

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Over the top!
Sales drive ends in victory

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Ranks of striking coal miners swell to 10,000

BY MARY ZINS

COULTERVILLE, Illinois — The United Mine Workers of America expanded its strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) for the fourth time, calling out 3,000 more miners from Consol Energy Inc. and Peabody Holding Co. mines. This is the biggest expansion of this round of the battle against the coal bosses and brings the number of strikers to nearly 10,000.

For the first time, miners in Ohio were called out. This also marks the return to the fight by some of the Peabody miners who went on strike in February in the first round of the contract battle.

The extension of the strike comes a week after the important union-organizing victory at the large Marrowbone mine complex in Mingo County, West Virginia, which is owned by Zeigler Coal Holding Co. The miners there voted by a big margin to join the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

Within hours of the announcement of the May 27 victory at the Marrowbone mine, the results were posted at strike headquarters in the southern Illinois coalfields.

"It's an outstanding victory for us," said Steve McGriff, president of UMWA Local 15 at Arch Mineral Corp.'s Conant mine near Cutler, Illinois. "This shows that in the midst of fighting for a contract, we are drawing in new forces and our movement is growing."

"We're over 400 people stronger," said Kenneth Koncubis, president of UMWA Local 1487 and a striker at the Old Ben No. 24 mine in Benton, Illinois.

UMWA president Richard Trumka and vice-president Cecil Roberts toured Pennsylvania and West Virginia picket lines the last week in May. There were rallies of

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Miners on picket line at the Arkwright Preparation Plant in Granville, West Virginia.

W. Virginia miners win union election

BY KATHY RETTIG

NAUGATUCK, West Virginia — "This is a big victory for organized labor, for standing up for our rights, for not being pushed around any more," said miner William Chapman about the May 27 union-organizing victory at the Marrowbone mine here in Mingo County.

The union representation election, supervised by the National Labor Relations Board, resulted in a 256-151 vote in favor of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

The Marrowbone miners are joining the UMWA in the midst of a critical battle for a national contract. If they are asked to be part of the expanding strike, Leonard Spence said, "Bring us out. We're brothers now."

Chapman, known to his coworkers as "Bubbles," is one of the main union organizers at the Wolf Creek Collieries mine, right across the Tug River in Kentucky. "Our union vote will be helped by the Marrowbone victory," he said.

The date for a union representation vote at Wolf Creek has been set for June 28. Both Wolf Creek and the Marrowbone Development Co. are owned by Zeigler Coal Holding Co., Inc., one of the largest coal companies in the country.

Other Zeigler mines, where the union was already in place, are currently on strike as part of the UMWA's fight against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the main coal industry group, of which Zeigler is a member.

UMWA Local 598 president Larry Bartram said, "The Marrowbone victory really thrills me, especially with such a large vote."

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Bonn rejects Washington's plans for military intervention in Yugoslavia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington's latest plan for intervention in Bosnia has run into increased opposition both at the United Nations and within NATO, particularly from the government of Germany. The plan was announced May 22 by Secretary of State Warren Christopher as a joint proposal backed by the governments of Britain, France, Russia, and Spain.

The proposal calls for creating UN-enforced "safe haven" zones around six cities in Bosnia that are mostly inhabited by Muslims — Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Goradze, Zepa, Tuzla, and Bihac. It also calls for creating a war crimes tribunal and stationing UN "peacekeepers" on Serbia's border with Bosnia to verify Belgrade's promise to halt the flow of weapons and other supplies to the rightist Serbian forces in Bosnia.

A May 26 meeting of NATO defense ministers failed to endorse the Bosnia "safe haven" plan, despite a strong pressure campaign waged on its behalf by delegates from the United States and Britain. The strongest opposition came from the delegate of Germany. "We would not have supported a statement saying that we welcomed the plan," said German defense minister Volker Rühle.

"Some countries, particularly Germany and Italy, were irked at not being consulted

on the new plan," said *New York Times* correspondent Roger Cohen in a May 27 article. "The Clinton Administration's attempt to find a common policy over Bosnia... has failed in its immediate purpose."

"There are a lot of questions about the safe havens," stated NATO secretary-general Manfred Wörner. "What does safe mean? Who defends whom? What are the rules of engagement?"

Some NATO military officials estimate that as many as 40,000 troops would be needed in the six Muslim enclaves. Washington continues to insist it will not place U.S. troops on the ground in Bosnia. However, U.S. secretary of defense Les Aspin has made clear that "more aggressive options" like military air strikes have not been ruled out.

NATO forces are currently involved in enforcing a naval blockade of Yugoslavia and a ban on flights over Bosnia.

At the United Nations it was doubtful the Security Council would approve the plan despite strong backing by four of its permanent members — Britain, France, Russia, and the United States. As of June 1 the plan appeared to lack the support of 9 of the 15 council members needed for passage.

As a result, UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali called for reconvening the

so-called London peace conference on Yugoslavia, which would involve some 30 countries, to discuss a new approach to the conflict. Washington is urging Boutros-Ghali to drop this proposal.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference, which includes 51 countries, and the Bosnian government, has rejected the "safe haven" plan.

Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic instead calls for implementing the Vance-Owen plan, which carves up Bosnia into 10 ethnically based regions.

Protest in Belgrade

Thousands of people demonstrated June 1 at the federal parliament in Belgrade, hours after a majority of legislators voted to oust Yugoslav president Dobrica Cosic from his post. Yugoslavia is made up of Serbia and Montenegro, whose deputies supported Cosic and warned that his removal could split the two republics.

Leaders of the Serbian Radical Party, which advocates "Serbia only for the Serbs," initiated the move in parliament to oust Cosic because, they said, he supported the Vance-Owen plan for partition of Bosnia. The Radical Party, the second-largest party in the federal parliament, openly calls for incorporat-

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Thousands protest racist killings in Germany

BY LÜKO WILLMS

SOLINGEN, Germany — Thousands of people have taken to the streets to protest the killings here of three girls and two women of Turkish origin who died after their house was firebombed May 28.

The fire killed four sisters — ranging in age from 5 to 27 years old — and a 12-year-old friend, who had been visiting from Turkey. Several others were badly injured, including a 15-year-old boy who is near death from severe burns. The family has lived in Germany for 23 years and most of their children were born in the country. The father works at a local clothing factory.

This is the second fatal firebombing in six months. In November 1992, three people were burned to death in the city of Mölln. In the first four months of this year, there have been some 670 attacks by rightists against working people from other countries. This is up from 420 attacks in the same period in 1992.

Just days after the firebombing in Solingen, rightists attacked Romanian refugees with a knife and pistol in Wolfsburg, injuring one man, and set fire to an asylum-seekers' shelter in Cuxhaven.

On May 29, three demonstrations protesting the murders began from the charred remains of the house in Solingen. The large-

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German court limits abortion

Germany's highest court declared most abortions illegal and imposed restrictions that include mandatory counseling to actively discourage women from terminating pregnancies. The decision sparked immediate protests. Neither doctors performing abortions nor women undergoing them in the first trimester will be prosecuted, but the procedure will no longer be covered by insurance plans and public hospitals must stop performing them. This makes abortions much more difficult for young, poor, and unemployed women. Abortions will only be considered under "exceptional circumstances."

Abortions had been free and legal in eastern Germany for the past 20 years. The 1990 treaty of German unification allowed that law to stand until Parliament passed a new one. Last year Parliament voted to legalize most abortions performed in the first three months of pregnancy. The German court's ruling overturns that decision, arguing the law passed by Parliament was unconstitutional because the state must "protect human life."

British war crimes exposed

New accounts of atrocities committed by British soldiers in the 1982 war against Argentina over control of the Malvinas Islands — located off Argentina's coast — have become public. Former British army captain Anthony Mason stated May 24 that he had witnessed the execution of an unarmed Argentine prisoner and reported it to his superiors, who never investigated the incident. Scotland Yard began investigating reports of war crimes last September, after former lance-corporal Vincent Bramley's book *Excursion to Hell* first exposed the atrocities to the public.

Korean students protest

More than 40,000 students shouting "Yankee go home" marched through the streets of Seoul May 29 in the biggest protest since President Kim Young Sam assumed office in February. Students have been protesting Washington's stepped-up threats against North Korea and the role of the U.S. military in the 1980 murders of at least 200 civilians following the 1980 rebellion in Kwangju. Demonstrators are demanding withdrawal of the 36,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea and punishment for the former presidents Chun



Egyptian military court sentenced six men to death and two others to life imprisonment in a trial with no right to appeal May 27. They were charged with attacking tourists and trying to kill Information Minister Safwat al-Sherif. In response to a series of bombings the government rounded up 2,000 people accused of being members of Islamic religious groups. Some of the detainees are pictured above protesting their arrests. Twenty-three have been sentenced to death. Amnesty International reports a dramatic increase in human rights abuses by the Egyptian regime. The police regularly detain and torture relatives of suspects.

Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo who, under the operational command of the U.S. military, led the murderous assault on civilians 13 years ago.

U.S. bars those infected with HIV

Both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives voted to continue the ban on entry to the country of people infected with the HIV virus that causes AIDS. Congress voted to label the HIV infection a dangerous "communicable disease" despite the fact that it is not transmitted by casual contact and is not contagious.

Travelers and immigrants said to be infected with HIV would only be allowed entry into the United States if they won a waiver, which can be difficult to get and time consuming. For the past year the U.S. government has been detaining at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, more

than 170 Haitian refugees who have allegedly tested HIV positive.

Florida English-only law repealed

In Dade County, Florida, the Metro Commission voted unanimously May 18 to repeal its 13-year-old English-only law. The last attempt in 1987 to annul this law failed. This victory lifts restrictions on translation in public facilities for non-English speakers and ends the commission's prohibition on printing documents in languages other than English.

U.S. seeks cutoff in loans to Iran

The Clinton administration is trying to force its allies to cut off loans, investments, and arms sales to Iran. Washington imposed stiff trade sanctions on this country after the 1979 revolution by Iranian workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorial rule of the shah.

Iranian capitalists are taking advantage of new openings brought on by the crumbling of the Soviet Union to expand their trade and political interests in Central Asia. Washington sees this as a threat to its efforts to dominate the region. At this point, capitalists in Japan, Germany and Britain are not willing to give up huge profits they make off the loans and other investments in Iran in order to aid the U.S. rulers with whom they compete fiercely for markets and raw materials.

Klan to pay damages to activists

Fifty-seven civil rights activists, who were pelted by rocks and bottles as they marched through the white enclave of suburban Forsyth County, Georgia, in January 1987, were awarded \$37,500. Outraged by this racist attack and the ongoing segregation in the area,

more than 20,000 people marched through Forsyth County the week after the incident. Five years ago a jury had awarded the civil rights marchers \$1 million. Under the current settlement the Klan agreed to pay the total of \$37,500. The court ruling also bars the Invisible Empire, and Knights of the Ku Klux Klan from using its name, its mailing list of 11,000, and the name of its newsletter, *The Klansman*.

FBI falsified evidence

Two FBI agents admitted to a jury in Boise, Idaho, May 27 that they had removed evidence from the scene of a shooting and fabricated photographs in the murder-conspiracy trial of white supremacist Randy Weaver and his supporter, Kevin Harris. This information was not made available to the defense attorney. Weaver and Harris are charged with killing Deputy Marshal William Degan in August 1992 when federal marshals came to arrest Weaver at his cabin in northern Idaho. Federal cops killed Weaver's 14-year-old son at the scene. A sniper killed his wife the next day.

Grenada gov't attacks unions

Grenada's prime minister, Nicholas Brathwaite, is pushing ahead with measures to limit workers' right to strike. Amid claims that a strike by port workers, members of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union is crippling the economy, Brathwaite introduced legislation that would take hiring out of the unions' hands and would give the government the right to settle labor disputes it deems vital to its interests.

Nicaraguan president suspends some constitutional rights

Nicaragua's president, Violeta Chamorro suspended certain constitutional rights in 14 coffee-producing municipalities in northern Nicaragua May 18 and prepared to deploy 1,000 soldiers and hundreds of police to the region. The decree allows authorities to search homes and make arrests without warrants, and to detain suspects for more than three days without charges. Justifying its action, the government said it needs to guarantee coffee producers safe movement and the ability to make a profit.

The region has a history of conflict. Government officials report continued land occupations by workers are the major "violation" of the law. Officials of human rights groups report the government abused the physical integrity and rights of hundreds of peasants in the northern region during "anticrime" campaigns.

Some residents in the area have explained that the rivalry is between landowners and poor peasants regardless of past affiliations with the contra army or the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Thirty percent of state-owned farms were distributed to former Sandinista army and contra soldiers as part of the demobilization accords following the end of the contra war. Thirty-three percent was to be property of the workers. Titles granted under the agrarian reform law during the years of the revolutionary government are not valid.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

The working-class point of view in the 'cultural wars'

In the midst of a worldwide economic depression, rightist politicians are using radical demagoguery to recruit cadres to incipient fascist movements. The 'Militant' explains why these ultrarightists scapegoat immigrants, gays, Jews, and others for the social ills created by capitalism. It provides the working-class perspective in what right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan calls the 'cultural wars.' Don't miss a single issue!



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Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: GEORGE FYSON

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Stu Singer, Pat Smith, Brian Williams.

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Unions condemn Guatemala army coup

BY GREG ROSENBERG

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador—Unions and a number of opposition groups in Guatemala have sharply condemned the June 1 army coup in that country, calling it a continuation of President Jorge Serrano's assumption of dictatorial powers a week earlier.

In the face of growing protests against Serrano's suspension of constitutional rights, the military removed him from power. Thousands of people filled the square in front of the national palace in Guatemala City and celebrated his departure with chants and firecrackers.

A coalition of trade unions, human rights organizations, and religious and other groups, known as the Multisectorial Social, responded to the military coup with a statement calling for "the immediate restoration of constitutional rule." It demanded the reinstatement of the national congress, the prosecution of Serrano for human rights violations and other crimes, and a popular vote leading to the establishment of a constituent assembly. According to the constitution, the congress would have the power to name an interim president until the 1995 presidential elections.

Serrano had suspended constitution

Serrano had suspended Guatemala's constitution and dissolved congress and the supreme court May 25. He announced rule by presidential decree and banned freedom of speech and assembly. Police surrounded the offices of the main daily newspapers to enforce media censorship. The regime issued arrest warrants for 20 trade unionists and 11 journalists.

In a weak effort to muster public support, Serrano said corruption and drug trafficking had paralyzed congress and the courts.

Two days after Serrano's coup, 1,000 demonstrators took to the streets of Guatemala City, the capital, demanding his resignation and chanting "Out! Out! Out!" Later that day hundreds of people turned a religious mass near the national palace into an antigovernment rally. "Our presence here is a clear message that we cannot be silenced or shut up," said Rigoberta Menchú, Guatemala's most prominent opponent of the regime and leading human rights fighter. Menchú joined a march of 50 journalists protesting the censorship May 31.

Newspapers began publishing in defiance of the media restrictions. As Serrano's rule continued to weaken, a stream of cabinet ministers and other officials resigned while military officers began to distance themselves from him.

Serrano's dictatorial move sought to quash mounting demonstrations and strikes by working people and youth against economic austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Salvadoran Communist Youth hold first public convention

BY GREG ROSENBERG AND ROLLANDE GIRARD

PUERTO LA LIBERTAD, El Salvador—Some 130 delegates met here May 29-30 for the fourth congress of the Salvadoran Communist Youth (JCS). The majority of the delegates were under 25 years old. Among them were high school and university students, workers, and peasants. Many had been guerrilla fighters in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). They are now demobilized under the peace accords, signed last year between the FMLN and the government of President Alfredo Cristiani, which brought an end to the 11-year civil war.

"This is like the refounding of our organization," said Roberto Hernández, a member of the outgoing executive committee. The JCS, founded in 1973, was dissolved into the Communist Party when that party joined the guerrilla struggle in 1978.

Two international delegations attended: from the July 19 Sandinista Youth of Nicaragua and the Young Socialist Alliance of the United States. Other guests included a delegation from the Salvadoran Communist Party, groups affiliated with the Lutheran church, and representatives of youth organizations that are part of the FMLN. The CP and JCS are member organizations of the FMLN.

The Guatemalan government reached a \$54 million loan agreement with the IMF last December. One out of every five dollars of the national budget goes to pay the country's \$2.7 billion debt to international banks. The regime has sharply cut back social spending, hiked fuel prices, and announced plans to privatize state-owned companies.

Since May 3 high school students have been leading protests against the elimination of subsidies for public transportation. Mass rallies opposed the increase in electricity rates, which had been raised three times in nine months. Many working people say their utility bills have more than doubled.

Public employee unions, mainly teachers and court workers, held a work stoppage May 21. Despite a large deployment of cops and troops, 4,000 workers rallied that day at the national palace demanding the president's resignation while 1,000 students held another demonstration.

Declaring he would use an "iron fist" to put down protests, Serrano ordered police and the army to patrol the capital with armored tanks and police dogs. Cops attacked a demonstration of university students May 18, injuring at least 50. Three students were killed by police that week. Subsequent mass actions called for the arrest of the cop who fatally shot one student and an end to human rights violations.

For more than 30 years, until 1986, Guatemala was ruled almost continuously by military dictatorships that enjoyed U.S. government backing. Washington sponsored a coup in 1954 that overthrew the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz. Since then guerrilla forces have waged a struggle against the regime. The fighting intensified during the 1980s, coinciding with the revolution in Nicaragua and the mass struggle against successive military regimes in El Salvador.

Multiparty talks resume in S. Africa

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The multiparty talks to set a date for elections in South Africa resumed after a disruption of several days caused by the May 25 arrests of 75 members and leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) by police. The government of F. W. de Klerk backed down within two days and released 43 PAC members, conceding there was no evidence linking them to any crime.

After an emergency meeting with two cabinet members, the PAC withdrew its threat to quit the negotiations. The government in turn agreed to free three PAC leaders.

On June 1, the 26 groups participating in

The backdrop to the congress is the continuing refusal of the Salvadoran government to honor various aspects of the 1992 accords. Cristiani's regime has refused to grant land to demobilized FMLN combatants, carry out a thorough purge of military officers who are guilty of brutality, and grant health-care coverage and other benefits to veterans of the war, which claimed 75,000 lives in this country of 6 million people.

For its part, the FMLN says all its 25,000 combatants are now demobilized and disarmed.

