

THE MILITANT

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INSIDE

Bush's Asia trip highlights decline of U.S. imperialism

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South Korea ends joint exercises with U.S. army

BY SETH GALINSKY

In the course of negotiations with North Korea, the South Korean government has agreed to call off its annual joint military maneuvers with the United States.

According to press reports, the South Korean regime offered to end the exercises in conjunction with a December 31 agreement on banning nuclear weapons from the Korean Peninsula.

The agreement marks a further setback to Washington's attempts to step up isolation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), which governs the north.

Just one month earlier the government of South Korea, based in Seoul, had threatened military strikes against the DPRK, claiming that the north was developing nuclear weapon capability. The U.S. government, which has long tried to have the world consider the DPRK an outlaw nation, also increased its rhetoric and threats.

Japan joined the pressure campaign against North Korea, holding back the possibility of Japanese investments until Pyongyang made concessions to the south.

Tensions lessened with the December 13 signing of a pact on "reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation and exchange between the North and the South." A few days later, the South Korean government announced that all nuclear weapons had been removed from its territory. Although Washington continues refusing to "confirm or deny" the existence of the nuclear weapons there, it is an open secret that there have long been hundreds of such weapons stationed on the peninsula.

The December 31 accord calls for mutual inspection of sites in the north and the south "in order to verify the de-nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula." This would include opening U.S. bases in the south to North Korean delegations.



U.S. maneuvers in South Korea. Some 40,000 U.S. troops are stationed in the south.

Although not a formal part of the agreement, the DPRK agreed to permit inspections of its nuclear sites by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The DPRK dropped an earlier demand that, before it allowed inspections, it wanted the United States to confirm the removal of nuclear weapons from the south.

Korea divided more than 40 years

For more than 40 years, the Korean Peninsula has been forcibly divided into north and south.

The United States and its allies, under the cover of the United Nations, engaged in a bloody war in Korea in 1950. The U.S.-UN forces occupied the north until being driven

back in 1951 and '52. Two million Koreans had been killed by the time the war ended in 1953.

The two Koreas have been divided ever since. Because of a total ban on travel and communication imposed by South Korea, many family members have not seen or spoken to each other in forty years.

Kim Il Sung, president of the DPRK, noted in a January 1 speech that "last year considerable progress was made in realizing the cause of national reunification thanks to the unremitting struggle of our compatriots in the north and the south."

In particular, he said, the December 13 reconciliation accord "is a historic event

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Write-in vote ban challenged in Hawaii

BY GREG McCARTAN

Whether or not an individual has the right to cast a write-in ballot in local, state, and federal elections is the issue in a case from Hawaii that the Supreme Court has agreed to hear in March. The state does not allow write-in votes.

A Federal appeals court upheld the Hawaii law earlier this year when it overturned a lower court decision that declared the write-in ban unconstitutional. The challenge to the law was filed by Alan Burdick in 1986. Burdick filed the suit after he inquired as to how he could cast a write-in vote, only to learn to his surprise that it would not be counted. He argues that the ability to "participate fully and freely in the electoral process" is a fundamental right protected by the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and association.

The issue is an important one for working people, as exclusionary ballot requirements prevent many candidates and working-class parties from gaining ballot status. Like Burdick, many assume casting a write-in vote is a freedom backed by the Bill of Rights. A ruling in favor of the state of Hawaii would encourage more states to restrict the write-in vote even further. Thirty-two currently have some form of restriction; four of those ban it altogether: Hawaii, Indiana, Oklahoma, and Nevada.

The Hawaiian state government defends the law, saying that banning write-in candidates discourages "sore losers" and frivolous candidates and encourages stability in the elections.

The government claims that it is easy to get on the primary ballot, citing the fact that only 15 to 25 signatures are needed for local

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Caterpillar tries to 'divide and conquer' auto union

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — The fight by the United Auto Workers (UAW) for a contract with Caterpillar Inc., has entered its third month. Along with 2,400 unionists on strike at plants here and in Decatur, Illinois, the giant manufacturing company locked out 5,600 more workers in early November. "I think they are hell-bent on busting the union," said Jerry Brown, president of UAW Local 974. This is the largest of seven locals involved in the contract battle.

Caterpillar refuses to agree to an established pattern of bargaining, which began in the 1970s when contracts with both John Deere and Caterpillar were settled on equal terms. Deere & Co. is Caterpillar's biggest competitor in the agricultural and construction equipment industry.

Caterpillar officials now say they want to negotiate eight different contracts with sectors of the company called "profit centers" rather than bargain collectively with all seven locals. "It's a divide-and-conquer tactic," commented David Young, a union steward and locked-out picket. "They're trying to pit one building against another. But it's not going to work, because we're sticking together."

The company claims it has to reduce labor costs to remain competitive on the world market. However, Caterpillar sales in 1990

totaled \$11.1 billion, of which a record \$6 billion was earned overseas. It owns 15 plants in other countries. About \$3.4 billion worth of machines built in its U.S. plants were sold in other countries.

"Japan is being used as a scapegoat," one picket said. "I think they're trying to shift the blame off their own responsibility for the problems. I think their plan is to break the union."

Company offensive

Caterpillar has been on a war footing since last February when it began running a series of newspaper ads warning the UAW to accept less for its members so the company could remain competitive. Workers have been bombarded with company letters since the contract expired. "We've got 18 letters in the mail from Caterpillar so far," a picket noted. "We get about two letters a week, telling us what a good deal we're getting with the contract offer."

Then in December the company threatened to close down the York, Pennsylvania, plant and its plant in Brazil if the union did not accept the contract. The picketing unionists said this was just a threat. "They've been saying for some time that they were going to close the York plant," one of them pointed out. "If they do close it, it's because they had

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United Auto Workers picket at Caterpillar headquarters. Strike is in its third month.

Hundreds attend New York conference; discuss Malcolm X's 'legacy of struggle'

BY RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) was the site of a conference entitled "Malcolm X: 1991 — Radical Tradition and a Legacy of Struggle" held here December 13-15. Some 350 people registered for the event, the majority of whom were young and Black.

BMCC is part of the City University of New York (CUNY). The campus Student Government Association, (SGA) supported the gathering and many student leaders and activists from BMCC and other New York City campuses attended. Students also came from Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Minneapolis, and other cities. A conference held last year on Malcolm X drew 1,500 participants.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary leader and fighter for Black rights who was gunned down by an assassin in 1965. His internationalism, uncompromising stance in the struggle for Black liberation, and anticapitalist perspective have led many young and working people today to want to learn about and identify with his legacy.

The conference was initiated by the Co-operative Research Network. Abdul Alkalimat of Northeastern University in Boston chaired the event and welcomed participants to the opening session, called "Sisters Remember Malcolm X: A Legacy to be Transformed."

One of the first speakers was Dr. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow. "We need to look at the conditions of our people during the 1960s" to understand and learn from what Malcolm did and said, she noted. "The only way to change conditions like that is to be radical."

