were forced to train scabs to do their jobs.

Owned by the Chicago-based Tribune Company, the *Daily News* has also brought in strike-breaking personnel from other Tribune Company newspapers in order to continue getting the paper out since the lockout began. Unions at the *Chicago Tribune* were broken following a bitter battle in the mid-1980s.

Officials of the 10 unions at the paper, grouped into the Allied Printing Trades Council, convinced union members to continue working after the contract expired. A publicity campaign was launched to pressure the company featuring billboards, bumper stickers, and signs on buses reading: "The *Daily News* is bad for its workers. Don't buy the *Daily News*."

Unions declare strike

The evening after the lock-out began, Michael Alvino, president of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union of New York and Vicinity, and officials of the other unions led drivers through a police checkpoint to report



Members of New York Mailers Union Local 6 on picket line at *Daily News* in Brooklyn

for work. Workers shouted out, "Remember Michael — its all of us or none of us!"

Half an hour later, Alvino emerged to report to the crowd gathered outside that despite the union's offers to negotiate, the company insisted the drivers were fired.

The union president concluded the only course open to them was to go on strike, and a huge cheer went up, along with chants of "Union! union!"

Pressmen rushed down the block for a

street meeting in front of a popular bar. A shout went up when Newspaper Printing Pressmen's Union President, Jack Kennedy, declared that his union was also on strike.

By Friday night the picket lines swelled with members of nine of the 10 unions, including production workers and reporters, photographers, and some members of the business and circulation departments.

Typesetters, members of the International Typographical Union, are crossing the picket

line, citing a life-time job-guarantee package negotiated with the company.

As soon as the strike began, the big-business media focused on alleged incidents of violence by strikers as they attempted to stop scabs from entering or leaving the plants. More than two hundred riot-equipped city cops are guarding *Daily News* buildings. Thus far, some 50 strikers have been arrested on the picket line.

"They're using cops for their own benefit," said Malcolm Stokes, a union driver.

Unionists from the area have come to the picket line to show their solidarity for the struggle. A driver with 20 years at the paper said, "I really felt great Thursday night. We've been holding it inside for so long and now we're finally out on strike. I feel relieved."

One of the few women drivers explained, "I would say that I'm out here to prevent a repeat of slavery and sharecropping. If they don't whip you with a whip, they whip you financially."

Members of the International Association of Machinists on strike against Eastern Airlines have had a consistent presence on the picket lines. "When we go out on outreach activities we're going to mention their strike," said Eastern striker Harry Redash.

Several issues of the paper have been produced with the scab workforce, but many newsstands are so far refusing to carry the daily. The company continues to refuse to negotiate with the unions.

"For anyone who wants to come back to work there are positions that are still available," company spokesperson Robinson told the press three days into the lockout. "They can come back to their jobs if they haven't been permanently replaced."

Steel strikers in Canada stand firm

BY ROBERT SIMMS
AND PAULA FRAMPTON

SAULT STE. MARIE, Ontario — Some 6,000 striking steelworkers at Algoma Steel are now into the longest strike in their local union's history. October 20 marked the 81st day of their strike, surpassing the 80-day strike in 1946 that consolidated United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2251, which organizes the workers at the Algoma steel mill here.

The workers have been on strike since August 1, along with office and tube mill workers here and in two other USWA locals in Wawa, 125 miles to the north.

"I always knew that sooner or later, we would have to take a long strike," Ed Kinnis explained in an interview on the picket line. "The way the company has been asking for concessions, I knew that one day it would come to this."

Another striker nodded in agreement. "You're never prepared" for a long strike, he said. "But we're not going back for nothing."

The company is demanding the right to contract out work and is refusing to peg pension benefits to increases in the cost of living.

The membership rejected the company's latest concession demands in a massive turnout for an October 15 union meeting. On October 19, production and maintenance workers organized by USWA Local 3933 at Algoma's iron ore mine in Wawa voted 137-34 to also reject company demands for concessions. The vote bolstered the strong mood of resistance to the company's efforts to weaken the union.

New solidarity is also reinforcing the strike. Darlene Mowbray, a strike activist who had worked in the mill for the past 12 years, visited each gate, giving pickets impromptu reports on a visit that she and 28 other strikers made to Hamilton, Ontario. They had traveled to Hamilton to lend their support to steelworkers on strike against the Steel Company of Can-

ada (Stelco). The 10,000 Stelco workers in Ontario, Québec, and Alberta have also been out since August 1.

Algoma strikers were inspired by the growing unity between the two strikes and the solidarity their fight has received from the 8,000 production workers at the Dofasco steel mills in Hamilton. Dofasco is the parent company of Algoma. The Dofasco workers, who are not organized in a union, contributed more than \$34,000 to the strike in two plant-gate collections. "And they told us that if we're still on strike by Christmas to come back and they would contribute twice as

much," Mowbray explained.

In Sudbury, Ontario, INCO nickel miners, members of USWA Local 6500, decided to contribute \$25,000 to the Algoma strikers and \$30,000 to the strikers at Stelco. They will be sending an additional \$5,000 a month to the strikers in the two battles.

Financial donations to these strikes and to two other USWA locals on strike at the Placer Dome Mines in Timmins and Uniroyal Chemical in Elmira, Ontario, can be sent to USWA District 6, Special Strike Assistance Fund, 600 The East Mall, Suite 401, Etobicoke, Ontario M9B 4B1, Canada.

S. African youth leader gets warm reception in Atlanta

BY MIGUEL ZÁRATE

ATLANTA — Mpho Lekgoro, a leader of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), was warmly received here at meetings, receptions, and special events during the first stop of a nationwide tour. Lekgoro and Brian Thami Hlongwa will visit 12 U.S. cities to explain the continued struggle against apartheid. Sayco is the largest anti-apartheid youth organization in South Africa today.

Lekgoro was welcomed to Atlanta at Hartsfield International Airport October 27, by a spirited group of students from Georgia State and Metro College, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference Youth. Members of the United Auto Workers and United Food and Commercial Workers unions, as well as civil rights activists also attended. Following the airport welcome, Lekgoro had lunch at the Martin Luther King Jr., Center, and then spoke with SCLC Youth at their Atlanta headquarters.

At the King Center a reception for the anti-apartheid leader was attended by some 100 people. Rev. Fred Taylor of the SCLC pledged the collective commitment of all present to continue to deepen the solidarity with the struggle in South Africa. Other speakers included Dexter Porter of Morris Brown College; Kupenda Auset of the African Sisterhood organization at Spelman College; Joe Keenan, of the Irish Northern Aid human rights organization; SCLC Youth leader Brenda Davenport; and Carla Kausey, a representative of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Lekgoro emphasized throughout his visit that the international community, "especially our friends here in America, must keep the pressure on the South African government with all of the weapons at our disposal, especially the powerful tool of sanctions."

This message was well received when he

Continued on Page 12