On May 20 security forces shot to death a Salvadoran army veteran and an FMLN veteran who were part of a demonstration demanding medical care and other benefits for disabled war veterans in San Salvador. Under protest from many of the 3,000 demonstrators, the police official in charge was dismissed from his post.

There are increased opportunities to carry out political activity since the end of the war. The JCS congress was one example of this. It was a large public event, with banners strung around the congress pavilion and delegates walking through the streets of this city wearing political T-shirts, hats, and bandannas. "A couple of years ago," one delegate said, "this

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The Guatemalan army has carried out massacres and other brutalities against working people, particularly the oppressed Indian majority. Human rights groups estimate that the military, together with army-controlled "civil defense" groups, have killed 100,000 people over the past three decades in this country of 10 million. The repression has displaced close to 1 million people.

Widespread army repression, including bombardment of civilians and forced evacuations of villages, continues in several parts of the country.

The guerrilla forces, organized in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union (URNG), have been holding talks with the government to negotiate a settlement of the armed conflict. The URNG is demanding land redistribution, limits on the political role of the military, and measures to enforce protection of human rights.

In a significant victory for working people, the regime was forced to sign an agreement in October that paved the way for the organized return of 45,000 refugees who had lived for years in camps in Mexico. The refugees received a hero's welcome from a crowd of their compatriots on the border as they began their return in mid-January.

All Latin American governments except Peru issued condemnations of Serrano's



Protesters in Guatemala City demand president resign

coup. Concerned about the expanding mass protests in Guatemala, the Clinton administration cut off most of its new economic aid package for that country, further isolating Serrano.

Following the June 1 army takeover, the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission issued an appeal for international repudiation of the coup and support to the fight for democratic rights in Guatemala.

negotiations agreed to postpone until June 25 a meeting of the higher-level Negotiating Forum, which had been scheduled to convene June 3 to set an exact date for the elections. At the beginning of May participants in the talks had adopted a declaration of intent pledging to hold the elections no later than April 1994 and to announce an election date within four weeks.

African National Congress (ANC) spokesperson Carl Niehaus told the Reuters news agency June 1 that if the new deadline was not met, the ANC and its allies would organize further mass actions to force the white minority regime to meet the democratic movement's demands at the negotiating table.

"If one considers the fact that we have already made progress in some of the issues that were said to be insurmountable during the last three years, there is no reason to be pessimistic about the future," stated ANC president Nelson Mandela May 28.

According to reports issued at the end of May by subcommittees set up by the negotiators, all but one of the 26 parties taking part in the talks now agree in principle to a transitional executive structure to preside over the election process.

Mandela held day-long talks May 31 with de Klerk to further discuss the issues still under dispute in the negotiations.

Meanwhile, the ANC announced Mandela will visit the United States for 12 days starting June 25. Among his stops will be Philadelphia, where he will receive the American Liberty Award July 4.

Rightists march in Pretoria

Hundreds of armed neo-Nazis marched through the streets of Pretoria May 29 to demand suspension of the multiparty talks and the creation of an independent white-ruled state. The demonstrators, many armed with guns and knives, paraded with swastika-like flags as some marchers shouted, "Kill the Blacks."

Although the ultraright billed the action as a major display of strength, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) was only able to muster 3,000 supporters from across the country, including groups of children. Organizers had predicted a turnout of about 50,000 people.

AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche told reporters after the rally that he would regard

the setting of an election date as a declaration of war. The various rightist groups have been unsuccessful in uniting their forces because of various tactical differences.

The ANC, on the other hand, has taken its campaign to win new members to Afrikaner towns. In early May the ANC held a successful meeting in Parow, a white suburb of Cape Town. ANC member Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of former prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, who is known as the architect of apartheid, addressed a packed town hall meeting. "It is a great relief not to be part of a small, threatened minority group anymore," he stated.

About 600 white, Coloured, and Black Afrikaans-speakers packed the small hall and a similar number rallied outside. ANC leader Carl Niehaus, a white Afrikaner who was jailed for more than eight years for his opposition to apartheid, told the crowd, "I want to appeal to Afrikaners. If you are a true patriot, then the only place for you as a patriotic Afrikaner is in the ANC."

Meanwhile, the South African Democratic Teachers Union suspended a strike planned for May 24, following the announcement of a preliminary agreement between the union and the government. The regime pledged not to implement new education cutbacks and layoffs and to reopen negotiations on teachers' salaries within four weeks. Teachers are demanding a 25 percent pay raise.

Grocery workers strike

In mid-May at least 10,000 workers at 160 Shoprite/Checkers grocery-store outlets throughout the country struck to protest the employers' termination of a union recognition agreement. The workers are members of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union.

Striking workers occupied a number of the stores May 17 and were evicted by the police, who used tear gas, sjamboks (whips), and dogs against them. More than 300 strikers were arrested on charges of trespassing, according to a union spokesperson.

A report issued by South Africa's National Manpower Commission said increased strike action cost the economy 1.9 million work-days in 1992, up from 1.2 million in 1991. The nation's gross domestic product dropped 1.7 percent last year, leading to the loss of about 250,000 jobs, according to the report.

Washington, Bonn quarrel over Bosnia

Continued from front page
ing parts of Bosnia taken over by Serb rightists into a "Greater Serbia." Supporters of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic also backed the move to oust Cosic.

The protests erupted after a deputy of the Radical Party punched a deputy of the Serbian Renewal Movement in parliament, following the debate on ousting the Yugoslav president. The Renewal Movement, an opposition group that advocates restoration of the monarchy and has ties to the Serbian Orthodox church, opposed the removal of Cosic.

The Reuters news agency reported that 4,000 people assembled at the parliament and began throwing rocks and shouting anti-government slogans after the scuffle in chambers. Police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs. At least 18 people were injured.

In a June 2 telephone interview from Belgrade, Zorica Trifunovic, a leader of the Center for Antiwar Action, said people were angered by the deteriorating economic situation — inflation stands officially at 300 percent per month — and the growing arrogance of the ultrarightists of the Radical Party. "But there were no antiwar demands by protesters," she said.

Trifunovic said one cop was killed at the protests and dozens of people were hospitalized from police blows. Police later arrested and beat Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, she added.

Trifunovic said the Center for Antiwar Action and Women in Black, an organization opposed to the war and "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia, have continued to organize small weekly picket lines against the war in Belgrade. Hundreds demonstrated against the war in April on the anniversary of the beginning of the war in Bosnia, she said.

Fighting intensifies

Meanwhile, fighting has stepped up throughout Bosnia. Some of the heaviest fighting in months erupted in Sarajevo at the end of May. Twenty people were reported killed and more than 150 wounded on May 30 alone. Bosnian government forces seized part of a road that had been under control of rightist Serb forces, who retaliated with massive shelling of civilian sections of the city.

Mortar shells exploded amid a soccer tournament in the Sarajevo neighborhood of Dobrinja, killing at least 12 people and wounding 80. Heavy fighting was also reported near the northern Bosnian town of Brcko.

In eastern Bosnia, Serb nationalist forces tightened their stranglehold on Goradze, the only majority-Muslim city left east of Sarajevo. Three days of heavy artillery bombardment reportedly forced many of the city's

60,000 residents and refugees to flee.

According to UN military commander Barry Frewer, the Serbian forces have refused to allow UN personnel to enter Goradze ever since it was declared a "safe area."

"We're going to put up a sign: 'safe area, keep out, very dangerous,'" said John McMillan, Sarajevo spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Fighting also erupted anew in the southwestern city of Mostar, where gunmen of the Croatian army evicted hundreds of Muslims from their homes at the end of May. In early May, Croat forces launched a full-scale attack on Bosnian government forces in that city, detaining about 2,000 Muslims until a truce was negotiated 10 days later.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Women in Black, a group opposed to the war, at Belgrade protest against "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia last July. Women in Black continues to organize weekly pickets against the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Will intervention end Bosnia carnage?

Pacifists and former antiwar figures argue for U.S. military action in Balkans

BY SARA LOBMAN

"Pacifists agonize on plight in Bosnia," was the headline of a recent article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The crisis in Yugoslavia, according to the *Inquirer* report, has produced "distress and conflict" among peace activists whose "long opposition to American intervention overseas is crashing headlong into 'ethnic cleansing.'"

Under the pressure of the U.S. rulers' drive to war in Yugoslavia, a growing number of these former pacifists and antiwar activists are coming out in favor of military intervention — either directly by the U.S. armed forces or under the cover of the United Nations.

But history has proven that military intervention by Washington or other imperialist powers wreaks havoc on working people around the world. From Vietnam to Grenada and from Panama to Iraq, imperialist armies have left a trail of death and destruction around the globe. In Iraq alone as many as 150,000 people were slaughtered by the U.S.-led forces.

There are no quick and easy solutions to the crisis confronting working people in the Balkans. But the forces capable of ending the carnage are the workers and farmers of the region, not the thugs in Washington, Paris, London, or Bonn.

No political entity called 'the world'

"I'm for total intervention," well-known attorney William Kunstler said in the *Inquirer* article. Kunstler has defended prominent antiwar figures in the past and has

himself opposed many U.S. military ventures. "I wouldn't have said this a year ago, but I'm saying it now. . . . I don't think the world can stand by while lunatics kill," he added.

But the "world" that Kunstler hopes will step in and stop the killing does not exist. Instead, there are specific governments that defend particular class interests. In imperialist countries like the United States, Japan, Germany, France, and Britain, the capitalist class owns the mines, mills, factories, banks, and most of the land. It uses the power of the state to defend those class interests and property relations. The ruling classes of these countries also dominate and superexploit the overwhelming majority of the rest of humanity in the semicolonial world. It is these imperialist powers — and not some benevolent world — that are currently debating intervention in Bosnia.

Kunstler is also wrong when he refers to the rival gangs duking it out in the former Yugoslavia as lunatics. The conflict in the Balkans is not the result of uncontrollable ethnic and national hatreds. It is not the result of some penchant for killing on the part of the people of the region. Rather, it is the product of the crisis and growing world disorder of capitalism. Its roots can be traced directly to the crisis of the Stalinist caste that ruled Yugoslavia for decades. Fragments of this caste — all of them anxious to become capitalists — have draped themselves in nationalist flags and are competing in a war for territory and resources.

"The United States is not the policeman of the world," cautions Bogdan Denitch, vice-chairperson of the Democratic Socialists of America, in an article in the March/April issue of *Democratic Left*, the group's magazine. Military intervention, he says, "should take place under United Nations auspices" and "U.S. forces should only be used . . . within the framework of international peace forces and under UN command."

But the United Nations is not something distinct from the imperialist powers that control it. It has nothing to do with maintaining peace and security in the world. Rather, it was established by the victors of World War II. Its purpose was to provide a framework in which the governments of the United States, Britain, and the former Soviet Union could continue to advance their common interests, while blocking each other when those interests diverged. The 1950-53 Korean War; the murder of Patrice Lumumba, prime minister of the Congo (now Zaire) in 1961; and the U.S.-organized slaughter in Iraq in 1991 were all carried out under the UN banner.

U.S. rulers defend their own interests

Many working people hope that maybe this time will be different. Maybe it is possible for the United States or the United Nations to intervene in another country for "humanitarian" reasons.

Rev. William Sloane Coffin, a longtime antiwar activist who was himself sentenced to two years in prison for his anti-

draft activities during the Vietnam War, says his "very reluctant conviction is that yes, we must intervene militarily. . . . If the U.S. has no national interest at stake, maybe it has a chance of doing something decent."

But it is exactly because of "national interests" that the rulers in Washington, Paris, London, and Bonn are debating intervention in Yugoslavia. It has nothing to do with compassion for the workers and farmers in the region.

The worldwide economic crisis, with its declining profit rates, has led to increased conflicts among the imperialist powers as they compete for markets and resources. Each is now trying to prevent the others from gaining a foothold in Yugoslavia. The French and British rulers have already sent troops in — under the UN flag — to protect their interests in the region. The German capitalists have placed ships in the Adriatic and are manning reconnaissance flights over Bosnia. This is Bonn's first military venture outside Germany's national borders since World War II.

It's in this context that the capitalist rulers in the United States are pushing for intervention. They are concerned that if they delay too long, the U.S.-dominated NATO might lose military superiority in Europe in favor of one or another institution dominated by France or Germany.

There is a road forward

There is a force that has nothing to gain from the carnage in the former Yugoslavia. The experiences of working people in the region — whether of Serbian, Croatian, or Albanian origin, or those who belong to the Muslim faith or various Christian denominations — point the way forward.

More than 45 years ago the Yugoslav workers and peasants led a successful revolution to win land, democratic rights, and better social conditions. In the process they forged a unity that cut across ethnic and religious lines.

Sections of the working class in Yugoslavia have already placed their stamp on recent events. Hundreds of thousands in Serbia and Bosnia have joined demonstrations and other protests against the war. Many working people of Serbian origin have refused to fight against their brothers and sisters in Croatia and Bosnia. In Sarajevo, citizens of Croatian and Serbian origin defend the city side by side with their Muslim neighbors.

The last thing these workers and farmers need is imperialist intervention or a brutal economic embargo. What they require instead is time to engage in politics and to forge a working-class leadership with a clear political perspective that can move forward the struggle to replace the murderous gangs in power in the different republics with a workers' and farmers' government. Working people around the world who want to help the people of Yugoslavia in achieving this goal should demand an immediate end to the embargo and a halt to any plans for intervention.

New from Pathfinder

The Truth about Yugoslavia

WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD OPPOSE INTERVENTION



George Fyson
Argiris Malapanis
Jonathan Silberman

The carnage in Yugoslavia is not rooted in "age-old ethnic conflicts," the authors explain. It is a product of the crisis of the depression-ridden world capitalist system. Rival gangs of aspiring capitalists — fragments of the former Yugoslav Stalinist regime — have draped themselves in nationalist colors in a war for territory and resources that is against the interests of all working people. Washington and its competitors in Europe are intervening militarily to protect and advance their respective interests.

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Quebec workers occupy mill to fight closing

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items as a way for other fighting workers around the world to learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Working people in Port Cartier, Quebec, are in a bitter fight for jobs at a local paper mill. The owners shut down production two years ago and have refused demands to sell the mill to new owners who say

to move it to one of its U.S. mills.

Inside the factory, workers cleaned up and prepared machinery to operate again.

Two days after the general strike, Quebec superior court judge Ross Goodwin ordered workers to vacate the plant. He forbid any attempt to obstruct delivery or remove equipment from the plant. The judge decided May 25 to allow the removal of the refining equipment. No date has been set for this.

"If they try to come in and remove that equipment, there will be a fight," said one former mill worker. "That's our livelihood in there and they're not going to take it away."

"The more we remain united," he explained, "the more we will be able to resist."

A laid-off rail worker and mem-

posed a new contract on Local 168 at the Greensburg facility.

Workers at the Ford City and Creighton plants walked off the job in support of Local 168 and because they believe a similar contract could be imposed on them next.

The union says the company's unilateral action constitutes a lock-out and the state should pay the workers unemployment benefits.

The company wants major take-backs in health coverage including placing limits on the total amount of money paid to any one worker's family.

At the Ford City plant, PPG wants a \$500,000 cap on lifetime coverage, including both hospitalization and major medical expenses. For retirees, the limit on total medical benefits would be just \$75,000 from the day of retirement.

Union members say PPG wants to stop paying into workers' pension plans, arguing that voluntary stock option and savings schemes should provide an adequate income for retirees.

All three locals have given significant concessions over the last three contracts.

ABG Local 12 member Shawn Headen said, "We've given concessions for the past nine years. When we gave up our cost of living increase in 1990 they said it was to pay for health care. Now they want to take that away from us. Our backs are against the wall."

Local 12 represents the workers at the Creighton plant, where original-equipment auto glass is made.

Increased productivity has allowed the company to cut back the work force from around 1,200 in 1980 to only 250 today.

At all three plants, pickets mentioned the \$4.8 million bonus that will be paid to the company chairman when he retires.

On the first day of the strike in Creighton, more than 30 enthusiastic pickets covered three of the four corners of a major intersection in front of the plant.

Picket lines at all three locations have been met with strong community support.

"People support us because they can see it coming after them, too,

like a big hungry bear," commented Lon Shocklay, a former coal miner now a member of ABG Local 12.

A big sign at the Creighton picket line read: "If you don't stand for something, you'll fall for anything."

Nearly 400 unionists and their supporters rallied May 20 outside the Greensburg PPG plant. More than 20 different union locals were represented, including miners. Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) have also joined the picket lines at Ford City at different times.

Local 12 has issued a call for support actions June 4 at 12:00 noon in front of PPG corporate headquarters in downtown Pittsburgh and for another rally June 22.

Meanwhile, at a PPG glass plant in Fresno, California, 200 ABG members voted to reject a contract offer and went out on strike.

At a rally of 300 striking coal miners in Ernest, Pennsylvania, May 28, UMWA president Richard Trumka welcomed the 20 glass strikers who were present. Trumka said he wanted to see a lot of camouflage — the miners' strike uniform — at the glass strikers' rally in Pittsburgh June 22. Roy Albert from the ABG also spoke at the miners' rally. □

Alaska Airlines demands concessions

On May 20 the National Mediation Board ordered the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) and Alaska Airlines into a 30-day "cooling off" period. This comes after three years of fruitless negotiations, which has seen increasing demands on the part of Alaska management for deep concessions. Terry Taylor, Seattle local executive committee president of the AFA, stated, "The company continues to demand concessions that would cut at the very heart of our job, risk our retirement benefits, and make health care less affordable."

Alaska management is demanding control over the flight attendants' \$37 million pension fund. In addition, they want to eliminate flexible scheduling, which is essential for the majority of the 1,500 flight attendants to work sufficient hours.

Management has been preparing for a possible strike by training hundreds of nonunion employees, including many management personnel, to be flight attendants. Many Alaska office workers are forced to go through this training or lose their jobs.

Flight attendants are beginning to organize themselves. At the May 18 Alaska Airlines stockholders' meeting, they organized an informational picket line attended by approximately 100 unionists, including members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Alaska. The rally was widely covered by the Seattle media. The company's weekly newsletter, *Alaskaline*, intentionally misrepresented the number of participants at the rally in an attempt to minimize its importance. After the picket line Gail Bigelow, AFA master executive council president, addressed the monthly meeting of IAM Local 2202. Bigelow called for support, pointing to the type of unity that was developed last year between the flight attendants and IAM members during the IAM contract fight.