Shabazz had recently returned from South Africa as part of a delegation that included New York mayor David Dinkins. She described the situation Blacks face there, the devastation caused by the brutal apartheid system, and the power of the struggle to overthrow it.

As Malcolm taught, she said, "if you want a better life you have to do it yourself." Referring to African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Shabazz went on to say that "a tall giant walks who is so integral he wants a democratic and nonracial South Africa." There are millions like him there and around the world, said Shabazz.

At the close of her talk, Shabazz called on Alkalimat to join her at the podium. She referred to an article in the *Amsterdam News* detailing a lawsuit filed by herself and Pathfinder Press, a major publisher of Malcolm's works since the early 1960s, against Alkalimat for his failure to acknowledge the copyright she holds to materials by Malcolm X. Alkalimat had published portions of the writings without permission. The dispute was resolved in September. "I don't care what you read," she told the audience, "we stopped communicating, but now we're back together."

Also speaking the opening night were Augusta Kappner, BMCC president; poet Jayne Cortez; Sonja Sanchez; and community activist Vicki Garvin. Donna Coombs-Mon-



Malcolm X being interviewed at 1963 NAACP demonstration in New York City.

trose, of the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago, brought greetings from her union.

'An internationalist perspective'

Coombs-Montrose described her union as having "an internationalist perspective," which she said was "one of the major issues that Malcolm X championed." His rise in the 1960s, she said, was simultaneous with the rise of political activism by working people in the Caribbean.

The trade union leader said the capitalist economic crisis was having a devastating impact on working people and youth in the Caribbean today. "Malcolm X taught us that we have to join hands across the globe" in response to such conditions, she said, "and that any movement based only on Blacks in the U.S. was doomed to failure."

Students, youth, and others lined up at an open microphone, following the presentations, kicking off a wide-ranging discussion that continued throughout the event.

"A lot of the ideas raised tonight are ideas people are talking about, ideas rooted in what Malcolm X wrote," said Peter Moore. He is a leader of Youth for Philippine Action and a BMCC student senator. Students in the CUNY system face a continuing rise in the cost of education, he said, and encouraged others to join in fighting the increases. "How can we have Malcolm's work and not act on it?"

The conference featured several workshops on issues such as sexual harassment and multiculturalism. Plenary sessions were held on "Malcolm X and Black Perspectives on the Crisis of Socialism" and "Malcolm X vs. Clarence Thomas: The Crisis of Black Unity in the 1990s."

Speakers addressed the event from a host of political organizations including the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, Communist Labor Party, Freedom Road Socialist Organization, Malcolm X Lover's Network, Socialist Workers Party, and the Revolutionary Communist Party. International guests included Maina Wa Kinyatti of the United Movement for Democracy in Kenya and Zaya Yeebo of the United Revolutionary Front of Ghana.

There was general debate and discussion at every session on Malcolm X and broader political questions. Several speakers, quoting Malcolm X at the time he founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity, called for Black unity across class lines today as a prerequisite to defend Black rights.

Others advanced the view that a fascist movement in Eastern Europe and the United States is developing and that this is reflected in the David Duke campaign, resulting in fewer opportunities to wage fights against oppression and exploitation.

One of the most wide-ranging discussions

took place in the plenary entitled "Malcolm X and Rebuilding the Movement Among Black Youth and Students."

Youth panel

The panel of speakers featured youth and students. The plenary was added late in the planning for the event, after students objected to the lack of organized participation of young people.

The role of youth in the struggle for Black rights and the need for the wider involvement of young people in this and other similar conferences was hotly debated throughout the event.

Speakers at the plenary included Leah Williamson, a student at the University of Maryland and member of the Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; T'Kalla, president of the Hunter College Black Student Union; Hatim Bazian, a Palestinian student from San Francisco State University and chairperson of the National People of Color Student Coalition; and Micheal Crenshaw of the Communist Labor Party. Hunter College student activist Carol Bullard chaired the panel. "These are very serious times and anything that happens in the world today affects us as students," she said.

In his remarks, T'Kalla explained how the Black student unions developed out of the political activism in the 1960s, including the political work of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party. Since then many have turned into clubs focused on securing funds instead of political organizations to advance the struggle for the rights of Black students, he said.

He described the work at Hunter College to reverse this process, such as the initiation of study groups on the works of Malcolm X.

Hunter College is located in one of the wealthiest areas in New York City, said T'Kalla. Yet last year tuition was raised by \$200, putting the cost of education for one semester at close to \$1,000. "When you're poor, that's a lot of money, especially considering the fact that CUNY was free for over a century including through two depressions."

"Now [New York governor Mario] Cuomo says there is no money for education yet they had enough money to build 27 prisons!" he pointed out.

"Malcolm X taught us to make our leaders accountable to us," said the student leader. New York City mayor David Dinkins claims he has no time to take up proposals for federal money for education. Yet he had time to write up a proposal for \$5 million for prisons that passed, T'Kalla explained. "We shouldn't be paying tuition in the richest country in the world, where the government can pass bills for money for the Persian Gulf war but not for education."

"Malcolm X taught us to be analytical and not just think about our local situation but consider our allies," he continued.

During the discussion Garnez Parks, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, described the fight unfolding at the University of Minnesota against the racist White Student Union. "As the polarization within and between the classes deepens we will see more initiatives by rightist forces like the White Student Union," he said. "As we organize to counter mobilize against them we learn who our allies are. It was Malcolm X

who taught us to think and act for ourselves. In fact," said Parks, "Malcolm said he would never organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican for this reason."

Out of the student and youth plenary and subsequent meetings, it was decided that youth should be more involved in the planning and program of conferences like this on Malcolm X. This, along with the lack of participation of women, was an issue raised at last year's conference, yet few students felt much progress had been made.

"Our voice, perspective, agenda, has been absent from the conference as if Black youth have nothing to offer on the crisis of socialism, or the crisis of Black identity in the 1990s, or the international perspective of the legacy of Malcolm X on the issues of the 'New World Order,' said a statement drawn up at the youth plenary and presented at the final conference session. "We believe fresh leadership serves to strengthen, not weaken our movements." The students said they should be involved in the entire planning for the next meeting.

At the final plenary, Nelson Peery of the Communist Labor Party explained that the task of a political organization is to teach young people "how to organize intellectually."

Bill Fletcher of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization said, "We are facing a very scary future" and in order to represent an alternative direction "there is a need for unity of the Black left."

Preston Wilcox of the Malcolm X Lover's Network described the numbers of youth who wear "X" hats and Malcolm X shirts yet, in his opinion, don't understand what Malcolm stood for.

During the discussion, student activist Williamson said that however limited the understanding of Malcolm is, the important fact is the growing interest in the revolutionary leader.

"No matter what we think of events in the world there is one thing we agree on: Malcolm X was one of the greatest revolutionaries produced in this country," said Socialist Workers Party leader Nan Bailey. She called on participants to reach out more broadly to working people and youth in building the next conference. "We should learn from Malcolm and appeal to young people, not to tell them how little they know — that denunciation is what they get every day from capitalism — but to instill in them self-worth and interest them in the ideas of Malcolm X."