A statement has been widely distributed to union members from IAM vice-president John Peterpaul pledging support to the flight attendants at Alaska.

AFA members are now organizing to reach out to other unionists for support. Bigelow and AFA union activist Sharon Hill were invited to address the general meeting of the King County Labor Council. The union announced plans for informational picketing at airports in Los Angeles, Seattle, Reno, Nevada, and Anchorage June 7, the first day of the new summer flight schedule. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Roger Annis, a member of Canadian Autoworkers Local 1900 in Montreal, and Brian Hamelin in Montreal; Sheila Ostrow, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7472 in Pittsburgh; Henry Hillenbrand, a member of United Transportation Union Local 300 in Philadelphia; and Mark Severs, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 2202 in Seattle.

ON THE PICKET LINE

they are prepared to reopen it. The mill is jointly owned by Cascades Inc. and the Quebec government.

On May 16 hundreds of townspeople rallied at the plant gate and about 60 former mill workers occupied the plant to prevent removal of equipment. Some 50 security guards quickly left the premises.

The occupation sparked an outpouring of support from across the region and the rest of the province. On May 19 a general strike shut down Port Cartier and more than 3,000 people marched through the streets of the town demanding, "We want jobs! We want our factory!" The population of Port Cartier is 7,000.

"The people of Port Cartier are asking for nothing more than to restore some dignity to their lives and feed their children. They are desperate, neglected for too long by governments. . . . They have nothing more to lose," explained Anthony Detroio, mayor of Port Cartier and a leading spokesperson of the campaign to reopen the mill.

The struggle over the reopening boiled over in early May when the plant was placed in bankruptcy and townspeople learned that vital paper-refining equipment inside had been sold to Boise Cascade, which intends

ber of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) union at the Quebec-Cartier Mining Company iron ore smelter in Port Cartier explained, "We're doing what's necessary to have jobs here. If they come in to remove that equipment it's certain that we will oppose it."

Quebec government minister of forests Albert Côté has backed down from his refusal to discuss a possible future for the plant. Discussions are scheduled with municipal politicians from across the region including Port Cartier. □

Glass workers strike in Pittsburgh

More than 570 members of the Aluminum, Brick, and Glass Workers (ABG) union at two Pittsburgh Plate Glass (PPG) plants near Pittsburgh walked off the job May 14. They joined 260 workers at PPG's South Greensburg, Pennsylvania, plant who were forced out on strike May 7 when the company refused to extend its contract and attempted to impose its final offer.

The plants have separate contracts with different expiration dates. The unions at the Ford City and Creighton plants negotiated extensions of their old contracts before PPG im-

Burlington Northern workers approve concessions

BY JO ROTHENBERG AND JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) on the Burlington Northern (BN) railroad's northern lines voted by a nearly 3-1 margin to accept sharp reductions in crew size, ratifying a contract already agreed to in March by union and carrier officials.

The vote, announced at the close of mail-in balloting that took place between April 21 and May 14, was 2,545 for the accord and 892 against.

More than 90 percent of the nearly 3,800 UTU members covered by the new agreement, between Minneapolis and Seattle, voted on the proposal.

The pact completes the two years remaining in the 1990-95 contract period.

The carrier's main aim in contract talks was to eliminate most brakemen from road freight hauling jobs. This cutback reduces crew size (consist) to conductor-only operations, and eliminates the standard two brakemen. Some freight operations will retain one brakeman, along with a conductor.

The contract also enables BN to cut crew sizes for terminal train switching operations. Third switchperson positions will be entirely eliminated, while some standard two-switchperson jobs will be reduced to one.

These cutbacks will result in losses of as many as 1,600 jobs for UTU members, and speed-up of labor for the remaining rail workers.

Top union officials pressed for contract ratification in union meetings at terminals across the system. They told UTU members

that crew reduction was inevitable, a view echoed by local officers at many terminals. Many union members agreed.

The most common argument used by union officials and repeated by many UTU members was that a rejection of the offer would send contract deliberations to a federal arbitrator.

And few workers felt the union was in shape to confront a government-dictated contract.

1991 rail strike

"We never fought it out with the government back in 1991," one Minneapolis switchperson said, referring to the April 1991 rail strike.

At that time, union leaders bowed to congressional demands to call off the 19-hour walkout, and ordered the rank-and-file to return to work without a contract.

A concessions contract was later imposed by the government on most of the workers, with the exception of the BN northern lines.

Meanwhile, the carrier, facing no significant resistance, continued its concessions drive against unions representing clerks, carmen, crew haulers, laborers, track repair workers, dispatchers, and others.

Some workers believed the claim that brakemen represent "excess" labor.

This view dovetailed management's argument that "surplus" workers added labor costs, which kept BN from being competitive with its rivals, and thus jeopardized steady business and job security.

The major U.S. rail carriers, as well as BN's southern lines, have already forced through such cutbacks, operating road

freight and terminal-switching operations with one engineer and one brakeman (conductor) or switchperson.

As a lure for ratification, BN offered a \$5,000 signing bonus, provisions for severance buyouts of \$80,000 for senior workers, and \$30,000 for recently hired workers.

The contract also contains a "reserve board," to be made up of furloughed workers.

These workers will receive 75 percent of the basic pay, and are subject to recall by seniority.

Rail workers in this last category will be severed from BN if they refuse to fill openings elsewhere, in some cases hundreds of miles away, to which the bosses can contractually force them.

Union officials call this a "job guarantee."

Differentiation in work force

In addition, many workers viewed the contract proposal as a "good offer" for different layers of the union membership.

In many lunchroom discussions, workers with 20 years on the job would explain to younger workers, "It's good for you. There's a buyout if you want, job protection, and the reserve board."

This argument had particular weight when applied to workers on the verge of retirement, who will receive \$80,000.

In the absence of any organized opposition in the union to the contract offer, many workers held the "what's in it for me" attitude.

This approach, however, has a double edge. Along with the sweeteners, there are bitter pills, which veteran workers will soon have to swallow.

Rail unionists, a senior switchperson in

Seattle said, "sold themselves for a few thousand dollars."

Most UTU members who will continue working expect more difficult conditions on the job and more tension between themselves and a company determined to enforce greater "labor discipline" as concessions are implemented.

As on other railroads where crew reductions were carried out, road forced to yard-switching operations will suffer high incidences of serious injury. According to an article published prior to the contract ratification in the industry magazine *Railway Age*, BN's "safety record, in terms of personal injuries, has been and remains the worst of the major railroads."

The announced elimination of one switchperson on some terminal jobs here will double, and in some cases, triple the workload.

Jo Rothenberg and Jon Hillson are switchpersons on the Burlington Northern and members of UTU Local 1000. Harvey McArthur, a switchperson in Seattle and a member of UTU Local 845, also contributed to the article.

Labor news in the 'Militant'

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

1993 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND

\$75,000

Goal	Goal	Paid	Percent
Philadelphia*	\$3,090	\$3,160	102%
Salt Lake City	\$3,000	\$2,190	73%
Atlanta	\$2,500	\$1,492	60%
Detroit*	\$3,300	\$1,895	57%
Greensboro	\$1,950	\$1,072	55%
Miami	\$1,500	\$770	51%
Twin Cities	\$5,000	\$2,548	51%
Newark	\$4,000	\$1,842	46%
Houston	\$3,500	\$1,500	43%
Chicago	\$3,000	\$1,267	42%
Boston	\$3,000	\$1,230	41%
New York*	\$8,500	\$3,325	39%
Birmingham*	\$2,000	\$735	37%
Baltimore	\$2,500	\$905	36%
Cincinnati	\$300	\$100	33%
Pittsburgh	\$2,000	\$645	32%
San Francisco	\$6,500	\$2,032	31%
Des Moines*	\$1,750	\$540	31%
Los Angeles	\$6,500	\$1,857	29%
St. Louis	\$3,350	\$885	26%
Cleveland	\$2,000	\$440	22%
Seattle	\$2,500	\$495	20%
Washington, D.C.	\$2,400	\$460	19%
New Haven	\$500	\$50	10%
Morgantown	\$1,500	\$100	7%
Albany	\$200	\$0	0%
Albuquerque	\$200	\$0	0%
Denver	\$200	\$0	0%
Portland	\$200	\$0	0%
San Diego	\$500	\$0	0%
Other	\$50		
TOTALS	\$77,440	\$31,585	42%
Should be	\$75,000	\$50,000	67%

*Raised goal

\$31,585

Diligent work in final weeks can lead to surpassing goals

BY MAGGIE TROWE

With two weeks remaining in the 1993 Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund, supporters are discussing how best to reach out broadly to coworkers and others for contributions. The fund will make possible *Militant* reporting trips to Cuba and publication of two new editions of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

In May, socialists who are members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union met in Morgantown, West Virginia, to discuss developments in their union; solidarity with the United Mine Workers of America strike; and the U.S. rulers' drive toward war in Yugoslavia. In addition, they mapped out plans to speak to a number of garment and textile workers about contributing to the Fund.

Newark rail worker Jane Harris reports that three United Transportation Union members gave a total of \$50 to the fund when asked last week. Two were already *Militant* subscribers and one just recently bought his first subscription.

In Boston, Fund coordinator Valerie Johnson reports that a broad mailing of a Fund appeal letter to local supporters of the *Militant* and *New Internationalist* is bearing fruit. A check for \$25 from supporters in Amherst, Massachusetts, has already arrived. Boston Fund activists are organizing a round of phone calls to follow up the mailing.

A backyard barbecue fund-raiser in the San Francisco Bay Area was a

big success, reports Fund coordinator Cathy Gutekanst. Sixty-five people, a number of them new subscribers to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, attended the event, which netted almost \$1,100 from the door and a collection. A program at the barbecue featured a talk by Alfredo Rico on his upcoming trip to Cuba as a reporter for *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*. Rico will attend a U.S./Cuba Sociology Conference at the University of Matanzas.

Rico and another activist who is building the Friendship solidarity caravan to Cuba spoke at Merritt College in Oakland, California, recently. Two students and two instructors who heard his talk then attended the fund-raising barbecue.

Other participants at the Bay Area event included a number of unionists, including members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; International Association of Machinists; and Amalgamated Transit Union. One of the transit workers, a Guatemala solidarity activist, spoke about protests against the recent coup in that country.

Jim White, San Francisco coordinator of the international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant*, also spoke at the barbecue. White pointed out that the success of the circulation drive, which increased the *Militant* readership by more than 2,800 new subscribers around the world, points to the importance of the Fund.

Through the course of this drive many copies of *New Internationalist* were also sold. The two upcoming issues of *New Internationalist* that the Fund will make possible will also be translated into Spanish and French as soon as possible.

With only two weeks remaining to attain the \$75,000 goal, Fund supporters in many cities will need to step up their activity to achieve their goals on time. The total received to date, \$31,585, is \$18,415 behind where the drive should be. Reports from cities around the country, however, indicate that with diligent work, completion of the goal in full and on time is entirely possible.

I pledge \$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 \$other

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Send to Socialist Workers Party, 406 West Street, New York, NY 10014

New Jersey and N.Y. grocery workers end strike

BY STEVE MARSHALL

NEWARK, New Jersey — After three weeks of escalating strikes and lockouts, 26,000 grocery store workers returned to work in New Jersey and New York May 29 to consider and vote on a proposed contract with four foodstore chains.

Negotiators for the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1262 and the Foodtown, Grand Union, Pathmark, and ShopRite chains reached an agreement May 28 at the offices of the Federal Mediation Board. The union is presenting the offer to its membership for ratification.

The UFCW local represents 28,000 workers at 310 stores in New Jersey and New York, and 1 store in Pennsylvania. Meat-cutters who belong to UFCW Local 464-A were not on strike or locked out.

The UFCW's contract with the grocery companies expired April 10. It was extended for two weeks, but on April 24 the companies rejected the union's offer of a further extension.

One of the biggest strike battles at U.S. grocery stores in 20 years opened May 7 with a selective strike at 8 ShopRite stores, followed by lockouts at 11 of the other three companies' stores. Union picket lines went up at the struck and locked-out stores, asking shoppers not to patronize them.

By May 22, 26,000 workers at 248 stores were either on strike or locked out. The companies hired thousands of replacement workers.

Companies attempt to defeat union

With the help of Burson-Marsteller, a union-busting public relations firm, the companies organized to defeat the union. They took out full-page advertisements at \$107,000 a day to argue their case. These ads trumpeted the "excellent benefits" enjoyed by workers, but failed to mention that these were precisely what the companies intended to take away.

Other ads promoted special offers and fire-sale food prices; still others proclaimed a deep "concern" for customers. But the companies' lockout strategy showed otherwise. They locked out stores nearby ones being struck — leaving area residents no alternative, they hoped, but to cross the picket lines.

The Newark *Star Ledger*, meanwhile, rejected a UFCW ad urging support for the strike.



Grocery workers on picket line at a New Jersey Pathmark store May 22. Strikers returned to work May 29 to vote on contract proposal negotiated by union.

ShopRite sent letters urging workers to resign from the union and to contact the "National Right-to-Work Legal Defense Fund." A week later, the companies began to lift some 60 lockouts and invite workers to return. The unionists stayed out on strike instead.

The union fought back, with support from workers and unions across New Jersey and New York.

The UFCW picket lines illustrated the character of the work force: men and women, Black, white, Hispanic, and immigrant, with many young workers. Two-thirds of the grocery employees are part-time workers, many of them teenagers.

Picket lines at the Pathmark store in Newark's Ironbound section were swelled by friends and supporters of the strikers. A retired meat-packer organized his neighbors to join the line at a store in Paterson.

Workers in other industries reported widespread support for the walkout as well. Many rail workers at Conrail's Oak Island freight yard, for example, said they were honoring the boycott. But one trainman explained how his child's late-night need for milk had led him to cross a picket line — resulting in a fistfight, a summons for the

rail worker, and arrest and jail for a picket.

Some shoppers did ignore the boycott call. Pickets at a Pathmark store in Jersey City, New Jersey, for instance, said that several people, mostly Asian immigrants, were crossing their lines.

Boycott pleas in many languages

Unionists, however, urged people to support the boycott in many different languages besides English, including Hindi, Tagalog, Creole, Portuguese, Spanish, and French, reflecting the multinational character of the work force.

A significant number of people heeded the boycott call, judging by the reduced volume of cars in store parking lots, the nonstruck A&P chain's report of increased sales, and one Pathmark vice-president's acknowledgment of "a fairly dramatic drop" in business.

Company officials denied that negotiations were influenced by the approach of the Memorial Day weekend, normally one of the busiest periods for grocery stores.

A May 25 rally in New Brunswick, New Jersey, drew 75 strikers and 125 supporters, many from other unions. Leaders of the United Auto Workers, Communications

Workers of America, International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, New Jersey Turnpike Workers, teachers, and others, along with officials of the state AFL-CIO, pledged support for the strike.

The rally adopted a "Plan of Action" that included establishing a labor-community coalition, a rank-and-file speakers bureau, an adopt-a-store program, customer picketing days, and a mass demonstration.

The strike centered on health care, wages, and pension benefits.

The companies sought a wrenching change from previous medical plans. Full-time employees would face steep increases in deductibles and copayments, and penalties for visits to physicians, including their longtime doctors, who are not on a company-approved "network." The resulting expenses could reach \$4,800 a year for some families.

The grocery companies wanted a six-month wage freeze.

The companies also demanded a reduction in retirement benefits, and exclusion of future retirees from the health benefits program entirely — even if they paid the full cost themselves.

Full details of the proposed settlement were not available as the *Militant* went to press.

UFCW Local 1262 spokesperson Frank Margiotta said that, although medical deductibles would rise, the companies had abandoned their demand that workers pay a share of health insurance premiums. They agreed that medical coverage would continue for retirees.

He also said the proposal includes a \$65-a-week wage increase for full-time cashiers and clerks over the four years of the contract. Part-timers would receive \$1.10 an hour and baggers 75 cents.

The fight over health care, said Margiotta, "was a battle that went beyond the struggle of one union and a group of employers. We succeeded in showing you can get affordable health care at the bargaining table."

Union representatives said meetings are being scheduled for members to discuss and vote on the proposed contract.

Steve Marshall is a railroad worker and member of United Transportation Union Local 1428.

Victory in circulation drive!

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Supporters of the *Militant* are celebrating their victory in an international campaign to win new readers. Through the two-month drive, which went over its goals, almost 3,000 people decided to subscribe to the socialist newspaper. Nearly 700 signed up to receive the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and more than 1,200 bought copies of *New Internationalist*, a Marxist journal published in English, Spanish, and French.

Many unionists liked the socialist publications, especially those involved in struggles. About a quarter of the *Militant* subscriptions were sold to members of industrial unions. Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), many of whom are now on strike to win a decent contract, bought hundreds of copies of the *Militant* and dozens of subscriptions.



Miners and supporters read *Militant* at UMWA solidarity picnic in Coulterville, Illinois, May 30.

Miners get to know 'Militant'

Militant readers from across the United States and Canada have been using layoffs, vacations, and other time off work for the last several months to get out to the coalfields on sales and reporting trips. As a result, many miners and their supporters have come to know the paper over a period of time.

"I didn't know about any of this stuff until I read about it in the *Militant*," said one miner as he bought a copy of *New Internationalist* no. 7, featuring "The Opening Guns of World War III." The miner, who works at the Marrowbone mine complex in Naugatuck, West Virginia, where workers just voted to join the UMWA, had subscribed to the *Militant* several weeks earlier.

The *Militant's* coverage on the coal miners' strike and other labor struggles around the world makes it attractive to many other working people. *Militant* supporter Sheila Ostrow from Pittsburgh wrote, "I sold one sub to a coworker who is married to a former coal miner. Her response to the paper was that she wished she had seen it years ago. She really liked it."

Youth snatch up books, subs

"A table of Pathfinder books at a conference of the Salvadoran Communist Youth was a swarm of activity," reported Rollande Girard and Greg Rosenberg, who attended the meeting in El Salvador. "Delegates

snapped up about \$200 worth of books, including four *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and eight copies of *Nueva Internacional*."

Militant supporters from Vancouver, British Columbia, got a similar response from students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton during two days of events organized by the African Students Association of Alberta. "We sold six *New Internationalists*, four subscriptions to the *Militant*, and one to *Perspectiva Mundial*," said John Munoru. "We met a student from Botswana who had been subscribing to the *Militant*. After some discussion he bought *New Internationalist* no. 5, titled 'The Coming Revolution in South Africa,' as well as *New Internationalist* no. 7 and a subscription renewal."