Following the conference Glenda Francis, president of the Student Government Association at BMCC, said she felt the meeting was an important success. BMCC student leader Dordy Jourdain, of the African Students Association, added, "We should start organizing now for the next conference, get youth on the committee now, and make it better."

"It's important to have this conference," said Rafael Castillo, a member of the African Students Association, as a step to "getting out the ideas of Malcolm X to the masses and those who are struggling."

A Pathfinder literature table was well received at the conference with sales of \$400 in literature, 85 copies of the *Militant*, and two *Militant* subscriptions.

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by

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Rightists plan march in Dubuque, Iowa

BY GREG ROSENBERG
AND CHRIS REMPLE

DUBUQUE, Iowa — A white supremacist group, the Nationalist Movement, has called for a January 18 "Majority Rights Freedom Parade and Rally" here to oppose an integration plan being discussed in the city.

The racist march, which is receiving wide publicity in the Dubuque media, comes on the heels of 13 cross-burnings in the area since July. Only 331 Blacks live in Dubuque, out of a population of 58,000.

A debate has erupted over the city council-approved Constructive Integration Plan, drafted in March 1991. The plan's goal is to "recruit, relocate, incorporate, and retain 20 new minority families of diverse colors in Dubuque each year until our community is enriched and enhanced with 100 new minority families by 1995."

At its heart, the plan consists of asking area employers to take voluntary affirmative action measures when they need to go outside the city to fill positions. The plan's emphasis is on professional and highly skilled positions. It urges the formation of a "core group" of companies to "solicit their peers to hire a specified number of employees of color" by 1995.

Don Deich, the only council member who voted against the plan, made his racist position clear in comments to the *New York Times*. "They can bring in 200 of them as long as we don't have to pay for it," he said. "It doesn't bother me any as long as they behave themselves and don't bring a bunch of rag-tag relatives that cause trouble."

A necessary step

The plan is widely seen among youth and many working people as a necessary step to integrate Dubuque. It is supported by a number of capitalist employers in the area.

Ernestine Moss, president of the Dubuque National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), described the integration proposal as "a community plan. This is how we're going to make our community more diverse."

The NAACP is holding its annual Martin Luther King Day celebration on January 12, which will include a march. Moss said that publicity for the march will not promote it



Cross was burned on Alice Scott's lawn

as an answer to the racists' demonstration.

Moss said that the NAACP has organized five silent vigils and two rallies to protest racism since June. Student groups at Clarke College and the University of Dubuque have been involved in publicizing and participating in these protests.

Dubuque has entered the national spotlight as a result of these developments. Recently, a chapter of the so-called National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) was formed. It includes two youths convicted of cross-burnings in October. They received sentences of probation and community service, including a mandatory course on "racial sensitivity."

Bill McDermott, a local NAAWP leader, said, "Why should our town be destroyed by Black riots and crime? Blacks have higher crime rates, welfare rates, and birth rates. Why should we change our lifestyles to give preferential treatment to Blacks?"

Cross-burnings are terrorist acts

In response to the cross-burnings, the NAACP issued a statement July 31, stating, "In 20th century America, cross-burning has become one of the ultimate symbols of hatred. We consider any act of cross-burning to

be an act of community terrorism which is racial in nature, and committed with the intent of instilling fear and terror among individuals and groups in our community. We call upon all residents of Dubuque to repudiate such actions."

Cross-burnings have historically been followed by other acts of violence and murder. Alice Scott had a brick thrown through her window and a cross burned on her lawn November 12. No one has been arrested or charged.

The NAACP position on cross-burners is that "they should do jail time," said Moss.

The vast majority of working people in the area are opposed to cross-burnings. A meat-packer at the FDL plant remarked that those carrying out the acts are "stupid thugs" who "ought to be punished." But there is wide debate and confusion over what the Constructive Integration Plan is about. Rightists have taken advantage of the confusion over the plan and the lack of a clear political defense of affirmative action.

No labor officials in the area have spoken clearly in defense of affirmative action as an aid to the unity and strength of all working people or mobilized their memberships to turn out at rallies protesting the cross-burnings. None have issued any public statements against the January 18 march.

A letter co-signed by Melvin Maas, president of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 150A, and Michael

The racists need to be answered with a countermobilization...

Stohlmeyer, industrial relations director for John Deere, appeared in the December 5 *Telegraph Herald*. The letter deplored "incidents of racism and intolerance whenever and wherever they occur. We affirm the value of multicultural and multiracial diversity in our community and pledge to support those efforts which provide for social justice."

United Auto Workers Local 94 passed a resolution against racism, prejudice, and intolerance. But Pat Dillon, president of Local

94, listed "spending tax dollars, extending super-seniority to people of color, and preferential hiring rates" as issues that "labor opposed."

A new organization, Citizens United for Respect and Equality (CURE), was launched recently in reaction to the announced January 18 march. The organizers propose that anti-racists honk their horns at the marchers or put black and white ribbons on their car antennae.

Counterprotest is needed

Patricia Berry, a young Black worker, said a counterprotest to the racist march planned for January 18 is needed. "The arguments that Blacks are stealing jobs is not a fair statement," she said. "We're out there fighting for jobs like everybody else. We're not going back."

Berry said, "Everyone who says, 'They [the racists] don't represent me,' should come out on January 18. If they want to have an NAAWP, fine. But we have to answer. If they march, I'll be there."

Sara Lobman, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Des Moines and a member of UFCW Local 431, said that the upcoming racist march needs to be answered with a countermobilization. "The policies of the Nationalist Movement are anti-working-class and racist," she continued. "They attack immigrant workers, working women, affirmative action, and free, public education. They seek to deepen the divisions among working people under the guise of 'defending white rights.'"

"There are no such rights," Lobman added. "White people, like all shades and colors of people, are from different classes and have opposing and contradictory interests. The interests of Bob Wahler, the owner of FDL, are the opposite of the interests of the meat-packers in his plant. Like all capitalists, he seeks to make the maximum profit on his investment."

"The capitalists try to maximize profits by using divisions and inequalities among working people to play one sector off against the other," Lobman said. "The politics of the Nationalist Movement fit in this framework. All working people and all unions have a big stake in answering the claims and arguments of these rightists."

"The argument that affirmative action harms white workers must be answered. Affirmative action is a tool in the hands of working people to unify in the face of growing attacks on our living conditions and rights," Lobman concluded.

Greg Rosenberg is a member of United Auto Workers Local 879.

Cuban diplomat tours northern California

BY OSBORNE HART

SAN FRANCISCO — Cuba's economic situation, decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, and relations with the United States were the topics addressed by José Antonio Arbesú, chief of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., during his recent visit to the San Francisco Bay Area.

Arbesú talked to a total of more than 600 people at public meetings and campus forums November 14-16 as the featured speaker for the "Cuba at a Crossroads" tour organized by Global Exchange.

His engagements included a public meeting before the World Affairs Council and Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco; a forum at Stanford University; a San José State University campus meeting; a San Francisco city forum sponsored by the Hands Off Cuba Coalition and the Venceremos Brigade; and a local high school meeting.