In the course of the drive several international teams of supporters sold subscriptions to metalworkers and steelworkers on strike in eastern Germany, to students in Berlin and Madrid, and to workers protesting social cutbacks in Canada.

Taxi drivers buy NIs

In Newark, New Jersey, supporters of the paper found a lot of interest in the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale* as well as the *Militant*, especially among Haitian workers. "On May 31, Memorial Day, Socialist Workers candidate for New Jersey State Assembly Marilee Taylor and other *Militant* supporters set up

a table at the Newark airport," Maggie Trowe reported.

"During the three hours we were there many taxi drivers came by," she said. "Most of them were Haitian-born, and a few were from Egypt or Latin America. We sold seven copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* and two *Militant* subscriptions. Many drivers wanted to discuss the feature article in the June 7 issue of the *Militant* on U.S. plans for military intervention in Haiti."

During the last two weeks of the drive supporters from cities already ahead of schedule helped distributors in other cities meet their goals. Some from Greensboro, North Carolina, for example, helped those in Morgantown, West Virginia. A laid-off miner from Morgantown then joined supporters from Montreal on a sales team in Nova Scotia. Supporters in Salt Lake City, Utah, helped those in St. Louis gain momentum and meet their goals.

With the expansion of the coal miners' strike and the ongoing conflict between Washington, Bonn, Paris, and London over how to intervene in Bosnia, it is clear there will be many more openings to win new readers to the *Militant*. By building on the success of the international circulation drive, supporters will continue to get the *Militant* and other socialist publications into the hands of workers and young people around the world.

Fabio, from Soyapongo, said that "there was no communism in Russia. There was socialism but it was bureaucratic. People in the [Soviet Communist] Party had good cars, good jobs, and there was a lack of democracy."

Several young women pressed to bring the fight for women's rights to the attention of the congress. A proposal to put the organization on record in favor of the right to abortion, which is illegal in this country, was tabled along with a proposal to condemn abortion and a recommendation to organize debates on the issue.

"I'm against abortion rights when mothers can raise their children, when there's no problem, when it's done by her will," said César, one of the delegates.

"It's a woman's decision," replied Michele, another delegate. "It's our bodies and women should decide."

In greetings to the congress, Rollande Girard of the YSA pointed to the importance of opposing Washington's preparation for military intervention in the former Yugoslavia. "It's not communism that's in crisis; it's capitalism," she said.

"The downfall of the Stalinist

regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe provides new openings for working people to organize politically," she said, pointing to growing common actions by workers in eastern and western Germany, particularly the recent strikes of metal- and steelworkers.

"What existed in the Soviet Union wasn't socialism, it was Stalinism," she said. "the very opposite of socialism and communism."

Rollande Girard is a member of the *Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union* in Miami. Greg Rosenberg is a member of *United Auto Workers Local 879* in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Funds needed for El Salvador trip

Militant reporters Greg Rosenberg and Rollande Girard provide firsthand reports this week on developments in El Salvador as well as on the military coup in neighboring Guatemala. These trips are very expensive. Please send your contribution to help defray the costs to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 107% 2,990

SHOULD BE: 100% 2,800

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		FINAL TOTAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES	2,359	2,276	578	569	978	961		
Greensboro, NC	74	65	114%	8	7	30	30	
Santa Cruz, CA	9	8	113%	4	5	5	5	
Cleveland	73	65	112%	4	4	26	25	
Washington, DC	83	75	111%	24	25	41	40	
Chicago	121	110	110%	27	25	51	35	
New Haven, CT	11	10	110%	2	2	5	5	
Los Angeles	185	170	109%	92	85	105	95	
Portland, OR	16	15	107%	2	2	9	10	
Birmingham, AL	79	75	105%	8	10	12	20	
Twin Cities, MN*	126	120	105%	23	20	40	38	
Philadelphia	89	85	105%	20	20	28	25	
Atlanta	78	75	104%	10	10	21	20	
Baltimore	78	75	104%	11	10	26	25	
Salt Lake City, UT	78	75	104%	15	15	35	35	
Detroit	83	80	104%	10	10	32	30	
San Francisco	114	110	104%	36	30	71	70	
St. Louis	93	90	103%	6	7	43	40	
Boston	113	110	103%	30	30	48	45	
Des Moines, IA	87	85	102%	39	30	40	40	
New York	230	225	102%	81	75	97	95	
Pittsburgh	81	80	101%	8	8	13	25	
Miami	101	100	101%	39	35	59	50	
Newark, NJ	136	135	101%	47	45	73	70	
Cincinnati	10	10	100%	1	2	3	3	
Denver*	8	8	100%	2	2	4	5	
Morgantown, WV	65	65	100%	4	5	20	20	
Seattle	72	80	90%	14	30	24	35	
Houston	66	75	88%	11	20	17	25	
U.S. Total	2,359	2,276	104%	578	569	978	961	
AUSTRALIA	32	30	107%	11	10	21	20	
BELGIUM	3	8	38%	2	4	0	10	
BRITAIN	136	130	105%	11	9	59	60	
Manchester	39	35	111%	1	1	18	20	
London	62	60	103%	7	5	28	25	
Sheffield	35	35	100%	3	3	13	15	
Britain Total	136	130	105%	11	9	59	60	
CANADA	237	213	111%	34	37	117	137	
Vancouver	88	70	126%	11	10	38	30	
Montreal	69	65	106%	11	12	39	60	
Toronto	77	75	103%	11	15	37	45	
Quebec City	3	3	100%	1	0	3	2	
Canada Total	237	213	111%	34	37	117	137	
FRANCE	6	10	60%	1	3	11	10	
GERMANY	13	15	87%	0	0	1	4	
GREECE*	8	5	160%	1	1	4	2	
ICELAND	11	10	110%	1	1	1	3	
NEW ZEALAND	131	110	119%	8	3	27	28	
Wellington	51	40	128%	2	1	11	10	
Auckland	52	45	116%	6	1	11	10	
Christchurch	28	25	112%	0	1	5	8	
New Zealand Total	131	110	119%	8	3	27	28	
PUERTO RICO	2	1	200%	3	10	2	10	
SWEDEN	65	65	100%	28	20	24	20	
TOTAL	2,990	2,858	107%	678	667	1,244	1,261	
SHOULD BE	2,800		100%	600		1,200		

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	
UNITED STATES	627	554	113%	117	100	161	191
OCAW	72	50	144%	5	4	18	18
UMWA*	86	60	143%	1	—	5	—
UTU	101	80	126%	2	4	28	27
UAW	105	85	124%	3	—	28	25
IAM	94	90	104%	20	25	35	35
ACTWU	29	28	104%	17	12	10	20
USWA	87	85	102%	6	—	13	25
ILGWU	14	20	70%	30	20	7	15
UFCW	39	56	70%	33	35	17	26
U.S. Total	627	554	113%	117	100	161	191
AUSTRALIA	2	3	67%	0	—	2	1
AMEU	2	3	67%	0	—	2	0
NUW	0	3	0%	0	—	0	1
FPU	0	3	0%	0	—	0	1
Australia Total	2	3	67%	0	—	2	1
BRITAIN	35	26	135%	0	—	8	17
RMT	20	12	167%	0	—	7	6
TGWU	9	6	150%	0	—	0	3
AEEU	5	6	83%	0	—	1	6
NUM	1	2	50%	0	—	0	2
Britain Total	35	26	135%	0	—	8	17
CANADA	31	30	103%	4	3	11	9
CAW	12	9	133%	3	1	3	4
USWA	17	13	131%	1	2	8	2
ACTWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	1
IAM	1	6	17%	0	—	0	2
Canada Total	31	30	103%	4	3	11	9
NEW ZEALAND	13	15	87%	0	—	1	3
EU	6	5	120%	0	—	0	1
UFBGWU	6	8	75%	0	—	1	1
MWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	1
New Zealand Total	13	15	87%	0	—	1	3
SWEDEN	9	13	69%	0	—	0	3
Metal workers	6	5	120%	0	—	1	1
Food workers	3	6	50%	0	—	0	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	—
Sweden Total	9	13	69%	0	—	0	3

*Raised Goal

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMEU — Automotive, Metal and Engineering Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; FPU — Food Preservers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; NUM — National Union of Mineworkers; NUW — National Union of Workers; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

Salvadoran youth hold first congress

Continued from Page 3

would have been impossible."

Carlos, a 24-year-old delegate who became a guerrilla fighter at the age of 12, explained that former combatants and political activists face new challenges. "When we were in combat," he said, "we only knew how to fight, but now we need to be able to read and explain politics to others. This is more difficult."

Documents adopted by delegates characterize the JCS as a "revolutionary humanist" group, putting forward "defense of the family" as one of its key planks.

Delegates passed resolutions condemning the suspension of constitutional rights by Guatemala's president and affirming their support for the Cuban revolution.

The main task adopted by delegates was to go all out to campaign for the electoral slate of the FMLN in the March 1994 presidential elections.

Delegates debated a range of political topics, especially during breaks in the formal sessions. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, one delegate said, the JCS is "searching for a new model of socialism."

Buchanan holds right-wing conference to build new group 'American Cause'

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Taking another step in his effort to build an ultrarightist movement in the United States, newspaper columnist Patrick Buchanan drew some 400 people here to a conference of The American Cause, his new organization. The May 14-15 meeting was entitled, "Winning the Culture War."

Buchanan, other keynote speakers, and panelists hammered at what they described as the need for "conservatives" to wage and "win the war for the soul of our country" by "taking back America," as Buchanan said in his opening remarks.

Buchanan and other speakers at the conference are not simply conservatives. They are trying to recruit cadre to an incipient fascist movement. They play on the real and perceived fears of layers of the population, which arise out of the uncertainties and instabilities of the economic depression.

Incipient fascist movements such as Buchanan's have arisen in bourgeois politics in the United States before. In the 1950s, for example, Sen. Joseph McCarthy led such a movement. Other ultrarightist campaigns were organized in 1964 by Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater and by Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in the 1960s. None of these figures, however, arose in a period of social crisis that is bound to get worse.

Buchanan and others at the conference scapegoated gays, "the left," the media, academics, the "underclass," immigrant workers, "special interest groups," and even some capitalist politicians for the cause of social ills today.

Buchanan's radical demagoguery seeks to convince middle-class layers and sections of working people that these forces are the cause of the problems they face, rather than capitalism, which is the real source of the crisis.

From the applause given to the most pointed right-wing remarks during the two-day meeting and the ovations for Buchanan, the event appeared comprised of cadres won to Buchanan's political course over the past years.

Mostly middle-aged, white, and male, the meeting also drew a layer of youth and students, and several Blacks. The conference and Buchanan's remarks were given prominent coverage in the local daily *Washington Times*, which also published an abridged version of his opening address.

'America First'

Buchanan ran for U.S. president in last year's primaries against George Bush. He made numerous references during the conference to his stint as White House

speechwriter during the Ronald Reagan administration. Since his own presidential bid he has continued on a campaign to present the rightist themes of restoring "family, faith, and country" as cornerstones of "putting America first," as the logo of The American Cause says.

"For 30 years," the organization's brochure states, "we have watched, one by one, as the conscience-forming and character-forming institutions — family, home, school, and church collapsed."

"To take our country back, to make America again a place where all our citizens live together in peace and prosperity, we must embrace the conservatism of the heart. We



Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan

must seek answers in the abiding principles of freedom and justice; and we must lay aside ideology and special interest, to put our own neighbors and our own country, America, first."

"We are here today," Buchanan said opening the conference, "to send a message that the war for the soul of America is not over, that traditionalists have only just begun to fight. We look upon this gathering as the Boston Tea Party of the cultural counterrevolution."

Assembled at the conference, he said, were "men and women who have fought and won victories in their own towns, precincts, cities, and states." These included Congressman John Doolittle from California; Will Perkins, director of the campaign that won a victory for antigay Amendment 2 in a referendum in Colorado; Bob Knight from the antiabortion and antigay Family Research Council; Ezola Foster of the Black Americans for Family Values; and Jim Warner of the National Rifle Association.

Nationally syndicated columnist Samuel

Francis gave a keynote address as did Joe Farah, editor of the conservative newsletter *Dispatches*. Michael Medved, author of *Hollywood vs. America*, and Thomas Fleming, editor of the magazine *Chronicles* also spoke.

"An across-the-board assault on our own Anglo-American heritage" has been underway under the name of "multiculturalism," Buchanan said to conference participants. "Our goal is to help depollute and detoxify the culture so Middle America can again drink freely from it."

'Struggle with us for rest of our lives'

Buchanan is not out for quick electoral gains or to become popular with the broadest numbers of people in bourgeois public opinion. Instead he looks to future massive social battles and aims to recruit a cadre to an incipient fascist movement that can defeat the working class in those struggles. Buchanan said conferences such as this one are a forum to "learn how better to conduct this struggle that will be with us the rest of our lives."

Special mention was made by Buchanan of Mary Cummins, of New York's school district 24 in the borough of Queens. Cummins was scheduled to speak on a panel entitled "Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong," but was ill and did not appear on the platform.

Cummins led a fight against the "Rainbow Curriculum," introduced in New York by school chancellor Joseph Fernandez. Buchanan described this as teaching "the propaganda of the homosexual lifestyle to first-graders."

"Where did a widow and grandmother get the courage to stand up to an establishment before which even national politicians have trembled and groveled?" Buchanan asked. Echoing themes struck by many speakers at the conference, he approvingly related Cummins's answer: That after the death of two daughters and a husband, "No bully like Joe Fernandez, no bigot of a mayor [David Dinkins] or his minions, and the entire liberal establishment in this city has any chance to make me compromise on principle."

Talks by Farah and Francis laid out the perspective of building a movement that can attempt to capture governmental power in the United States.

A 'radical or revolutionary' conflict

"We are fighting to overthrow something," Francis said. "The dominant authorities of the United States — the federal government, the two major political parties, and the system of organized culture — do nothing to conserve the way of life. We need to dethrone the dominant authorities."

While "dissent is seldom permitted," he said, "loopholes permit resistance by democratic means" today. Francis stressed that what is before those gathered at the conference is a "radical or revolutionary conflict which involves the redistribution of power" from the "hands of the present elite to Americans who hold traditional values."

To achieve these goals, "we need to look to the left," because "there is little in tactics of conservatives with which to challenge the authorities," he said.

Francis and Farah both said Italian communist Antonio Gramsci provided the model for such a movement, because "he invented the culture war for the other side." Francis said Gramsci believed a radical movement "has to exercise moral and cultural leadership before exercising power. We must recognize that political power is dependent upon cultural power," Francis said. "Human beings obey because they share cultural views."

In this way, Francis said, an "illegal gov-

ernment" can be established parallel to the recognized government. The illegal government "can then step in during a crisis." He urged the audience to "expand the number of adherents" to build a "national movement at the grassroots level."

While Buchanan and his disciples keep one foot firmly planted in "normal" bourgeois politics they appeal to those who are willing to function outside that framework to fight in the streets to impose radical solutions.

Farah reiterated Buchanan's statement that "culture is the Ho Chi Minh Trail to power." He added that the debate cannot just be focused on electoral politics alone, but that "we have to fight to redeem our cultural institutions with the same enthusiasm we fight around our political institutions."

Both speakers said the "left" had captured the media and cultural institutions, a theme raised throughout the conference. While bashing liberalism, they also took on the Republican party, which, as Francis said, "neither wants to or is able to mount a challenge" to the "encrustation of the dominant left."

Posing as defenders of democratic rights

Keynote speaker Allan Carlson, of the Rockford Institute, demonstrated how moves to limit free speech of ultrarightists only provide them with an opening to pose as defenders of democratic rights.

"Independent churches and autonomous families get in the way of a centrally planned state," he said. "They need to be quietly regulated into submission. Federal pressure on churches, families, and neighborhoods will grow. The more intense and public our displays of traditional moral and cultural values, the more we will come under pressures of legal censure and scrutiny by the federal government and IRS auditors."

"We must become civil libertarians," said Carlson who claimed that the "right to as-

'America First' demagoguery scapegoats immigrants and others for social crisis caused by capitalism.

sume innocence and the sanctity of hearth and home are being pushed aside under the banner of children's protection." He noted that child abuse was "used as the reason for the Waco, Texas, disaster" by the Clinton administration.

What he called "small communities of virtue," will be safe, "only when we dismantle the welfare state, department by department."

Far from simply pushing extremist positions or being a force pulling the Democrats and Republicans to the right, Buchanan and the others get their themes from the continued rightward drift of the two parties of big business.

Politicians of both parties have targeted welfare programs and entitlements such as Social Security; push to uphold "the family" as a means to shift onto working people more of the burden for childrearing, health, education, and retirement; promote "America First" arguments on trade, immigration, and jobs; and carry out assaults on the rights and social wage of working people.

The "cultural warriors," as the *Washington Times* called those at the conference, simply stated openly and unambiguously what others in the White House and Congress say in private.

Assault on abortion rights

Many of these themes were presented in panel presentations during the conference. One of the main points of discussion was how to push forward attacks on women's rights, especially the fundamental right of women to choose abortion.

A panel on "The Obligation of Statesmen Who Know Abortion Is Wrong" included Congressman John Doolittle. Buchanan said he was proud to introduce such a legislator from California who can

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put "families and jobs ahead of plants, animals, and insects."

As with other panelists, Doolittle acknowledged that the foes of abortion rights had suffered some setbacks recently. He received a resounding applause for his statement that "social issues are the heart and soul of the Republican Party. I, for one, will fight tooth and nail to make sure the anti-abortion plank of the party platform is not removed."

Nationally syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran said the "monopoly of power of the pro-abortion forces won't last long. We need to break the appearance of public opinion on the question." He blasted the Supreme Court for failing to be a check on Congress and instead "beating up on local and state governments. The Court is a tyrannizing force since state and local governments have no defense."

Filling in for U.S. senator Bob Smith of New Hampshire, Mike Hammon, Smith's legal counsel, said the abortion issue best represents the "devaluation of human life from the beginning of life to the end. It is a seamless web of oppression to allow counterproductive activities they [liberals and the left] are involved in."

William Kilpatrick, professor of education at Boston College, kicked off the "Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong" panel stating "crime" among youth is a result of "a failed system of education that does not teach moral values." He urged teachers to teach "basic morality" to "counteract script-writers in Hollywood and record moguls in New York."