Many questions asked of the Cuban diplomat focused on Cuba's economy since the abrupt curtailment or cancellation of trade agreements with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"In one year, all the trade relations [with the Soviet Union] of 30 years have virtually ceased," Arbesú responded. "We have been prepared for many years for this situation despite the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

Citing oil because of its importance to the island's economy, Arbesú explained that Cuba would receive less than 10 of the 12 million tons of Soviet oil agreed on for 1991, and at a higher cost.

He outlined some of the economic measures the Cuban government is taking to alleviate the burden, including diversifying agricultural production; economic joint ventures with other countries, from tourism to biotechnical and pharmaceutical agreements; expanding nickel production; and offering "people with certain skills, for exam-

ple car mechanics, to sell their services after working hours."

Arbesú explained the government's goal during this period is to maintain the current level of social achievements of the revolution in health care, education, and food consumption.

Despite the hardships the Cuban people are experiencing, Arbesú said the "30-year-old U.S. [economic] blockade proves to be more of a problem for the Cuban economy."

There are always "new additions" to the U.S. embargo, he added. "When there is a possibility of trade with a country, there is pressure on that country not to. The object of the United States is to strangle Cuba."

Asked about the prospects of normalization of relations with the United States, Arbesú replied, "We would like to have relations. Relations could be beneficial for the United States as well as Cuba, but relations must be based on equality, mutual respect and noninterference."

"The pattern of conduct of U.S. administrations since the revolution is to set preconditions for Cuba to meet. Once one has been met, they set another."

Highlighting some of the previous U.S. demands, from removing Cuban troops in Africa, ceasing collaboration with the Salvadoran revolutionaries, and ending relations with the Soviet Union, Arbesú said those have been resolved through agreements, negotiations and political developments.

Arbesú added that the main demand, "that we organize our society the way the U.S. wants us to be organized," will never be agreed to.

Arbesú said the changes approved by the recent Cuban Communist Party congress will strengthen the revolution. His examples included the expanded "democracy with the direct election process," new and younger people elected to the central leadership, and proposals to confront the economic challenges.

At the San Jose State University gathering,

Arbesú shared the platform with African National Congress representative Andile Dunjuwa. Dunjuwa expressed thanks, on the ANC's behalf, to Cuba for what it has contributed to the South African struggle.

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Bush hunts for new military base

Loss of Subic Bay on eve of Asia trip shows decline of U.S. imperialism

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

The current Asian visit of U.S. president George Bush underlines the weakening position of U.S. imperialism in the world today.

The most publicized aspect of the trip is the visit of the Bush entourage to Japan, where trade relations with the United States are set to be the central topic of discussion.

But the trip's original purpose was to strengthen Washington's military and political alliances in the Asia-Pacific region. The final breakdown of negotiations between the U.S. and Philippine governments over Washington's use of the naval base at Subic Bay, with Manila's insistence that the United States withdraw by the end of 1992, gave the trip a degree of urgency in the days before Bush departed.

The loss of its Philippine bases is a major blow to the ability of U.S. imperialism to wield its military might in the broader Asian region. Washington is hastily seeking to patch together alternative arrangements.

An article in the *New York Times* explained

some of the difficulties facing the U.S. military which have come to light following its loss of access to Subic Bay. Subic Bay was a key staging post for U.S. forces in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the war against Iraq.

Visiting Singapore on his Asian tour, Bush announced that the island nation will be home to only a small piece of the naval activity previously based at Subic Bay, the logistics operations of the Seventh Fleet.

The *Times* reported the Navy recently estimated that to duplicate the Subic Bay facilities at any single site would cost more than \$3 billion. The loss of Subic "has forced the American military to scramble," the *Times* noted. "Pacific commanders say the greatest loss will be the prized Philippine naval, marine and air force training ranges — especially a bombing range near Clark."

The military is searching over a wide area for alternatives to its former Philippine facilities. The Air Force is setting up a new bombing range in Alaska; munitions are being shipped to Hawaii; the navy hopes to have its ship repair work carried out in Guam,

Japan, and Singapore; and the Marines and special-operations forces are seeking replacement training areas in Japan and South Korea.

The importance of Subic Bay is underlined by the numbers of troops and workers involved. Some 5,900 U.S. troops have been stationed there. The base employs 29,000 Filipinos, many of them highly skilled.

Recession 'made in Japan'

Preparing for the Bush visit to Japan, government representatives have stepped up their propaganda blaming Japan for the continuing recession in the United States. "It's a trip to deal with some of their unfair trade practices and to protect American jobs," an unnamed presidential aide told the *New York Times*.

Commerce secretary Robert Mosbacher suggested December 29 that Japan is at least partly responsible for the U.S. economic downturn. A group of 21 leading U.S. businessmen, including the heads of the "Big Three" automakers, are accompanying Bush on the trip to emphasize the search for greater possibilities for U.S. exports to Japan.

Mosbacher's assertions echo the line of leading Democrats, who say simply that the recession is being "made in Japan." House Democratic majority leader Richard Gephardt threatened to introduce legislation limiting the import of Japanese automobiles if Bush did not return from Tokyo with substantial trade concessions.

The focus on trade relations with Japan was heightened following General Motors' December 18 announcement of massive planned layoffs and a big leap in Japan's balance of payments surplus in November.

The reality is that existing Japanese formal trade hurdles, such as the block to U.S. rice imports, do not play a major part in the \$41 billion Japanese trade surplus with the United States. Almost two thirds of the surplus is accounted for by Japan's car imports into the United States.

Few restrictions on car sales to Japan

U.S. auto exports to Japan are not in reality subject to significant formal restrictions. In addition, Tokyo indicated in advance of the Bush visit that they were taking steps to eliminate some of the obstacles that do exist, such as a requirement that brakes be tested on all imported cars, and would ease some other safety regulations. The Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry has also said it will put pressure on Japanese auto companies to make it easier for their dealers to sell imported cars. U.S. officials also expect the Japanese government to implement a tax break for buyers of automobiles made outside Japan.

In 1990, American-made cars accounted for less than five-tenths of 1 percent of the Japanese car market, the world's second larg-



President George Bush

est, after the United States itself. In contrast, Japan now has one third of the U.S. market. The main reason for this is that the Japanese auto industry is more advanced than its U.S. counterpart, with Japanese cars seen as a better buy by millions.

For 10 years now Japanese automakers have instituted "voluntary" restraints on car exports to the United States, in response to U.S. pressure. The agreement has been to export no more than 2.3 million cars a year to the United States. In any case the actual amount now being imported is well below this, at 1.8 million cars, partly due to the output of Japanese automakers' factories in the United States itself.

Thus the facts do not bear out the picture of unfair Japanese restrictions being responsible for the Japan-U.S. imbalance in the auto trade.

In fact a case could be made that the "voluntary restraints" and threats of new protectionist legislation in the United States to cut back Japanese car imports constitute pressure in the opposite direction, as expressed, for example by *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis.

"Mr Bush talks passionately about free trade and fair competition," Lewis wrote. "But by bringing the Big Three auto executives along, he tells his Japanese hosts that what he really wants is an unfair protected position for inefficient American manufacturers."

Party-building fund over top! \$167,837 collected by deadline

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund far surpassed the \$150,000 goal by collecting pledges totaling \$167,873!

This victory was realized because supporters in cities across the country organized to collect every dollar possible during the last two weeks of the drive. Hundreds of contributions came in from workers and youth committed to helping finance the building of the Socialist Workers Party.

The response is a reflection of supporters' confidence in the capacity of the working class to fight and chart a new course forward for humanity. Moreover, it reflects the understanding that this will not be possible without forging a communist party of the most committed working-class fighters.

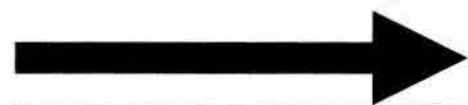
The success achieved in the final weeks of the drive overcame the problem of getting off to a slow start. In Morgantown, West Virginia, for example, more than a dozen new contributors were won in the final weeks of

the effort, primarily from long-term subscribers to the *Militant*. They contributed hundreds of dollars after supporters called or visited. In future funds, supporters will want to reach out with the fund in this manner early on in the drive.

Political developments over the course of the drive heightened both interest in the So-

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected:	Goal:
\$167,873	\$150,000



cialist Workers Party and the ability to reach out and win new contributors. The debate on whether or not the recession was over has been pushed aside by the clear signs that the world is in one of the worst economic downturns since the Great Depression. Working people increasingly bear the burden of the capitalist crisis. Already pushed to the edge of poverty during the 1980s, new layers of workers join the lines to collect unemployment benefits and food stamps or simply find those benefits quickly exhausted.

The opening of the primary races for nominations in the 1992 presidential campaign is a showcase of what the ruling rich and their parties have to offer to resolve the crisis: candidates David Duke and Patrick Buchanan, who are in the vanguard of the rightward direction of U.S. politics, and liberal politicians incapable of answering the ultraright or presenting any serious solution to the crisis facing working people.

Discussions and debates are taking place among workers and youth on many aspects of the rulers' crisis. In some cases there are attempts to fight back, such as actions to defend abortion rights, marches against police brutality, and strikes against further concessions to the bosses.

Contributions to the fund are making it possible for communist workers to get out to these discussions, debates, and fights in the United States and the world.

By going 12 percent over the \$150,000 goal, supporters have shown their determination to put the party on a sound financial footing, enabling it to respond more effectively to important political developments today. This victory was possible because of the political work and organization of party branches and supporters in the cities listed on the chart. Each supporter knows that building a party capable of leading the struggles ahead is the only way to prevent the solutions posed by Buchanan and Duke — and those in the Democratic and Republican parties who are not far behind them — from being imposed on humanity.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	Percent
Atlanta	5,500	6,931	126
Washington, D.C.	6,000	6,856	114
Morgantown	2,800	3,128	112
Omaha	3,000	3,320	111
San Diego	2,000	2,190	109
Newark*	10,000	10,710	107
Miami	2,400	2,515	105
Greensboro*	2,350	2,455	104
San Francisco	12,000	12,366	103
Boston*	5,740	5,881	102
New York	16,300	16,690	102
St. Louis*	7,300	7,430	102
Baltimore	3,000	3,045	101
Salt Lake City	6,500	6,574	101
Seattle	5,000	5,056	101
Birmingham	6,500	6,515	100
Chicago	8,000	8,000	100
Cleveland	3,000	3,000	100
Des Moines	3,525	3,525	100
Detroit	8,500	8,500	100
Houston	4,800	4,806	100
Los Angeles	15,000	15,021	100
Pittsburgh	5,500	5,500	100
Twin Cities*	9,160	9,160	100
Philadelphia	5,000	3,244	65
U.S. Other	4,815	4,965	103
International	2,130	490	23
Total	165,820	167,873	112

* Indicates raised goal



Media paints false picture of massive Japanese trade barriers to U.S. autos

Concession contract ratified at United

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

SAN FRANCISCO — Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) voted to ratify a new five-year contract with United Airlines. The pact introduces a number of concessions and deepens divisions within the union.

The 27,000 mechanics, ramp workers, cleaners, flight kitchen, and other ground support workers at United were working under a contract that expired Nov. 1, 1989. Approved December 23, the new contract runs through November, 1994.

The contract was ratified by a 71 percent margin, with a large turnout by the membership around the country. The most widespread opposition to the pact came from among the 12,000 workers at the San Francisco station, home of United's aircraft maintenance base, where the agreement was approved by 54 percent of those voting.

A 5 percent pay raise, effective December 15, 1991, is based on 1988 pay rates. Mechanics receive a 50 cent hourly "skill premium." New workers in many categories will hire in at the 1988 rates until May of 1994. New hires on the ramp, for example, from now through May 1994 earn \$8.93 for the first 18 months.

Unlike previous contracts, in which raises were applied retroactively and compounded into the base rate, union members will receive a 4 percent bonus based on gross earnings for the 2 years since the contract expired.

A big majority vote was secured for the

contract due to a number of factors, most of which are rooted in the IAM officials' refusal to organize a fight at United. The labor movement's lack of a course to combat the effects of the recession and the resulting increase in competition among working people as a whole also sapped the potential to organize a struggle.

"That raise doesn't keep up with the cost of living," said Valerie, a fork lift driver at the maintenance base here. "That's been going up 5 or 6 percent a year. I'm a single mother with two kids making \$9 an hour, and I figure I can't afford not to strike over this."

"They're throwing us a bone with that skill pay," said Ron, a machinist. "That's to make us think we're special. In another year they'll be calling us Fido."

"It's a bribe to split us off from the others," is how one dock mechanic described the "skill premium" at one of the eight contract information meetings held here.

He and several other mechanics at the meetings held up hand-painted signs reading, "Vote Hell No!" Another worker made and distributed buttons with the same caption.

Part-time workers

The contract also increases the number of part-time workers the company can hire at certain locations and puts no limits on the number of part-time cleaners that can be hired. Seniority is still not used to determine the hiring of part-timers to full time.

At new stations in Miami and Orlando,

performance of certain jobs is transferred to workers at much lower pay scales. "This is what they have in store for all of us. They have a precedent now," said one ramp worker at Dulles Airport in Virginia of the part-time work and job reclassification.

A seven-day work schedule was introduced at a new maintenance center due to open in Indianapolis and expanded to more work areas at the base here. Medical benefits were also cut, with high out-of-pocket expenses and deductibles. New hires and their dependents with preexisting medical problems receive no medical coverage for the first year.

At meetings to go over the contract, members of the IAM negotiations committee stressed that the contract was the best they could do under the circumstances. While disturbed by the concessions, most workers voted yes on the contract because they believed the union was unprepared to fight and would therefore not come out ahead in a strike.