Panelists in several discussions attacked public education and advocated home schooling. Mary Clark, director of the Seton Home School, attacked the National Education Association (NEA). "As long as the NEA is in charge," she said, "your children will not have your values as profamily. The schools are actually a training camp of the enemies of conservatives."

With home schooling, she said, "you can teach basic Judeo-Christian values and you won't let your daughter out of the house to get pregnant."

A panel of university professors speaking on "The Culture War on Campus" similarly assaulted colleges as "politically correct zoos" and centers of "academic lunacy

symptomatic of the breakdown of culture and social life in general."

Prof. Christian Kopff of the University of Colorado said the "regime that has ruled America for the last 60 years is on its last leg. The job of serious Americans is to prepare to rebuild." Those who dominate colleges and the advocates of "multiculturalism," he said, are the "dregs of humanity. The monoglot will be revealed for what they are. Its not just that they are blasphemous and sexually perverted—they are uneducated." Kopff advocated a return to study of Latin, Greek and the sci-

Buchanan looks to the future, seeking to recruit cadres to an incipient fascist movement.

ences, saying that the "future belongs to the creative who strive for excellence."

Jim Warner from the National Rifle Association (NRA) said that this group "recognizes there is a cultural war" and that the NRA is one of its main targets. "You can see the handiwork of our academicians in the economic and social quackery which has produced single mothers. Young people are taught hatred and division," he said, which is the cause of violence, not guns.

An especially virulent panel on the "Homosexual Rights Agenda" wrapped up the conference. Bob Knight, an official of the Washington, D.C.-based Family Research Council, blamed homosexuals for "criminalizing traditional sexual morality," which he described as marriage. "We have never really challenged the central false premise of the gay rights agenda," he said. "We must say homosexuality is immoral, unhealthy, and destructive."

Will Perkins who directed the Colorado antigay ballot initiative said the amendment's passage "has given business the best opportunity to develop because they can determine what their policy is." He said groups are working to put similar measures on the ballot in 15 states by 1994.

Army major Melissa Wells-Petry defended the armed forces ban on homosexu-

als in the military. Appearing in civilian clothes and noting she was not representing the army, Wells-Petry said that the military ban does not have to do with free speech but is enforced because "there is a significant risk that homosexuals will engage in homosexual conduct. A vote for the policy of gays in the military is a vote of approval for homosexual conduct," she said.

As to why homosexual conduct should not be allowed in the military, the major, who has defended the armed forces against lawsuits involving discrimination cases, said: "We need to keep focused on the needs of the service—team cohesion, combat readiness, and military effectiveness. We are about killing people, breaking things up, and maximizing the chances of bringing our people home alive."

Perot and the Republican Party

Buchanan seeks to have The American Cause as one platform to advance his goal of capturing the Republican Party. He has hammered away at that goal since the Republican convention last August. He returned to this theme in a column entitled "The faltering of Clintonism" published in the May 22 *Washington Times*.

Praising Sen. Robert Dole for defeating Clinton's so-called stimulus bill in the Senate, Buchanan says that only by following a "path of principled opposition" can clarity "be restored to national politics" by the Republican Party. "Parties define themselves not only by what they are for, but what they are against."

But to "put traditional values on the back burner is to put the party future on the back burner," he added. "The drive to restore traditional values to their rightful place in our national life is among the most compelling forces in American politics. . . . To compromise on gay rights or right-to-life would only alienate cultural conservatives."

Ross Perot is "pointing out the road the party must travel," Buchanan writes. "And the road signs read: Populist, nationalist, Middle American." Perot is a "man who would cut spending deeper than either of the established parties, who believes what he says and says what he thinks, who is looking out for his country, not his career."

The Texas billionaire received nearly 19 percent of the vote in the November 1992

presidential elections by making demagogic attacks on the corruption of professional politicians, and on the dismal ineffectiveness of institutions like Congress and the courts. He offered to take these problems head on, using the unchecked power of the presidency and what he presented as the clean and incorruptible armed forces. His radical appeal struck a chord with disenfranchised and resentful layers of the population.

On foreign policy Buchanan chastises the Republicans as the "party of yesterday" that "is ever in search of 'new crusades for democracy,' and hears duty beckoning in the Balkans." Advocating again his extreme nationalism, Buchanan said a "national interest" school on foreign policy "is gaining converts" within the Republican Party.

"It is close to the nationalism Ross Perot reflects when he talks of Europe and Japan freeloading off America's defense," he writes, "of foreign lobbyists roaming the corridors of Congress, of that 'giant sucking sound' you hear coming from south of the border."

Summing up the conference, Buchanan related a story about the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Walking into a hotel, he said, someone came up to him nervous that "Reagan had just done it. He invaded Grenada." Buchanan said his first thought was, "This is the first time in history a tiny speck had been taken back" from the Soviet Union.

"The American Cause," he said, "will take this battle to the moral and cultural arenas, up and down the line."

In today's conditions of capitalist depression, Buchanan's radical demagoguery and aggressive nationalism are aimed to inspire a cadre that can enable a mass fascist movement to get organized and grow in the future.

Working people must look to Buchanan and his ilk as a mortal enemy and answer his arguments on the "cultural war."

Greg McCartan is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 106. Janice Lynn, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759, also contributed to this article.

75,000 march in Quebec against wage concessions

BY ANDRÉ LAPLANTE

MONTREAL — Some 75,000 to 80,000 teachers, provincial and municipal workers, hospital workers, and others participated in two demonstrations against bill 102 here and in Quebec City, Quebec, May 29. About 60,000 demonstrated in Montreal and 15,000 to 20,000 in Quebec City according to press reports. They came from all regions of Quebec.

The liberal government of Robert Bourassa introduced bill 102 in the Quebec National Assembly May 13. If adopted it will freeze the salaries of Quebec government and public corporation workers; impose three annual days of unpaid holidays, equivalent to a 1 percent pay cut; and ban the right to strike—all for the next two years. The government had already frozen wages for these workers for the past three years.

The bill also authorizes municipal governments to extend these measures to their own employees. Altogether, some 600,000 workers will be affected by the bill. This constitutes half of all unionized workers in Quebec.

Both in Montreal and Quebec City demonstrators were decked out in union T-shirts, buttons, caps, and headbands and carried balloons and placards calling for negotiations with the government instead of legislation. The actions were called by a common front of five of the six main union federations, which organize Quebec public sector workers.

"We are hoping that this demonstration will open the doors to real negotiations" with the government, said Armando Taddeo, an orderly from the Montreal Jewish Hospital, reflecting an opinion expressed by many workers.

Many were outspoken in their opposition to concessions demanded by the government.

"The main thing is wages," said Harry Bayne, a housekeeper at the Jewish Hospital. "They [the government] hit the working class all the time."

Ghyslaine Felix, a high school teacher in Valleyfield, Quebec, explained to the *Gazette*, "I am a single mother. I have three teenagers. We are barely getting along with the wage I get now."

According to Robert Lenneville, a teacher from Laval, Quebec, the buying power of the 80,000 Quebec teachers has fallen 8 percent to 12 percent since 1982, when the Quebec government first imposed a wage reduction on its employees. In 1991 alone, another round of forced concessions totaled some \$500 million.

"If we let them do it," said Monique, a teacher with years of experience, "they will cut, cut, cut. It's not just for us, but for the students."

"I've been on welfare since April," said Christine Drolet. "This government does nothing against unemployment. Students like me are denied unemployment benefits, but there are no jobs." Drolet was attending the Montreal demonstration with

Jacques Samuel, an educator at the Pinel psychiatric hospital in the east end of the city.

Both had also attended the February 7 demonstration of more than 40,000 in Montreal against cuts in unemployment insurance by the federal government and the 60,000-strong demonstration in Ottawa against unemployment and accelerating attacks on social services May 15. These actions represent the largest wave of labor demonstrations in Canada in a decade.

Also on May 29, public sector workers participated in rallies and actions in several cities across Ontario protesting massive concessions demanded by Robert Rae's New Democratic Party government under the guise of a "social contract"—dubbed "social-con-trick" by workers. The Rae government announced it will impose its \$2 billion in cuts through legislation if the unions don't accept them by June 4.

"I don't think today's demonstration will be enough. We may have to go on strike," said Reynald Côté, a participant in the Montreal action. Côté is a plumber and the president of Canadian Union of Public Employ-



Militant/Monica Jones
May 29 protest in Montreal against cuts in social benefits. "If we let them, they will cut, cut, cut," one teacher said.

ees Local 1538, which organizes maintenance workers in the high schools of Brossard.

The demonstration ended in a park where union leaders denounced the government's refusal to negotiate the terms of a new contract with its employees.

Under bill 102, the wage freeze will start July 1. The government is leaving the door open for fall negotiations with the unions on how to implement the 1 percent wage cut.

Ranks of striking miners swell to 10,000

Continued from front page
hundreds of miners at Osage and Moundsville, West Virginia, and at Ernest, Pennsylvania.

Miners gearing up for long strike

While celebrating the West Virginia organizing victory, miners are gearing up for a long strike in their fight for a decent contract with the coal operators.

Strike headquarters are becoming real centers for information and organizing support work.

Steve McGriff from the Conant mine said the strike has drawn in more support from family members in recent days. His daughter, a college student, had just spent time on the picket line. The local organized a 20-car caravan that visited all the nearby picket shacks.

For many spouses of the strikers this was their first visit to the picket lines and it provided an opportunity to discuss the issues. Some are now picketing along with the union members. The Family Auxiliary is drawing in new members, helping to raise funds for the strike, and organizing visible support activities.

More than 500 UMWA members and their families, dressed in camouflage clothing, the uniform of the miners strike, attended solidarity rallies and picnics in Masontown, Pennsylvania, May 29 and here in Coulterville May 30.

The Coulterville events were hosted by UMWA locals 2161 and 9905, which are on strike against the Zeigler II and Spartan mines near here.

The softball and volleyball games like the homemade food marked the celebration of the workers' unity and determination to win a decent contract from the BCOA.

At the picnic and rally, UMWA members on strike against Arch Mineral's Captain, Conant, and Kathleen mines joined veterans of February's strike against Peabody as well as union members and their families from other coal mines. Members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) from National Steel in Granite City, Illinois, provided musical entertainment between the rain showers.

At the strike headquarters in Percy, Illinois, miners on picket duty were painting hand stenciled signs: "We Support UMWA" and "UMWA Country."

Many homes and businesses in the area have pronoun signs on their front lawns and in windows.

Ken Koncoubis said, "We've all prepared for a long strike. If we lose our jobs and our union, what happens to everyone else?"

Koncoubis explained that the local community in Valier, Illinois, where the strike headquarters is located, has been very supportive. Striking UMWA members have jumped in to help paint the community center which houses the strike office.

The companies are not just sitting back waiting to see what happens.

Arch Mineral has begun coal production with supervisory personnel at the Conant and Captain mines in Illinois.

Zeigler has brought in supervisors from their operations throughout Illinois to mine coal at the Old Ben no. 26 mine.

Arch of West Virginia is trying to get a

CORRECTIONS

Two errors appeared in the June 7, 1993, issue of the *Militant*.

An article entitled, "UMWA strike expands in W. Virginia, Pennsylvania," stated that "the 1988 agreement required coal companies to offer laid-off union miners three out of every five job openings. This was never implemented." In fact, this provision was implemented in several cases, which usually led to union recognition at those mines.

Another article entitled, "Union vote held at Marrowbone," said that "during the strike, the union garnered signatures from 400 of the 435 hourly employees and won the union representation election." As of the closing news date of that issue, however, the union had not won the election but had won the right to a representation vote.



Militant/Jim Garrison

Strikers and supporters at solidarity picnic in Coulterville, Illinois, May 30. Miners are gearing up for a long strike in their fight against the coal bosses.

court injunction to force UMWA Local 5958 to move the picket shack, which is by the Ruffner mine and the company claims is on its property.

But UMWA International Executive Board member Howard Green says, "That picket shack is there to stay."

One of the strikers at the picket shack described how salaried employees were kept working during the strike.

"They brought 45-foot trailers onto company property and put carpet in them," he said. "They don't have any windows. The ladies from the office have been forced to live in them for weeks and have been told they will lose their jobs if they don't keep working through the strike."

"I don't have a problem with women doing miners' jobs," he continued, "but

it's unsafe to do what they are doing without training. It's not their choice to scab. Some of them have husbands who are on strike."

Striker Gary Browning told the *Logan Banner*, "They're working 30 days before they get to leave. They're sleeping and eating in there. They're just like prisoners."

Miners not yet on strike are also organizing to fight for the contract. After the contract extension expired, Peabody stopped deducting union dues from miners' pay. So the union now organizes to collect the dues directly from the miners.

Almost every mine in Illinois has a picket shack constructed near the entrance as a sign of the miners' readiness to strike.

At Freeman-United's Crown II mine near Virden, Illinois, UMWA members

West Virginia miners win union vote

Continued from front page

I hope a lot of the mines will go union now, especially in Kentucky. The men at Marrowbone just had enough and they rebelled."

Cathy, a resident of Delbarton, West Virginia, said in an interview, "The union victory is what we need all across this country to pull this country out of this hole."

"I never thought I'd see the day when Marrowbone would go union," commented Ernie, a young unemployed worker from Naugatuck. "I guess they saw the light."

UMWA president Richard Trumka hailed the Mingo County victory at a news conference. "The fact that the miners at Marrowbone stood up to Zeigler's fear campaign to choose union representation," Trumka said, "sends a strong and important message across the coalfields."

"What miners at Marrowbone have said is that company promises are simply no substitute for the strength and security of a UMWA contract."

Sue Spence is a leader of the women's auxiliary and her husband Ray has been a leader of the organizing drive. She, along with miners and other women's auxiliary members, packed the room where the vote was being tallied. It was standing room only and more miners filled the adjacent hallway and stood outside the building.

'We're union boys'

"I kept track of each vote for myself, writing down 'yes' or 'no' as they read the ballots out," she said. "When the vote went over 200, I couldn't control myself. We were supposed to keep quiet while the vote was being counted. I went outside where more were waiting and said — I couldn't shout — 'We're union, boys, we're union!' Everybody was so happy. I get choked up right now thinking about it. These are the greatest bunch of guys. They deserve the best."

"We couldn't shout or clap because the vote was going on, but afterward we went up and down the holler honking our horns."

Ray Spence's cousin Leonard is one of the miners who led a walkout at Marrowbone in March to protest severe cuts in benefits. He and three other leaders of the

walkout were fired. That day they called the UMWA for help in organizing.

Miners at Marrowbone's strip mine, where Leonard Spence works, and its three deep mines and preparation plant struck for 10 days until the four fired workers got their jobs back. He also waited in the room as the votes were counted. When it was clear his side had won, "I could have cried," he said. "Some did."

Wolf Creek miners rejoice

Across the Kentucky border, miners at Wolf Creek Collieries got word of the victory at 7:30 p.m. Chapman was working in the mine the night of the Marrowbone vote. A truck driver pulled up with the news of the union victory and it quickly spread through the mine, he said. When the news got to his section, "We gave a big squall. There was joking and smiling the rest of the night and there's been a lighter atmosphere since."

Miners at Wolf Creek just returned to work May 24 following a three-week strike over attacks on retirees' benefits. Miners were unable to get the company to back down, but Chapman said he and others are more determined than ever following the union victory at Marrowbone. "The victory helped answer questions [about the union] some of the miners had," he said.

Chapman and five other Wolf Creek miners had attended the first Marrowbone union-organizing meeting in March to show their support. "We didn't have to, but we knew we'd better," Chapman said. He said he is pleased that Marrowbone miners have volunteered to help with the union drive in Kentucky.

The union wants to set the swearing-in of their new UMWA members at Marrowbone the weekend before the union election at Wolf Creek.

Throughout Mingo and surrounding counties dozens of picket lines have been set up in the last couple of weeks as part of the national coal strike.

All over Mingo County signs are posted and banners hang over streets reading "Vote union." Many merchants have UMWA sup-

port posters in their windows. Although earlier efforts to organize Marrowbone had failed, the depth of the cuts and the arrogance of the company persuaded many miners that their only protection would come from banding together in the union.

William Smith, Jr., who was active on the picket lines and is a strong backer of the union, said that just three months ago he had moved his motor home onto company property so that in case of a strike he would be able to work. "That's how far I have come because of the company's hard line."

Solidarity on the rise

Bill Brumfield, UMWA International Executive Board member from Illinois, reported that although the strike is in its early days, "over 30 unions in this country have assigned a liaison person to work with the UMWA to help win this fight."

Brumfield added that local unions that want to invite strikers to attend their meetings or to send delegations to visit the picket lines, can call the strike offices in Illinois.

Steve McGriff commented, "We're fighting for our jobs, for our future, for our retirement. We're fighting for everything that makes up our livelihood. We intend to last one day longer than the coal operators."

For more information about how you can help support the UMWA strike call Project Solidarity at 1-800-334-UMWA, or call one of these local strike headquarters in Illinois: Coulterville, at (618) 758-3239; Cutler, at (618) 497-2843; Percy, at (618) 497-2594; and Valier, at (618) 724-9660.

Mary Zins is a laid-off coal miner and a member of United Transportation Union Local 1405 in St. Louis. Kathy Rettig from Morgantown, West Virginia, also contributed to this article.

port posters in their windows.

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'They had everyone separated'

He explained that until the walkout many of the workers at the preparation plant where he works didn't understand the problems of the miners in the other areas. "They had everyone separated: strip mine, deep mine, prep plant. They told each group a different story. Once the men got together on the picket line, we realized how the others felt and we got united."

Ronnie Hall is another of the four miners fired for initiating the walkout at the beginning of the organizing drive. He said, "This is my grandchildren's future here, whether we win or lose. After we worked together all these years, we formed unity and now we've made a union out of it."

Prior to the vote, Zeigler management went all out to confuse and intimidate miners into voting no. To counter their high-priced campaign of employee meetings, electronic billboards, and paid radio spots, union supporters distributed their own fliers at the mine entrances. Elmer Spence wrote and reproduced dozens of open letters, answering each of the company's lies.

Marrowbone miners now want to help the organizing effort at Wolf Creek.

Sue Spence said the women's auxiliary wants to help others get started. The wife of a striker from the Ruffner mine at Rum Creek has joined the Marrowbone women's auxiliary.

Pennsylvania mushroom workers hold union vote

BY NANCY COLE

KENNETT SQUARE, Pennsylvania — Nearly 410 mushroom workers cast ballots here May 27 in a union representation election forced on the owners of the Kaolin Mushroom Farms by a strike that began April 1.

Those who voted work at three Kaolin farms. The results will not be known until the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board decides which of the 410 workers were actually eligible to vote.

The Kaolin Workers Union — which affiliated with the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union several weeks into the strike — petitioned for the representation election after more than a month on strike. The walkout began after 140 of more than 200 pickers and packers had signed union cards at one of the three Kaolin farms. The list of grievances is substantial in this industry where workers labor long hours during the season in dark, cold barns. Their main complaint was that wages had been cut for hourly packers to \$4.50 an hour. Pickers, who work on piece rate, are now required to do their own cleanup of the mushroom beds after each shift, adding about one and a half hours of unpaid labor to their workday.

Most of the workers are from Mexico. There is little turnover in the work force at the Kaolin farms. Many have worked there 8-10 years. Most workers support families

back in Mexico. The pay, however, is so low and affordable housing so scarce they can only visit their families once a year. While employed on the mushroom farms they live in small, overpriced apartments, four to six workers crowded in each.

The petition for a union election was accompanied by a decision to send about 40 of the strikers back to work to campaign on the job for a yes vote for the union. About 30 of the original 140 strikers had already returned to Mexico, and 30-40 had gotten other jobs in the Kennett Square area. Remaining on strike are 33 workers, singled out by the company as ringleaders and fired for alleged picket line violence.

Union organizer Ventura Gutiérrez says the number of replacement workers, who are Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrants brought in from Philadelphia, has declined. This is a victory, he says, which can be directly attributed to the campaign the union waged in cooperation with Asian-Americans United. Most of the labor contractors, who are also from the Asian community, were pressured to withdraw their services from the struck site and the numbers of Asian workers has fluctuated and increasingly dwindled.

Gutiérrez says the plan is now to begin visiting other mushroom farms in the area in an effort to sign up workers there for the union.

Mushrooms are Pennsylvania's biggest

cash crop, and workers in Chester County, where Kennett Square is located, produce nearly a quarter of the nation's mushrooms. None of the county's 4,000 mushroom workers are unionized.

The strike has won substantial support in the labor movement, with donations of food and money coming in from an array of area trade unions. When 13 strikers marched on foot to Harrisburg, the state capital, in May, a contingent from United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1165 met them on the outskirts of Coatesville. The steelworkers marched with the strikers to their union hall, and fed and housed them for the night.

The fight for union recognition has also garnered support from the Philadelphia Puerto Rican community. The National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights initiated an April 24 march of 500 in Kennett Square in support of the strike.

Organizers report that the effort has won almost as much backing in Mexico, where unions have sent messages of support. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, leader of the opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution, visited strikers in April.

Organizer Gutiérrez and others here see



Militant/Nancy Cole
Union organizer Ventura Gutiérrez (left) at April 9 demonstration to support mushroom workers in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

this as the beginning of a rejuvenation of the farm workers' movement nationally.

Messages of support can be sent to the Kaolin Workers Union, P.O. Box 246, 102 East State St., Kennett Square, PA 19348, or call (215) 444-9696.

Nancy Cole is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1776 in Philadelphia.

Government report attempts to hide company responsibility in fatal Virginia mine explosion

BY ROBERT DEES

NORTON, Virginia — Miners here are angry at a government report that attempts to blame a December 7 mine explosion on the victims of that disaster. The blast at Southmountain Coal Co. No. 3 mine, which killed eight miners, was caused by a buildup of methane gas. A host of safety violations and failures on the part of company and government officials caused this fatal condition.

Nevertheless, the final report of the Virginia Department of Mines, Minerals, and Energy (DMME) attempts to shift the blame off the company and government by focusing on smoking materials found on some of the dead miners.

"That mine was completely out of control," said Tony Oppgaard, attorney for some of the victims' families. "There were so many things wrong in that mine that it was just a matter of time before a tragedy occurred," he said.

Federal investigators had concealed a finding of methane gas eight months prior to the explosion that would have changed the mine's designation from nongassy to gassy. DMME investigators identified a buildup of methane in abandoned sections of the mine as a primary factor leading to the explosion.

Explosive gas accumulated because abandoned areas of the mine were not properly ventilated, a gassy coal seam was located above the mine, and the company had failed to follow the approved roof-control plan, according to the report. The mine's bleeder system had not been examined in four weeks prior to the explosion. The gas then migrated to where the miners were working.

A methane monitor had also been tampered with. The report said the monitor was inoperative and was a contributing factor in the explosion.

The company had also failed to adequately apply rock dust, the report found. If rock dust — finely ground limestone — is not applied adequately in a mine, the initial methane blast can ignite coal dust suspended throughout the mine, multiplying the force and reach of the explosion.

As a result, the blast at Southmountain traveled a mile from the mine face to the portal and beyond, partially destroying the surface mine office, scorching trees, and damaging vehicles parked nearby.

Company safety violations abundant

The company safety violations listed in the report go on and on: failure to complete weekly examinations; failure to examine abandoned areas and record dangerous conditions; taking a sixth cut instead of only the approved five cuts from some pillars of coal being removed inside the mine; failure to complete a preshift examination to ensure proper ventilation and to report findings to the evening shift; failure to record air volume readings; and failure to record concentrations of methane that had been detected in the mine on several occasions.

Other violations included failure to follow the approved roof control plans, exposing miners to an unsupported roof; failure to report an accidental roof fall; failure to keep the mine map up to date; allowing loose coal, coal dust, and grease to accumulate; failure to use an oxygen detector during a preshift examination the day before the

explosion; failure since the previous May to record weekly examination of an air return; failure to record examination of a fan; use of the wrong fuses; and pushing supply cars on a main line.

The DMME report and the big-business press, however, have tried to blame the victims of the blast, zeroing in on a cigarette lighter one of the miners was carrying. "Lighter blamed in blast" was the blaring headline in the May 12 *Roanoke Times and World-News* of Roanoke, Virginia.

Max Kennedy, a safety expert for the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), dismissed the report's focus on the lighter. "The cause of the explosion was inadequate roof controls, inadequate ventilation, and inadequate examinations by the mine operators," he said.

Kennedy explained that because methane was allowed to build up, electrical equipment would have ignited the gas sometime during the shift of the miners who died or during the following shift.

Angry response from miners

The attempt to blame the slain miners for the accident provoked an angry response from miners and the families of those killed. "We've been expecting that since day one," said Liz Mullins, wife of slain miner Mike Mullins.

Family members also objected to the manner in which the investigations were rigged. Family members were excluded from the investigation, but company representatives were allowed to sit in when miners were interviewed. Families of the miners killed in the explosion, together with UMWA members and other supporters, organized protests outside the hearings. This pressure forced Virginia governor Douglas Wilder to appoint a separate task force to oversee the investigations.

These task force hearings, however, were also organized to restrict participation by miners and their families. In late April Liz Mullins walked right up to Wilder at an open house and handed him a note politely asking that family members be allowed to directly question investigators at the hearings. "I will just tell you categorically that we'll do that," Wilder responded. The task force needs "your input and perspective," he went on. The governor said it "makes it meaningless" if questions from miners' families aren't addressed as part of the task force meetings.

Wilder reversed himself later that night, however. Family members were barred from questioning the investigators because "the meeting must be conducted in an orderly fashion," Wilder declared. Only task force members were allowed to question the investigators.

"I don't understand why he's going back on his word," objected Liz Mullins. "I don't like people playing politics with Mike's death. It's just heartless and I can't get over that."

A recent *Militant* reporting team talked to several miners in the area who reiterated that the mine was considered unsafe. They pointed out that mine safety inspection, which the UMWA had fought for, had slipped in recent years.

"The companies do not look out for the miners," explained Charles Salyers, who has been an underground miner for 26 years. "In the nonunion mines you have to do what the company tells you to do or you lose your job, even if it's unsafe."

Salyers, a member of the UMWA and of the mine safety committee, works at the Island Creek Co.'s Pocahontas mine in Oakwood, Virginia. He explained how the safety committee is important for keeping safety consciousness high. "We help each other," he said. "If you see something unsafe, you talk to people right away."

"Even in these union mines where the safety is good," Salyers noted, "if there's an accident they try to blame the individual. They say you did something wrong. But it's the company's responsibility to provide safe working conditions in the mines. It's always been a fight, because the companies don't want to give us anything."

Another miner employed at a nonunion mine working the same seam as Southmountain No. 3 just shook his head. "I can't give you my name or I'll get fired," he said. "Right after the explosion the federal mine safety officials came through and tagged the area we were working in. The conditions were the same as at Southmountain No. 3 mine, and we were welding there. It could have exploded at anytime."

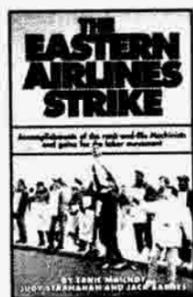
Meanwhile, Penn Virginia Corp., which owns the land and mineral rights to the Southmountain No. 3 mine, reported that its first-quarter profits jumped 55 percent over its profits for the same period last year.

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Germans protest racist killings

Continued from front page
est was several thousand strong. That evening a group of several hundred young people — mostly of Turkish origin — occupied the autobahn (highway) near the town, blocking traffic in both directions for several hours. Two nights later 3,000 people of both German and Turkish origin gathered for a benefit concert for victims of the attack.

People have come here from all over the region to show their disgust with the firebombing. Flowers, toys, signs, banners, and Turkish flags are quickly turning the house into a monument against racism. Thousands have also protested in spontaneous rallies across the country: 4,500 in Berlin and hundreds in Frankfurt/Main, Hamburg, and Bremen. "Nazis out, foreigners stay!" the crowds chanted in many of the actions. Further demonstrations are scheduled for June 5 in Solingen and other cities.

Police have arrested one suspect, described by the media as a 16-year-old militant from Solingen. More than 50 Turkish demonstrators have been arrested on charges of violence during protest activities.

The public sector union, ÖTV, has called for a 15-minute work stoppage June 3, the day of the funeral for the five victims of the fire. The national trade union federation issued a statement condemning the attack. "The family of a Turkish textile worker has been cowardly murdered," it said in part. "We mourn with our Turkish colleagues."

Racist immigration law approved

The firebombing in Solingen took place only days after the approval by Germany's lower house of parliament of a new law that puts strict limits on immigration. The law, which was supported by the opposition Social Democratic Party (SDP), will bar entry to thousands of refugees who arrive in Germany each week seeking asylum. The upper house of parliament is expected to approve the bill as well.

In defending the new immigration law, the SDP has argued that it would help neutralize the rightists and reduce violence against people of Turkish and other national origins. Others, however, point out the opposite is true: the new law has put wind in the sails of the right wing. One protester left his sign in front of the burned-out house in Solingen. "First fruits of the Bonn asylum compromise — murder in Solingen," it read.

Under the new regulations, any refugee who arrives here from or through a country that the German government considers free of persecution will now automatically be sent home. More than half of those seeking asylum in Germany are from Romania and Bulgaria, countries Germany considers "safe," but where Amnesty International reports incidents of "state-supported attacks" and "pogrom-like outrages," especially against the Gypsy population.

More than 10,000 people protested at the parliament building in Bonn during the vote on the immigration law. Although 4,000 police were used in for the event, main streets were closed, and public transportation schedules were altered, the massive demonstration made it almost impossible for the deputies to get inside. Some, in fact, were forced to arrive by police helicopter or by boat.

Many people have justified the stricter requirements for asylum, arguing that Germany has had one of the world's most open borders. In fact, fewer than 5 percent of those who apply are granted asylum. The German citizenship law is one of the most restrictive. As protests against violent attacks on immigrant workers mount, the law has come under increased attack.

Only those of German descent are entitled to become German citizens, according to this law. People whose ancestors are from another country do not automatically become citizens, even if they, their parents, and grandparents were born in Germany.

Turks living in Germany, for example, pay taxes but cannot vote. They can only obtain German citizenship by giving up their Turkish passports and passing a variety of language and other tests. Even then, their children, born in Germany, remain foreigners under the law.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

A Meeting in Support of Tobacco Farmers. Speakers: Joanne White, United Farmers Organization; Edna Harris, United Farmers Organization; Socialist Workers Party representative. Sat., June 12, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene

Will givebacks to Northwest save airline jobs?

BY KIPP HEDGES

MINNEAPOLIS — Northwest Airlines is demanding massive takebacks from its employees, which the leaderships of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have agreed to according to the "Summary of the Proposed Agreement" between the company and the unions.

The IAM officialdom is recommending the union membership accept a package that would include wage cuts averaging 10.8

UNION TALK

percent for the next three years, in addition to cuts in holiday and vacation time. For many workers this would amount to a \$2-per-hour pay cut.

In exchange, the union would get 30 percent stock ownership and 3 members on the 15-member board of directors. The contract summary also indicates there would be job security in return for pay cuts and that wages would "snap back" to preconcession levels. These last two provisions have several exceptions, that render them useless.

The bottom line, the company says, is that if labor costs are not lowered it will be forced into bankruptcy. This would mean thousands of layoffs. Northwest officials argue, adding that a bankruptcy judge would impose deeper cuts than what the company is now demanding.

This is job blackmail, pure and simple. Workers at Northwest are asked, "Which would you rather have, a job making \$2 an hour less or no job at all?"

United Airlines is presently attempting the same thing. It plans to sell its flight kitchens and lay off 6,000 workers if the unions do not agree to major concessions. USAir used similar tactics during its con-

tract fight with the IAM last year. Other airlines are hungrily eyeing whatever Northwest is able to squeeze from its work force.

The IAM and Teamsters officialdom agrees with the basic line of the company — that concessions do save jobs. Union officials also contend that you can get job security by having union officials sitting on the board of directors; that if you give away enough the company will leave you alone; and that what's good for Northwest is good for its workers. A strategy based on this outlook has been used by IAM and other union officials over the past decade. The results have been lower wages, layoffs, and busted unions.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Cuba Today: Challenges and Opportunities Facing Working People. Speaker: Francisco Picado, participated in recent *Militant* reporting trip to Cuba, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sun., June 13, 2 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Struggle in the Coalfields: Support the Miners' Strike! Sat., June 12, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S.

We can't stop the bosses' attacks with concessions. We can't rely on smart lawyers, judges, or politicians. Trying to save "our" company is a dead end street. The only thing we can rely on is ourselves and our union power, the strength that comes from thousands of workers deciding to fight to defend themselves.

Eastern Airlines strike

Even if we face a bankruptcy judge trying to cut our wages, working people must still defend ourselves. During the 1989-91 Eastern Airlines strike, unionists faced the added obstacle of a bankruptcy judge who pumped millions into Eastern's coffers to aid the company's union-busting effort. Strikers were told every day by the media, government, and union officials that they had no say in their future. In spite of this IAM members organized picket lines and rallies and reached out to working people for support. They were able to defeat Eastern chief Frank Lorenzo's dream of a nonunion airline empire.

The fact is that every gain we as workers have ever made has been accomplished through standing up and fighting, relying on our own organized collective power. The 8-hour day and the formation of industrial unions in the 1930s were not won through

stock options, concession deals, or having members on the board of directors of some corporation.

The fight by metal- and steelworkers in eastern Germany is a good example of what can be won through struggle. With massive solidarity from workers in western Germany and a series of rallies, demonstrations, and strikes, they were able to push back the bosses' plans to renege on agreed wage raises that would lead to parity with workers in western Germany.

NEW ZEALAND

Wellington

To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's War against Cuba Doesn't End. Discussion of recent Pathfinder title containing speeches to the United Nations by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Sat., June 12, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

Workers made these gains at the same time the president of IG Metall, the metalworkers' union, resigned. The union president quit in the midst of a scandal over his stock dealing which unfolded while he sat on the boards of directors of three major German companies. The German workers made advances through a fight, despite the union president's presence on the board of directors — not because of it. This is a lesson for us at Northwest.

Here in the United States, the miners are striking against the coal bosses' attempts to ravage their union. This is another example airline workers should look to. Supporting this strike is essential not just for the coal miners but for all working people.

The company and the unions have diametrically opposed interests. The more concessions workers give away, the weaker position we'll be in to defend our interests. Defense of our livelihood and our jobs doesn't depend on owning some company stock. It does depend on how well workers are organized to resist the dictates of the boss, on how much support we can get from other workers, unions, and allies such as working farmers. It does depend on whether we look at ourselves as part of a worldwide class of workers who face a common enemy — the capitalist class.

Kipp Hedges is a member of IAM Local 1833 at Northwest Airlines in Minneapolis.

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Flushtime — The Clinton administration sees progress in win-



Harry Ring

ning congressional approval for its proposed budget which will hike taxes and trim entitlement programs. Declared a senior White House aide: "We're finally starting to climb out of the toilet and we've got our fingers up to the rim."

Great game — U.S. doctors perform more than 300,000 angioplasties a year, grossing \$7 billion on the procedure for clearing clogged arteries. An industry trade journal speculated that cardiologists may be overusing the procedure because it's lucrative and, also, "fun to perform." "Introducing a wire into a tortuous coronary artery," the edit said, "while planning the turns to make on a . . . screen generates challenge and excitement similar to those of the latest video game."

Then a quiet evening at home — We wonder how many of those docs who feel like they're playing a video game when doing angioplasties have the game, "Mortal

Combat." It's the one where players fight off video rivals by chopping their heads off or breaking their spines.

Hard act to clean up — We just learned that when George Bush made his April visit to Kuwait, a local merchant donated 96 bottles of perfume to be sprayed along the route of the motorcade. Our reaction was, "Did he really think that was enough to mask the odor of the visit?"

Sniff this one — A company, Tom's of Maine, donated an asserted \$375,000 worth of deodorants to a group which distributes goods to shelters of the homeless.

Tom's had recalled the deodorant from the market after 50 percent of purchasers complained it didn't work.

Not if you're hard of hearing — Golfing fans can spend four days in Las Vegas playing with some of the country's top pros. The cost: \$25,000. One of the stars, Tom Kite, said: "I know it *sounds* like a lot of money."

What else is new? — "Taxpayers to fund Lockheed workers' health claim settlement: Defense firm will pass along the \$33 million expense for employees' toxic exposure as a 'legitimate cost' of building Stealth and other aircraft, a

spokesman says" — News item.