Opposition to concessions

Most workers expressed frustration at the lack of even minimal preparations for resisting the company's demands. A mechanic at Dulles explained that, by the time IAM members at Eastern Airlines voted to strike in 1989, they had attended numerous informational meetings. "They were united by activities and meetings. We have come to this point unprepared," he said.

One action taken was on November 1

when hundreds of IAM members in San Francisco and Oakland called in sick. This was the second anniversary of contract negotiations. In some areas 90 percent of the workforce was out.

Leading up to the contract agreement, many United flight attendants expressed solidarity with IAM members. The flight attendants' union recently signed their contract after five years without one. The company kept retroactive pay raises to .02 percent and imposed numerous work rule concessions.

Economic pressures

The economic crisis has hit the airline industry hard. Rising fuel prices and reduced travel due to the recession have airlines in cutthroat competition for passengers and lucrative routes.

In the weeks prior to the contract vote, Midway and Pan Am went out of business, laying off thousands of workers. USAir has proposed a \$400 million concessions package to its 45,000 employees. At Trans World Airlines, the company has threatened to take the airline into bankruptcy in January. Just a few days before the vote, General Motors announced the closing of 21 plants and the loss of 70,000 jobs.

Given the union officials' support of the pact, these developments had an impact on many workers' confidence in being able to mount a successful fight to win a better contract.

"What's to prevent United from just replacing us with all these unemployed workers?" was a common question, especially among cleaners and kitchen workers. Some said they felt lucky they at least had a job.

United Airlines, along with American and Delta, is undergoing major expansion to position itself to compete on the global market.

In December, United snapped up Pan Am's Latin American routes, paying \$135 million in cash. United recently paid \$22 billion for new aircraft, the largest aircraft order ever. "This is where our wage increases went," noted a mechanic at Dulles.

Many United workers were angered at United Airlines' chief executive officer Steven Wolf's well-publicized \$18.3 million salary last year. "We'll probably see millions continuing to go to people like Wolf, while we're asked to cut back," one Los Angeles worker said, "especially the new people who will be hired at substantially lower wages."

Kathleen Denny is a member of IAM local 1781 at the United Airlines maintenance base in San Francisco. Also contributing to this article were IAM Local 1759 members at Dulles Airport in Virginia: Janice Lynn, Nell Wheeler, and Jan Aragon-Denno; and IAM local 1932 member Betsey Stone in Los Angeles.

Puerto Rican journalist wins victory against FBI subpoena attempts

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Connecticut — In a victory for freedom of the press, Judge Emmet Claire ruled that television journalist Daisy Sánchez does not have to appear before a grand jury or turn over videotapes of interviews she had made with two Puerto Rican independence activists. Claire's ruling ended a four-month campaign waged by the U.S. government against Sánchez.

The confrontation began last summer when Sánchez, a well-known reporter for Channel 11 in Puerto Rico, interviewed Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and Luis Colón Osorio, two members of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15, a group of independence activists facing charges of conspiracy in connection with a 1983 robbery. The interview was held at an undisclosed location in Puerto Rico.

In 1990 these two defendants went underground, stating that they could not receive a fair trial.

Major portions of the interview were broadcast on a Puerto Rican television station and later on another station in Hartford. Almost immediately afterward, Sánchez and her employer were served subpoenas by the FBI to turn her original tapes over to the Hartford grand jury.

Sánchez, facing a possible jail sentence, refused to turn over her tapes on First Amendment grounds. She stated that her videotapes are analogous to a print journalist's handwritten notes, necessary tools of her trade, which the government has no right to seize.

Sánchez's case gained widespread support in Puerto Rico. Political figures from the governor to legislators of all three major parties, trade unions, the bar association, and the Association of Puerto Rican Journalists all issued statements on her behalf. The International Organization of Journalists wrote in a protest letter to the U.S. Justice Department, saying, "One of the main, internationally recognized principles of journalistic ethics states the respect of not revealing sources of information."

After two delays, Sánchez was finally ordered to appear before the grand jury December 10. In the days leading up to her appearance she held a press conference in Hartford and spoke at a meeting of 35 well-wishers organized by the Connecticut Committee Against Repression.

She and her supporters succeeded in highlighting the issue of freedom of the press to the extent that on December 10, the Hartford *Courant*, the local daily paper, ran an editorial in her support. "A journalist is constitutionally protected to report and write without government harassment — without being forced to act as an investigator for law en-



Claridad/Francesca von Rubenau
Puerto Rican journalist, Daisy Sánchez.

forcers," the editorial stated. "Ms. Sánchez should be allowed to return to her job without fear of punishment."

On the day of her court appearance, a

picket line of 30 supporters from the Hartford area and from Puerto Rico made their presence known in front of the Federal Building. In San Juan, Puerto Rico, hundreds of her supporters rallied in front of the Federal Building. At 4:00 p.m. Claire handed down his decision — the subpoena had been squashed.

Meanwhile the U.S. government is proceeding with plans to conduct a trial of Ojeda, Colón, and seven other defendants this month. It has been more than six years since these nine activists were arrested.

During the years leading up to the trial a major issue has been the government's insistence that it use tape recordings of conversations made by the FBI that were improperly sealed, thus allowing for the possibility of tampering. In a setback for the defense, Judge Claire ruled last year that these tapes may be entered into evidence.

An earlier trial held in 1989 resulted in the conviction of four of the defendants and the acquittal of another. All four are currently serving sentences in U.S. federal prisons.

Salt Lake City socialist gains wide hearing in election campaign for city council

BY NELS J'ANTHONY

SALT LAKE CITY — Nancy Boyasko, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Salt Lake City Council, District 4, received 1,547 votes, or 43 percent of the total cast in the November 5 election.

Boyasko was the only candidate of the SWP to make it into the run off election. Pat Grogan, the party's candidate for mayor and Dave Salner, running for City Council District 2 were eliminated in the first round of balloting.

Boyasko is a member of the United Steelworkers of America; Grogan belongs to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

The mayoral race was hotly contested. An aggressive campaign was waged by the SWP candidate in the nonpartisan race. In numerous meetings, debates, and press interviews, Grogan explained that the crisis of the capitalist economic system is behind the conditions facing working people today. She pointed to a course the labor movement should chart in defending workers and working farmers against the deepening attacks against their standard of living, unions, and democratic rights.

The candidates raised the need to fight for a shorter work week with no cut in pay,



Militant
Nancy Boyasko, socialist candidate.

affirmative action programs for layers of the working class hardest hit by the economic crisis, and cancelation of the Third World debt.

Grogan was included in all but one debate, and received media coverage from the newspapers, TV, and radio. She was

able to speak before a number of union meetings, at the University of Utah, and high school groups.

Following the primaries, the campaign was able to take advantage of three additional weeks to continue to reach out to working people and students. Boyasko's district includes off-campus housing and is where a large number of oppressed nationalities, immigrant workers, and lower income working people live.

Boyasko spoke at the university, a Communications Workers of America union meeting, and the sub District 5 United Steelworkers Legislation and Education committee. She received some media coverage on TV and in the newspapers, including the *New York Times*.