A trip — In the Los Angeles area, call Pet Limo to transport your pet to the vet, airport, boarding home, whatever. They take dogs, cats, reptiles, small monkeys, etc. The pet will ride in a minivan complete with TV, stereo, and flowers. From \$49 to \$250.

Double strength, double price — Lever Bros. will spend more than \$100 million advertising its new double strength Wisk, Surf, and All detergents. The company said the concentrated product will clean a load of laundry for the same price as their puny predecessor liquids.

Language restrictions in Quebec divide workers

BY MICHEL DUBÉ AND STEVE PENNER

MONTREAL — A sharp debate has broken out among capitalist politicians here over Quebec's language laws.

The debate centers around whether or not languages other than French should be permitted on public signs and billboards; whether French-speaking students should be granted the right to take English immersion courses; and whether immigrants should continue to be compelled to attend Quebec's French, primarily Catholic school system or be allowed to attend the separate English, primarily Protestant system.

These laws were originally the result of decades of struggles by Quebecois — an oppressed French-speaking minority of more than 5 million people in Canada — against the discrimination they suffer on the basis of their language.

Despite the major gains made through these struggles, working people who are Quebecois continue to receive lower average incomes than those whose first language is English, as well as inferior education, health care, and housing. Quebec is the Canadian province with both the highest proportion and the largest number of people living below the official poverty line.

In the last several months tens of thousands of workers in Quebec have participated in a series of major demonstrations against rising unemployment, and cuts in unemployment insurance, education, health care, and other social services by Canada's ruling rich.

These actions, which united French- and English-speaking workers with thousands of immigrants originally from Third World countries, are a striking illustration of the highly multinational and multilingual character of the working class in Canada.

The employers and the government are working overtime to try to undercut this growing unity. The "language debate" is but the latest example.

The debate was sparked by the introduction of Bill 86 by the Liberal government. The bill eliminates the language ban on certain categories of public signs and permits French-speaking and other non-English-speaking students, primarily immigrants, to take English immersion courses. Only French immersion courses for English-speaking students are legal now.

While these measures eliminate two of the undemocratic aspects of Quebec's language laws, the new legislation leaves untouched the much more fundamental division of Quebec schools, both by language and religion.

Segregated, nonsecular school system

The segregated and nonsecular school system, imposed on Quebec by the Canadian constitution, is one of the most backward among highly industrialized countries. The French Catholic schools are strikingly inferior to the English. The illiteracy rate among francophones in Canada is almost twice that of those whose first language is English. Anglophones are much more likely to finish high school than francophones and twice as likely to get a university degree.

Until the 1960s the average income of Quebecois was 35 percent less than those who were English-speaking. Today, after years of struggle the income gap has been reduced to 15 percent. While French- and English-speaking workers are paid the same wages for the same job, English-speaking

workers are more likely to be promoted into higher-paying skilled jobs.

Until the 1970s Quebec's capitalists imposed English as the main language of commerce for Montreal's larger chain stores and for public signs, despite the fact that the majority of Quebec's population is French-speaking. It was difficult to be served if you spoke French in downtown Montreal. English was often the language imposed by the largest companies at work, in labor negotiations, and in union contracts in a province that is 80 percent French-speaking.

As a result of the decades-long struggle for language and wage equality, Law 101 was passed in 1977 making many of these forms of discrimination illegal. To this day it remains the single most important affirmative action law in Canada. Law 101 obliged companies of more than 50 employees to establish French as their main language of work, to serve their customers in French as well as in English, and to put public signs in French.

The passage of Law 101 reflected the important gains won not only by Quebecois in the fight to win their rights, but by the working class as a whole in overcoming the national divisions that result from inequality.

Banning other languages undercuts gains

However, by banning languages other than French from public signs, Quebec's capitalist government undercut these gains. Bill 86 would eliminate the ban on other languages on most public signs while requiring French to be "predominant."

Nevertheless, Parti Quebecois (PQ) leader Jacques Parizeau claims that Bill 86 will lead to the "reanglicization of Montreal." Gérald Larose, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, also maintains that bilingual signs are merely an "appetizer, a step in a long-planned strategy by anglophones" to undermine French language rights.

The PQ heads up a broad coalition opposing Bill 86. The coalition, which includes the three largest trade union federations in Quebec, announced it is planning a series of rallies across Quebec.

At the center of the coalition's demands are chauvinist calls not to fight discrimination but to promote French while limiting the rights of those who speak English or other languages. The coalition is even opposed to the introduction of English immersion classes in French schools, which Parizeau warns will open the door to bilingual schools throughout Quebec.

Opinion polls, however, show that the large majority of Quebec's francophones support the establishment of English immersion classes in French schools. The majority also oppose laws banning the utilization of languages other than French on signs. The main concern of working people is that all forms of discrimination against Quebecois be eliminated.

The debate among the capitalist politicians and their supporters over Bill 86 is not about how to combat national inequality and oppression. It is over how they can best defend their own power and privileges, which are based on the continued exploitation of working people of all languages and nationalities.

That is why all wings of the ruling class in Quebec oppose measures that would strike at the roots of national oppression. All capitalist politicians in Quebec are opposed to the dismantling of Quebec's segregated French and

English school systems.

For working people the only way forward is the integration of Quebecois, immigrants, and English-speaking students into a single, public, secular school system with French as the common language, but where all other major languages could be taught as well. This democratic perspective is an essential aspect of any program to combat national oppression and overcome the divisions among working people fostered by national inequality and segregated schools.

Affirmative action measures are also needed to overcome all aspects of discrimination, not only against Quebecois, but immigrants from Third World countries, Blacks, Native people, and women.



Militant/Heidi Rose
Tens of thousands of French- and English-speaking workers as well as immigrant workers protested budget cuts and unemployment May 15 in Ottawa. Employers and government are trying to undercut growing unity of multinational working class.

25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



After 20 days the nationwide general strike of the French workers has not yet run out of steam, although by June 7 some sectors of the 10 million strikers had gone back to work.

Under heavy pressure from their union chiefs, the transport workers voted to return on June 5. Work was resumed the next day in the iron and steel industries of eastern France and certain heavy industries in other regions.

The workers in numerous key sectors are still staying out on strike. Among them are the men at the Michelin tire factory near Lyons, the Citroen auto workers, the Air France navigating crews and the merchant marine. The most important holdouts were the 35,000 workers at the nationalized Renault auto plant at the Paris suburb of Boulogne Billancourt, who had led the way in rejecting the inadequate concessions agreed upon by the government, the bosses and union representatives.

According to press dispatches, the backbone of resistance was the younger workers in the big factories who are suspicious of the CGT and CP bureaucrats and aligned with the students in irreconcilable opposition to [President Charles] de Gaulle.



June 12, 1943

PITTSBURGH — All the miners around here have stopped digging coal. Speaking to a group of miners today, one of them said to me: "The government is supposed to have taken over the mines, but as far as any of us

can see we are still working for the same operators. And it makes no difference to us; we can't dig coal when we can't buy enough to eat."

From the Pittsburgh area down to Uniontown in the Western Pennsylvania district there, wherever I have been and talked to miners it is exactly the same story. "No contract, no work. No two dollars a day, no contract."

The feelings of the miners today are mingled with anger and sullen determination. "Who did the operators think they were kidding with all of this stalling behind the War Labor Board and flag waving? Prices have gone so sky high on everything that you can't even see the ceiling anymore. Why don't the government do something about that instead of trying to make us work for starvation wages so that the coal mine owners can get richer from the war contracts!"

From the workers around here in the steel mills and defense plants there has been no adverse criticism of the miners. They are all in sympathy with the miners and for them in their fight.

Many of the miners stated to me that although they recognize that they themselves started the ball rolling in the present fight against the high cost of living they are grateful to the rubber workers and auto workers who by their action demonstrated that they are in sympathy with the miners' fight and are ready to carry their own share of it.

From the start of their struggle against the coal operators and the administration *The Militant* has supported the miners in their demands for a living wage. The paper has been widely distributed in the Pittsburgh area. The miners' reaction to *The Militant* has been reported as follows: "The miners are now taking *The Militant* down into the pits with them and passing it on to their fellow workers. In some places they read it while on the main trip down. They all like it."

Marrowbone miners show way

Reflecting the assessment of many working-class fighters, one coal miner told the *Militant* that the recent union-organizing victory at the large Marrowbone mine complex in southern West Virginia — occurring one month into a national coal miners' strike for a contract — is "a big victory for organized labor, for standing up for our rights, for not being pushed around any more."

When the miners there voted 256-151 in favor of joining the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), they knew exactly what they were getting involved in. If they had any doubts, the company certainly didn't let them forget. Zeigler Coal Holding Co., which owns Marrowbone, hired a slick public relations firm and shut down work for hours trying to indoctrinate the miners against the union.

It didn't work.

The miners at Marrowbone organized themselves. They protested company takebacks, went out on strike for 10 days, and won back the jobs of four of their rank-and-file leaders whom the company had fired. They asked for and got the help they needed from the UMWA to hold a government-supervised election. Then they voted decisively for the UMWA to represent them.

Their next fight is to win a contract. They also face the challenge of helping the miners at the nearby Wolf Creek Collieries, also owned by Zeigler, win their fight for union representation. The Wolf Creek miners will vote June 28.

The Marrowbone coal miners have shown that a union is not an insurance agency, a credit card issuer, or a lobbying agency. It's a working-class instrument of struggle.

The miners formed a union to protect themselves against

Zeigler. They joined the UMWA because they view it as a union that knows how to fight and how to win.

Zeigler reminded the miners they had relatively higher-paying jobs in an area of low pay and high unemployment. The company said the workers didn't need a union, that it would hurt their "good personal relations" with the bosses. And they spouted the usual slanders against the UMWA — that it's strike happy and too militant.

The prouder miners answered with leaflets they wrote up at home and handed out to their coworkers. They wrote about their own experiences with Marrowbone and other employers; about promises, lies, cutbacks, and why workers need a union. Through their own collective and determined efforts, they whipped the company.

The success of the Marrowbone miners reinforces the UMWA in the midst of the most important labor battle in this country since the strikes against Eastern Airlines and Pittston Coal in 1989-90.

The victory at Marrowbone will raise consciousness among other workers. The prejudice among some union members who brand all nonunion workers as "scabs" starts to crumble when those supposed scabs put up a real fight and set an example. We need more Marrowbones.

Workers, farmers, and young people everywhere have a tremendous opportunity to join this strike battle, which is now being waged by almost 10,000 coal miners in five states. Solidarity with the miners will be decisive in tipping the balance in favor of labor. And joining this fight is a chance to get some valuable experience in struggle.

Social volcano in Latin America

When Guatemalan president Jorge Serrano took on dictatorial powers May 25 leading to an army coup a week later, the wealthy owners of the *New York Times* and other newspapers piously editorialized about what they called Guatemala's "badly flawed" democracy. But this crisis is a product of the billionaires' own system.

The Guatemalan coup is in fact a sign of the explosive social conditions and instability of capitalist rule that characterize Latin America today. Likewise, the working-class resistance to the crackdown in that country shows that the capitalist rulers cannot attack working people without a fight.

Other recent examples of this social volcano in the Americas are:

- Venezuela, where businessmen rake in oil wealth while unemployment surpasses 30 percent. Months of protests by students and workers as well as two military coup attempts last year have led to impeachment proceedings against President Carlos Andrés Pérez, hated for imposing International Monetary Fund-ordered austerity.

- Brazil, where marches by hundreds of thousands last year helped force out President Fernando Collor de Mello, who was also impeached. To pay Brazil's \$116 billion foreign debt, the government and employers have taken measures leading to the reduction of the real minimum wage to two-thirds of its 1940 level.

- Haiti, where mass opposition to the military-backed dictatorship continues and Washington seeks to impose "stability" with a 500-strong foreign police force.

- Peru, whose president, Alberto Fujimori, dissolved Congress and the courts and assumed dictatorial rule a year ago, playing on popular resentment against the traditional capitalist parties and institutions.

Such crises are no longer limited to a few "trouble spots" because their cause — today's worldwide depression — is

ravaging all of Latin America and the rest of the semicolonial world. Like the depression conditions and trade wars in major industrialized countries and the moves toward imperialist intervention in the former Yugoslavia, the Latin American crisis is one more facet of the decline of the old world capitalist order.

The rich have no solutions to this crisis. The U.S. and other international banks demand more and more belt-tightening by workers and farmers to pay the debt. The capitalist regimes in Latin America act as debt collectors and cops for the imperialist ruling families. The human toll — massive unemployment, starvation wages, a continental cholera epidemic, environmental catastrophes — becomes more and more unbearable.

When working people refuse to accept these conditions, the capitalists' only answer is dictatorship, as in Guatemala and Peru, or the threat of imperialist military intervention, as in Haiti. But repression and the grind of poverty cannot keep working people from fighting, as Guatemala shows. These conditions drive working people around the world to see that they have a common fight against a common enemy. As fighters like the striking U.S. miners stand up to the bosses' union-busting demands, they will need to seek out and join fellow combatants, such as workers resisting the military regime in Haiti.

With workers everywhere facing the same problems of joblessness and attacks on their rights, the labor movement must take a stand that will unite working people. This means demanding the cancellation of Latin America's \$400 billion foreign debt and opposing protectionist measures by the imperialist governments. It means demanding jobs for all through a reduction in the workweek with no cut in pay, as well as fighting deportations and discrimination against immigrant workers.

Defend immigrants in Germany

The racist firebombing that killed three children and two young women of Turkish origin in Solingen, Germany, May 28 is an attack on the rights of all working people.

Coming just days after Germany's lower parliament approved a restrictive new immigration law, this murderous assault is proof that the law has emboldened the ultrarightists to step up their attacks on immigrants and anyone else who supposedly looks "foreign." These policies and actions of the German government and capitalist political parties—including the Social Democratic Party—are responsible for the renewed anti-immigrant violence in Germany.

Under the continuing drain of the world economic depression and the impact of reunification, the German rulers are looking for scapegoats for the crisis of the capitalist market system. Immigrant workers and workers from oppressed national minorities are a major target.

This anti-immigrant campaign aims to divide workers and weaken their ability to defend themselves from increasing assaults on their living standards, working conditions, and democratic rights. This is why government and right-wing attacks on immigrant workers have been on the rise, not only in Germany but in all the imperialist coun-

tries, from the United States to Japan.

These attacks on immigrant workers in Germany are part and parcel of Bonn's war against labor in both the eastern and western parts of the country. The government's austerity plans were dealt a significant setback last month when thousands of steelworkers and metalworkers in eastern Germany pushed back the bosses' attempts to renege on promised pay raises that could eventually bring wage parity with workers in the west. The two-week strike by 40,000 workers in the east gained the support of working people in the western part of the country. These workers knew that the only way to defeat the bosses was to stand together.

Immediately after the firebombing in Solingen thousands of working people and youth poured into the streets of that city as well as in Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and other cities to condemn the rightist killings. Another 10,000 people from across the country had turned out in Bonn a few days earlier to protest the new immigration law. These protests show how to answer the rightist violence.

The labor movement should demand that the racist killers in Solingen be apprehended and prosecuted to the full extent of the law and that restrictions on immigration in Germany as well as other countries be lifted.

Killer cop is acquitted in Miami

Continued from back page

ing follows a day of activities commemorating Martin Luther King's birthday, including a march of 60,000.

Lloyd and Blanchard, riding a motorcycle, were being chased by another cop, allegedly for speeding.

Lozano heard about the chase on the police radio, and as the motorcycle passed him, he shot Lloyd, the driver, in the head. The cycle crashed into a car and passenger Blanchard died next day.

The killing sparked three days of unrest in the Black community and protests against the long history of police violence in Miami. One person was killed, 11 wounded, and hundreds arrested.

Lozano was convicted in December 1989 on two counts of manslaughter and sentenced to seven years in prison. Preceding the trial, a coalition of activists formed to demand that the trial be held in Miami with Blacks on the jury and that Lozano go to jail. The coalition organized pickets at the trial and carried out a political campaign to mobilize broader forces.

Initial conviction overturned.

In June 1991 an appeals court overturned the verdict and ordered a new trial, claiming the jury convicted Lozano because it feared a riot would break out in Miami.

Unlike the protest actions organized prior to the 1989 conviction, this time Black community leaders did not mobilize a response and many working people and youth began to anticipate an acquittal.

Judges moved the trial's venue five times until the court settled on Orlando — 240 miles from the site of the shooting.

Out of the six jurors selected, three were white, two were Latino, and one was Black. Several jurors held openly pro-cop views. One juror's brother is a police officer. Another juror said his heroes are "the police." A third said she admires people willing to put their lives on the line.

"The Orlando jury, unlike its Miami predecessor, was stocked with folks who might be described as police boosters," said an article in the *Miami Herald*.

In addition, a key piece of physical evidence, the remains of Lloyd's motorcycle, had previously been auctioned off by the police department.

Evidence of other incidents of cop violence involving Lozano was not entered into court proceedings.

At the trial the prosecution aided Lozano's case by lining up with the defense in praising the cops.

"William Lozano is not typical of law enforcement officers," said chief prosecutor John Hogan. "This is not an indictment of police officers." Hogan stated that those who "rioted" after the shooting "were wrong for not believing that the poor man and the policeman have the same rights."

Defense attorney Roy Black smeared Overtown as an "open-air drug market" infested by robbers, burglars, and cocaine dealers. Lozano's lawyer used the words "danger" and "dangerous" 29 times in one statement to describe the neighborhood.

Five eyewitnesses, however, said Lozano visually tracked the motorcycle and shot Lloyd in the head. Lloyd's cycle helmet has a bullet hole on the left side. This contradicts Lozano's claim that he shot in self-defense because Lloyd was attempting to run him down head on.

Witnesses also expressed concern that innocent people including children were very close by when Lozano fired his gun. "Sometimes innocent people are hurt" when a policeman acts, replied Black. "Look at what happened out at Waco, Texas. There were children who were killed. Is [Attorney General] Janet Reno responsible for that now?" he asked.

The defense rested without the accused or any defense witnesses taking the stand.

No protest actions organized

While the outrage against the verdict is the strongest in the Black community, the sentiment that justice was not done in this case is widespread throughout the Miami area.

By the end of the trial the tension in Miami had been exacerbated by the default of the established leadership in the trade unions and the Black community. Government agencies and some community groups had been planning for four years to demobilize organized opposition to a possible not-guilty verdict and to keep any outrage from being expressed through public actions in the streets.

With the verdict, "neighborhood monitors" from the Community Relations Board, a Miami government agency, went on "yellow alert" and fanned out to observe signs of "negativeness." The board works closely with the police in the Black community.

Elected officials begged residents to accept the verdict. "We don't have to agree with the verdict. We do have to accept it," said Gov. Lawton Chiles. Dade County Commission chairman Arthur Teele, who is Black, said, "We must allow the judicial system to work in this case even though some of us don't agree."

In contrast Patricia Lloyd, the slain motorist's sister, said after the verdict, "It's not finished. It's not over."

U.S. Attorney Robert Martínez announced after the verdict that the federal government might pursue a civil rights investigation of the case.

Should working people use arms for self-defense?

BY ED SHAW

MIAMI, Florida—Naomi Craine's "Discussion With Our Readers" column in the May 24 issue of the *Militant* was timely and to the point. If I may, I would like to enlarge on two points.

Why did government agents use force of arms to "serve a subpoena" at the Branch Davidian compound? Most normal people know it's not wise to so confirm the delusions of a well-armed paranoid. But "law enforcement" agencies of the ruling class are not led by normal people. They have a gangster mentality. Their methods and morals make Al Capone, Dutch Schultz, and big-time "mafiosos" seem like small-time street-corner hoods.

Faced with armed resistance and some dead agents, top

AS I SEE IT

government officials decided to "save face" and teach the general public a lesson by raising the tactic to a higher plane, which could only lead to slaughter. I recently heard that the Texas Rangers are conducting their own investigation of the events. So the alley cat is going to find out why the chickens "committed suicide" when the fox and the weasel invaded the hen house.

These gangsters don't limit themselves to the United States. They take on the entire world. While Gen. Manuel Noriega was a CIA "family" agent sharing brotherly embraces with then CIA chief, now ex-president George Bush, his local money grubbing was viewed as the normal "take" of a loyal "family" member. But when he balked at orders to use Panama as a springboard for further attacks on Nicaragua, he was punished.

In an operation differing only in degree from spraying a Queens restaurant with machine gun fire, Panama was invaded with no concern for the lives of innocent bystanders. Unable to kill Noriega on the spot, he was taken to headquarters to be judged by loyal "family" members. Other friends of the "family" were sworn in at the U.S. army base as a new government, and they now enjoy the privilege of greater money-laundering and drug smuggling than the more modest Noriega ever dreamed of.

So, if a reportedly huge arms cache could not save the Branch Davidians, and if the Panamanian armed forces could not save Gen. Noriega, the question arises: Can armed defense against attacks by the imperialist ruling class ever be successful? Probably never, if the struggle is between the "family" and rebellious members or personality cults. But if it is part of the class struggle against their domination the answer is, "Yes, sometimes."

On the international scene, tiny Cuba, similar in size and historic background to Panama, has for more than 30 years fended off joint CIA-Mafia attempted assassinations, armed invasions, embargoes, and all other efforts of the U.S. imperialists to bring it back to "family" control. Here the rules of international class struggle apply, not the rules of an internal "family" squabble.

Craine correctly indicated that armed self-defense dur-



Militant/Joseph Hansen

Robert Williams led NAACP chapter in Monroe, North Carolina, in struggle against racial segregation in the 1960s. He helped organize a "civil defense" unit in his community. He is shown here speaking at a rally organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in 1961.

ing active class struggle can sometimes be effective when part of a "collective, disciplined effort." She pointed to the efforts of Blacks in Monroe, North Carolina, against armed Ku Klux Klan (KKK) incursions during the late 1950s and early 1960s. She reports that the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter organized the community to respond with guns if necessary. This is not strictly correct as I recall it. The local NAACP leaders got plenty of flack from the national NAACP, which did not approve of such self-defense, but the chapter itself did not officially organize the struggle.

Monroe defense case

This example deserves further attention. The central leader and tactician was Robert Williams, an ex-Marine and Korean War veteran. The U.S. Marines, formerly a lily-white force, had finally integrated a few Blacks by 1950 and that is where Williams gained his familiarity with firearms.

I met Williams in 1953 when we both worked the night shift at an aircraft jet engine plant in New Jersey. Several Socialist Workers Party members worked there at the time and one of us sold him a subscription to the *Militant*. He was a "natural born" fighter and anxious to go back home to North Carolina and fight against racism. He finally did

so, against the advice of many who were afraid his militancy could get him killed.

He led the local NAACP in integration struggles, lunch-counter sit-ins, etc. He knew how to fight within the limits of the law, giving the racists no excuse to lock him up. He understood the need to appeal for support on a national scale. He also knew how to use existing institutions in unexpected ways to advance the struggle. This is where we find the answer to the question: How could Blacks in an isolated ghetto in a small city in the Jim Crow South manage to arm and train themselves in self-defense tactics?

The class struggle brings into use imaginative and ingenious tactics, which take the self-confident and self-important enemy by surprise. The fight in Monroe is a case in point and contains lessons for every battle.

Williams discovered that the National Rifle Association (NRA) had no chapter in Monroe. He applied for and obtained a charter and all ghetto militants signed up. Being an ex-Marine helped Williams. The national organization did not suspect that an ex-Marine could be Black. The local racists later tried to form a chapter but couldn't because only one chapter is allowed in each locality. Membership in the NRA had, and probably still has, certain privileges. Army surplus weapons, ammunition, targets for practice, and other benefits were available at little or no cost. Rifle clubs were encouraged to form a sort of "Civil Defense" group. And that is exactly what this rifle club did!

Klan is routed

The local KKK often got together for a "joyride" through the ghetto. Firing shots in the air and sometimes at specific targets, they terrorized the Black community. As the NAACP chapter gained notoriety, the KKK became more insolent; until its last joyride became a nightmare.

This time the "Civil Defense" unit was ready. Individuals were stationed in foxholes prepared at strategic points, and others were waiting in darkened homes. When the KKK motorcade was well within the ghetto its way was suddenly blocked by armed residents. Riflemen arose from the foxholes, firing into the air. In a matter of seconds the attitude of the Klan changed from hilarity to mortal fear. Amidst the clash of fenders and screech of tires they managed to turn around and flee. They did not return.

I wasn't present during these events and perhaps my story is not strictly accurate, but I heard Williams tell it more than once and it is basically correct.

With the apparent agreement of the FBI, Williams was framed up on a charge of kidnapping, which allowed federal agents to intervene and prevent his escape to another county or state. Finally, in the fall of 1961, Williams lost hope for a fair trial and fled to Canada, thence to Cuba where he received political asylum; later he went to China. He apparently made an arrangement to return to the United States a few years ago with the charges dropped.

Ed Shaw was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president in 1964.

LETTERS

Weapons in Waco

I liked the *Militant's* coverage on the Waco massacre. Also the discussion on the "right to bear arms" and workers self-defense in the May 24 issue.

I just want to add a fact which had been missing in the *Militant's* coverage and which explains why the Branch Davidians had a big stockpile of weapons in their compound. Just after the massacre, I watched a U.S. news show here on AFN (American Forces Network), and they interviewed a lawyer who explained that the Branch Davidians people made a living by selling arms at Western shows and rodeos all over Texas. So they did not have the weapons to "use" them, but as a commodity.

*Lüko Willms
Frankfurt, Germany*

own daughter, Nira, lie to the world in order to build up international support for an immoral and unnecessary war.

One fact remains: George Bush led our nation into two immoral wars; resulting in thousands of dead Panamanians, hundreds of dead American soldiers, and at least a quarter of a million dead Iraqis. And he showed total disregard for law and ethics by having a foreign leader kidnapped.

Former President Bush is culpable for the murder of over 250,000 people, and should be tried as an international war criminal. Launching another bloody and immoral slaughter will not erase nor justify that fact.

*Paul Pasholk
Columbus, Ohio*

Job cuts in Canada

The May 24 *Militant* article entitled "Ontario government demands massive job and wage cuts from public sector workers," stated that "union leaders proposed that the Ontario government raise taxes . . ."

Union leaders in fact proposed taxes on corporations and the wealthy. They have criticized the May 19 provincial budget because these taxes comprise only 5 percent of the \$1.6 billion tax hike levied by the government.

Nevertheless, public sector union leaders continue to meet with

the government to discuss a "social contract" for cutting government costs. As the *Militant* indicated, they accept the idea that workers should take responsibility for reducing the deficit. Union proposals include cutting jobs through early retirement incentives and voluntary "exit" packages.

These events made all the more important the *Militant's* coverage of the strike by 37,000 metalworkers in Germany who demanded wage increases despite the economic crisis. In a lunchroom discussion of how to react to the new tax hikes, my coworkers agreed that the action in Germany "was the way to get things changed."

*Al Cappe
Toronto, Ontario*

Independent observers?

In the world of free enterprise democracy, the seal of legitimacy comes with the celebration of elections. According to bourgeois ideology, with an election, all previous wrongs can be righted and the best possible of futures can be assured. It seems ironic, but of course isn't,

that as wars, depression, and other features of the growing world disorder increase, the number of elections do as well.

One new element in them is the frequent presence in certain countries of so-called independent observers. Representing the United Nations, imperialist "democracies," or simply themselves as in the case of election guru Jimmy Carter, they are portrayed as being above the self-interest and corruption that accompany the electoral process under capitalism, and therefore encourage their honesty.

I believe these observers violate the sovereignty of the countries they observe, and merely help insure the interests of the imperialist powers they represent.

*Marty Anderson
Brooklyn, New York*

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.



Miami meeting celebrates successful U.S. speaking tour of Cuban pastors

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

MIAMI — Some 200 people gathered at the Jerusalem Seventh Day Adventist Church May 24 for a religious service featuring pastors from Cuba. The service celebrated the U.S. tour of Cuban religious leaders who came to promote "reconciliation and the end of the U.S. blockade of Cuba."

In just 11 days, 10 religious leaders representing Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Church of God, and Christian Pentecostal churches in Cuba, visited more than 45 cities in the United States. They spoke at public events, press conferences, on live radio programs, and at meetings with public officials, from New York City and Washington D.C., to Denver, Nashville, Tennessee, and San Francisco.

The tour was organized by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), Pastors for Peace, and the National Council of Churches.

"As Christians," said Rev. José Reyes to TV reporters just before the event, "we will not keep our arms crossed in the face of the suffering of our people" in Cuba. Reyes preaches at the Jerusalem Church in Miami, known in Spanish to its Cuban-American congregation as the Christian Church of Family Reconciliation.

'We're struggling against the embargo'

"It is an honor to address this church of Family Reunification," said Rev. Nerva Cot from Marianao in Havana, "as we bring this task to an end. We're struggling against the embargo, against the suffering of our people, not only of those who live in the island, but also of those of us who live in the United States."

"We're not motivated, not inspired by a political ideology, but by brotherhood," said Bishop Emilio Hernández. He praised the work of Pastors for Peace, its director, Lucius Walker, and the shipment to Cuba of \$500,000 in medicines by Pastors for Peace and Church World Services. "It is not possible to establish peace without justice," he said "and neither Christians here nor Christians over there can be in favor of imposing hunger and suffering on a people, only to try to overthrow one person. We know there are Cubans here who do not want to drown in misery and sickness," he said.

"Amid the painful events in today's world with Yugoslavia, Armenia, and Palestine, the road forward is to sit down and establish dialogue. The church in Cuba is willing to play the roll of mediator," he explained,

Killer cop in Miami is acquitted

BY JANET MCGUINN

MIAMI — Many working people here are outraged by the May 28 acquittal of Miami cop William Lozano and the subsequent closing off of two sections of the Black community by the police. Lozano killed two Black men in 1989 in Overtown, an overwhelmingly Black neighborhood and one of the poorest in the city.

"Lozano didn't spend a day in jail. Of course he should have been convicted," said Christine Davies, a nurse and resident of Overtown. "This just reaffirms the cops' attitude: 'I got a badge, I got a gun, and I can kill.'"

Claiming there might be a riot in response to the Lozano verdict, government officials deployed thousands of state, county, and city cops hours before the verdict.

Following the acquittal announcement, large parts of the mostly Black, working-class neighborhoods of Liberty City, Overtown, and Coconut Grove were sealed off by police. That night businesses closed early, public transportation was shut down,

"and we told this to U.S. government representatives in Cuba."

Rev. Raúl Suárez, a member of Cuba's National Assembly and the director of the Martin Luther King center in Havana also spoke. Suárez has been a pastor in Marianao for the past 20 years. "To be able to travel to Cuba to see your family is a right that you have," said Suárez. This includes the right of "all these brothers that came to the U.S. in 1980 and after, and I know that many have been able to travel thanks to arrangements made by the church," he said to enthusiastic applause. Suárez was referring to the thousands of Cubans who left Cuba in 1980 in the Mariel boat lift, many of whom have changed their opinions about Cuba and the United States over the past decade.

A recent article in the *Miami Herald* reveals that after the Cuban government dropped the age limit of those who could apply for a travel visa to 20 years old, more than 66,000 Cubans applied for visas in 1992.

Since the beginning of 1992, some 3,200 Cubans have made it on their own to the United States without visas. Some, denied visas by the U.S. government, took boats and rafts and drowned at sea.

Suárez also spoke against the current restrictions faced by Cuban-Americans who send medicines to their families.

Lucius Walker, the main leader of the first Friendshipment caravan to Cuba, compared

the U.S. blockade to a "giant that stalks our hearts and minds," and called for people to join the next Friendshipment caravan, which leaves Miami July 16. A number of people requested applications to become drivers.

The night of the event, the Miami media attacked the meeting and red-baited the Cuban religious leaders.

English language channel 7 reporter Rick Sanchez attempted to frighten people from attending the meeting. He reported on the 5:00 p.m. news, three hours before the meeting, that a "confrontation"

would take place at the meeting between pro- and antiembargo forces. This was an open invitation to rightists to attack the event.

Both Spanish TV channels 23 and 51 red-baited the meeting and its participants as well, describing the Cuban religious leaders as "more communist than religious" and



Militant/Janet McGuinn
Miami minister José Reyes, who helped organize the Cuban pastors' tour in Miami, is interviewed on May 24 by reporter Rick Sanchez of channel 7 television.

as "agents of Castro."

Despite these media tactics designed to set back the antiembargo movement, this event — along with a recent Militant Labor Forum on Cuba attended by 100 people — was the second meeting in four days to take place without any right-wing disruptions.

'End embargo of Cuba,' U.S. activists demand

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Opposition to the U.S. embargo of Cuba was the topic of a well-attended press conference held here May 27 at the National Press Club.

Former attorney general Ramsey Clark, who had just returned from a delegation that delivered medicine to Cuba, said, "It was painful to see the hardships experienced by a whole people and to know they were caused by our own government in violation of international and humanitarian laws, which prohibit actions that deprive people of needed food and medicines."

Clark, along with author Alice Walker and American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks, delivered \$75,000 worth of medicines to the Cuban Red Cross. They were accompanied by a team of ophthalmologists from Columbia University Medical Center.

Also speaking at the press conference,

which was sponsored by the International Peace for Cuba Appeal, was Andrés Gómez, editor of the Miami-based magazine, *Areíto*.

Gómez read a statement from the Antonio Maceo Brigade (BAM) and the Alliance of Workers in the Community (ATC) — both of which are Cuban-American groups — decrying two recent incidents of violence against Cuban-Americans in Miami who oppose the embargo of Cuba.

He described a March 17 attack on a peaceful picket line, held in front of radio station Radio Mambi, that called for lifting the U.S. embargo. He also cited a May 13 attack at the Miami International Airport against a group of about 250 members of the ATC and BAM who had just returned from a trip to Cuba.

The ATC, Gómez said, is composed of some people who support "the Cuban revolutionary process while others have strong differences with it. What unites them is their understanding that the blockade profoundly affects the welfare of their families in Cuba and the Cuban people in general, and that it must be ended."

The BAM is composed of younger Cuban-Americans who either have migrated from Cuba since 1960 or were born in the United States.

Committee to Defend Free Speech

Gómez announced the formation of the Miami Committee to Defend Free Speech. The committee is circulating a petition and asking that letters be sent to demand that authorities drop charges against three Cuban-Americans who were arrested while participating in the March 17 antiembargo protest. The messages are to be addressed to Florida state attorney Katherine Fernandez-Rundle and U.S. attorney general Janet Reno.

As people who are concerned with the welfare of the Cuban people, Gómez explained that "we not only have the right, but the duty as well, to peacefully — and within the requirements of the law — bring to the attention of the public our concerns. . . . We are the victims of violence and demand justice."

Statements were also provided to the press from the doctors who visited Cuba to investigate the recent optic neuritis epidemic

and from Don Rojas, executive assistant to NAACP executive director Ben Chavis. Rojas called for the embargo to be lifted "so that the Cuban people can be free to protect and maintain their health, safety, and welfare."

Other speakers at the press conference included a physician and several trade unionists who have visited Cuba, all of whom pledged to work for an end to the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Walfrido Moreno, a leader of the ATC, was also introduced.

Questions from the press, mostly directed to Clark, included: When do you think there will be a change in U.S. policy toward Cuba? Were you able to confirm that the medicine was distributed to those who need it and not just to tourists or high-ranking officials? What else can be done to aid the Cuban people?

Clark stated that he did expect changes in U.S. policy toward Cuba. He said medicine donated in Cuba gets distributed through the Red Cross. "It goes to sick people in hospitals, no matter who you are."

Clark stressed, "Cuba will make out if it is left alone. The Cubans are a very industrious people and are fully capable of determining their own destiny. The key thing is ending the blockade and letting the Cuban people find their own way."

Gómez said that now the BAM, the ATC, and four other Cuban-American organizations are involved in building the Friendshipment caravan to Cuba this July and will not be intimidated by conservative Cuban-Americans who are trying to stop their antiembargo work.

A representative of MediCuba, a project of the National Network on Cuba, said another sign of support among Cuban-Americans for ending the embargo was the recent donation by a Cuban-American of \$1.2 million worth of vitamin B tablets to help treat the optic neuritis epidemic.

CNN, Univision, the U.S. Information Agency, Radio Martí, Monitor Radio, several international news agencies, and *Baraguá*, the newsletter of the National Network on Cuba, attended the press conference, which was conducted in English and Spanish.

On Jan. 16, 1989, Lozano murdered two Black motorcyclists in Overtown. The kill-

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