Boyasko's opponent, Alan Hardman, stated after the election that his campaign "was a little difficult." Hardman said his campaign emphasized city issues such as historic preservation, while his opponent focused on the broader social and political goals of her party, including workers' rights and defending abortion rights.

Through the campaign several supporters were brought closer to the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

High Court to rule on school busing plan

Bush administration opposes desegregation in Atlanta, Georgia, case

BY SUSAN LaMONT

ATLANTA — Does a school board that claims to have eliminated vestiges of Jim Crow segregation still bear responsibility — in 1992 — for ongoing segregated school patterns in its district?

That's the question at the heart of an important school desegregation case now before the U.S. Supreme Court. *Pitts v. Freeman*, a 23-year-old case originating from DeKalb County, Georgia, was the first appeal heard by the Court when it opened its current session in early October. A decision on it is expected soon.

The DeKalb case is a current focal point for efforts by the administration of President George Bush to further undermine school desegregation. The government has attacked affirmative action, abortion rights, and other gains won in struggle that have strengthened the entire working class.

National media attention to the case has sought to play up divisions among Blacks here over the desegregation fight by promoting a small group of middle-class Blacks who have come out against "forced busing."

Thus the outcome of the DeKalb case is of special concern to unionists, Black rights fighters, and other supporters of democratic and civil rights.

Desegregation plans

DeKalb County is one of at least 500 school districts around the country that are under court order to implement a variety of desegregation plans. Some of these include mandatory busing, as a result of a 1971 Supreme Court ruling that ordered the use of busing as one way to speed up school desegregation.

In the mid-1970s, an important battle to advance desegregation took place in Boston, after a federal district court ordered the Boston School Committee to implement school desegregation — including mandatory busing — in that city. Louisville was also the site of battles over desegregation during the same period.

Since the Supreme Court decision on busing, every national administration up to and including Bush has sought to weaken support for continued desegregation efforts, under the guise of backing "neighborhood" schools as an alternative to mandatory busing. School districts today can't be held responsible for the segregationist policies of the past, the federal government argues. In the DeKalb case, Bush's solicitor general, Kenneth Starr, followed the DeKalb school board's attorney in arguing the board's pro-segregation case before the Supreme Court.

A ruling in favor of the DeKalb County school board could be used as a legal precedent in many states by school districts that also want to be released from court-supervised desegregation plans. If the Supreme Court upholds the DeKalb County school board's position, "it would be the death knell for equal opportunity in education for the whole country," said Roger Mills, in a recent interview. Mills, the lead plaintiff in the DeKalb case and a parent in the school system there, has, along with other parents, fought for desegregation in the county's schools since the late 1960s.

Roots in Jim Crow segregation

DeKalb County lies to the east and north of Atlanta and is part of the greater metropolitan area. The DeKalb County school district, the largest in Georgia, enrolls more than 75,000 students in over 90 schools.

In 1969, only about 6 percent of DeKalb students were Black. They attended six all-Black schools under a dual educational system rooted in Georgia's Jim Crow past. Under Jim Crow, the schools, like virtually all aspects of life and work in the South, were segregated. The worst of everything — from schools to jobs to housing — was reserved for Blacks.

This system was maintained by force and violence until, under the impact of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, major gains were won that forced the dismantling of the Jim Crow setup.

In 1954, the historic *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court found that segregated school systems were unconstitutional. Supposedly "separate but equal" schools were inherently unequal, the Court ruled. Following the *Brown* decision, major civil rights battles were fought to over-



Demonstration in 1974 supporting busing in Boston. The U.S. government has attacked school desegregation, affirmative action, abortion rights, and other hard-fought social gains that have helped unite and strengthen the entire working class.

come organized resistance and force implementation of desegregation. In many areas, however, obstruction and foot-dragging by forces determined to block desegregation went on for many years. As a result, schools in DeKalb County and the rest of Georgia were still segregated by the late 1960s.

"In June 1969," explained Mills, "the U.S. District Court ordered the six Black schools in DeKalb County closed and the teachers from those schools integrated into the system as a whole." The court order stemmed from a suit filed the previous year by parents of Black students in the county. In addition to closing the Black schools, the school board was also ordered to end discrimination in extracurricular activities, eliminate dual bus routes, and equalize school expenditure.

'Relocation of Black schools'

"But what happened? The Black kids were all assigned to certain white schools, which then became virtually all-Black. So the school board simply recreated the all-Black schools," Mills said. "It didn't have to be that way. There was no need for any vestiges of the old dual system to remain. With only 6 percent Black students, it would have been relatively easy at that time to really integrate the schools."

But that isn't what happened. By 1972, there were at least 12 all-Black schools in the district.

Today, more than half of DeKalb's 46,000 Black students attend schools that have 90 percent or higher Black enrollment. Some 27 percent of the county's white students attend schools where more than 90 percent of the student body is white.

The predominantly Black schools receive fewer books and are assigned fewer experienced teachers, explain Mills and the other plaintiff parents. Per-pupil expenditures are up to \$341 less for Black students.

At one elementary school on the south side of the county, "there are plenty of computers," noted the *Wall Street Journal* in an October 4 article on the DeKalb case. "But there is only one teacher who knows how to operate them well, in contrast to the situation at the predominantly white schools. . . . As a result, students often end up staring at blank screens."

These and other inequalities result from the fact that the schools in DeKalb were never really desegregated, the plaintiffs explain.

Segregated housing patterns

Between 1950 and 1986, the population of DeKalb County grew from 77,000 to 450,000. Much of this growth has taken place in the last two decades. Along with working-class Black families, many middle-class Black families also moved to DeKalb, part of the recently expanded layer in the Atlanta area of professionals, government functionaries, academics, and

businesspeople who are Black.

A new pattern of segregated housing grew along with DeKalb's population, with the southern part of the county becoming largely Black and the northern part mainly white. This was not "natural," as the school board argues.

As more Black families began moving to DeKalb suburbs, real estate developers pushed the racist practice of "panic peddling" among whites to get them to sell homes and relocate to the northern part of the county or elsewhere. Between 1975 and 1980, 37,000 white residents moved from south DeKalb County to neighboring counties. Black families coming to DeKalb from Atlanta and other areas were steered toward the southern part of the county.

Meanwhile, the school board kept redrawing school attendance lines so that white students were assigned to northern "white" schools and Black students to "Black" schools in the south. By refusing to desegregate and equalize schools throughout the district, the school board thus directly contributed to the development and maintenance of segregated housing patterns.

In 1975, a new group of parents of Black students filed suit in federal court charging that the school board was creating segregated attendance zones and denying Black children the right to transfer to predominantly white schools.

The school district had in fact been told by the federal government back in 1967 to

implement a voluntary busing program called M-to-M (majority-to-minority), but the school board simply ignored the order. In the early 1970s, Mills found out about the program and began promoting it on his own. But the school board continued to impose all kinds of conditions and restrictions to minimize transfers of Black students within the district, Mills recalls, and even physically barred some children from transferring to white schools.

In 1976 the court ruled in favor of the parents. DeKalb County was ordered to quit obstructing the M-to-M program and to provide free transportation to all Black children who wanted to transfer to predominantly white schools. Today, around 5,000 students, almost all of them Black, participate in this voluntary busing program.

The 1976 decision also ordered the school board to integrate the teaching staffs and to set up a biracial committee to work with the board on implementation of the desegregation plan.

'Unitary' school district?

In 1986, the school board filed notice in federal court asking to be released from judicial oversight, which was never more than lukewarm at best. The school system in DeKalb, the board argued, was now "unitary," that is, free from vestiges of official segregation. Current segregated school patterns are the result of "demo-

Continued on Page 13

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Chevron oil refinery accident angers California communities

BY MIKE BAER

RICHMOND, California — More than 200 residents of Richmond and Point Richmond packed a meeting here of the Contra Costa County Health Services Department (HSD) December 11. They were angry about an accident at Chevron's Richmond refinery.

Shortly after 9:00 p.m. December 5, a valve in the refinery's Fluid Catalytic Cracking (FCC) unit malfunctioned. About 60 tons of catalyst were blown into the atmosphere through two stacks. The catalyst is finely powdered alumina-silica, like sand, but it also contains nickel, which is a carcinogen, and vanadium.

Bay Area Air Quality Management District officials issued a public nuisance citation against Chevron, the 69th violation notice at the refinery in two years. The FCC unit had been the scene of a fire on October 30, 1991, that necessitated the evacuation of toll takers at the nearby Richmond-San Rafael bridge. Three weeks later a line leak forced the shutdown of the unit.

Chevron officials were quick to minimize the scope of this latest problem. According to refinery manager Michael Hannan, "It [the catalyst] didn't do damage outside the [refinery] fence. In our view, there was no damage outside the fence." Contra Costa HSD officials were quick to echo this and described the hazard level as "quite minor." Despite such reassurances, the U.S. Postal Service suspended mail delivery to Point Richmond for a day.

Workers at the refinery had a mixed response to the incident. Some lay the blame on management for running plants in excess of their design limits and failing to keep up on maintenance as plants get older.

Local residents at the meeting voiced their strong disagreement with the assessment of HSD and Chevron officials. One young woman, who works as a health and fitness instructor, said that since the release she's been having respiratory problems, a complaint echoed by other local residents. Michael Holt, a Point Richmond resident, said that despite being a nonsmoker, "since the spill, I've had almost a smoker's hack."

Local residents had numerous other questions and concerns. These ranged from whether home-grown fruits and vegetables were safe to eat to why the automated Com-

munity Alert Network failed to phone residents in the worst affected areas of Point Richmond.

Most local residents who spoke exhibited a deep distrust of Chevron, despite the company's claims that it wants to be a good neighbor to the surrounding community. One Point Richmond resident summed up the change in his thinking when he told the

meeting that he used to think that the West County Toxics Coalition, a local environmental group, was just a fringe group. Now, he has concluded that its members are "very reasonable people."

Mike Baer is an operator at Chevron USA's Richmond refinery and is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5.



Oil refinery. Accident at Chevron unit released 670 tons of contaminants into the air.

W. Palm Beach cops 'out of control'

BY ANDY TOWBIN

WEST PALM BEACH, Florida — West Palm Beach Mayor Nancy Graham spoke of the need to improve relations between police and the public, but most of the 400 people who filled a high school cafeteria for a December 19 town meeting came to demand the firing of the policemen who killed Robert Jewett.

Jewett, a 35-year-old construction worker, was arrested by police officers Glen Thurlow and Stephen Lee Rollins for hitchhiking on November 24, 1990, and beaten to death.

The coroner and a doctor hired by the state to verify the autopsy report found that Jewett was put in a fatal choke hold and died of a crushed windpipe and broken neck bones. He also had nine cracked ribs, a hole in his heart, and hemorrhaged testicles.

Thurlow and Rollins alleged that Jewett sustained his injuries when he fell down and when he resisted arrest. They were acquitted in a jury trial where the defense brought in two out-of-state doctors, at \$200 an hour each, to dispute the autopsy report.

"I don't think Rollins and Thurlow should get their jobs back to beat more people," said Louise Jewett, mother of Robert Jewett, to the crowd at the town meeting. "Eleven of the 18 people they beat were sent to the hospital and my son was sent to the morgue. I wish I'd had the casket open so people could see what they'd done to him."

"Robert is not the only person the police have beaten. Mostly they have been beating Blacks, Haitians, and poor homeless people."

She read from reports of police brutality already investigated by the police and said, "I would like to see a civilian review board of the police. We need sensitivity training

in the police department.

"Robert Burns wrote, 'Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn.' I want to work to stop police brutality so this does not happen to thousands more," she said.

"As a retired police officer," said one man, "I say that as far as internal review of the police department goes, we have the fox watching the chicken coop. The 80 percent that are good don't want to clean up the 20 percent that are bad. We need a panel of citizens to watch over the department."

In the crowd were a hundred supporters of the police, including neighborhood association leaders, Crime Watch captains, local merchants, and off-duty policemen. The police supporters tried to turn the discussion toward drugs and "street crime." They called for tougher measures, including sending those convicted of drug crimes to work camps.

Other residents spoke of police brutality they or friends had experienced. "Why do they have the right to use a billy club on people?" asked one young man. "I've seen people beaten while handcuffed."

"I'm asking for the police to start fighting crime in their own department," said William Hattaway, who called for Thurlow and Rollins to be fired.

"Bite the bullet," said one man to Police Chief Billy Riggs. "Cut these men who did the dirty deed free. Do you want to be known as the Chief Gates of West Palm Beach?"

Louise Jewett urged the city to disband the Criminal Apprehension Team, saying it was "out of control." Rollins and Thurlow were members of the special unit. (See accompanying story.)

Mayor Graham has hired Patrick Murphy, a former New York City police commissioner,

to review the case and recommend whether or not to reinstate Thurlow and Rollins.

On November 24, 1991, the anniversary of Jewett's death, 800 people marched to police headquarters and lowered its flag to half mast to protest the acquittal of Rollins and Thurlow. Led by Louise Jewett, they called for the two officers to be fired.

Police admit botching probe of fatal beating

WEST PALM BEACH — An internal affairs report released by the West Palm Beach police force December 27 showed that the police investigation of the beating death of Robert Jewett by two officers was botched from the start.

The two officers who put Jewett in a fatal choke hold were left alone at the scene for 40 minutes. The officers were not interviewed at the scene, no log of activities was maintained by supervisors, and insufficient photographs and fingerprints were taken, according to the report.

"They failed to do a whole bunch," said West Palm Beach Mayor Nancy Graham. "This is going to further increase the image problem."

The department's image was shaken by protests over the beating death of Jewett, and anger over other practices of the Criminal Apprehension Team (CAT), to which the officers in the Jewett beating belonged.

West Palm Beach Police Chief Billy Riggs suspended eight officers on the CAT team last year for tying up a man and telling him to "walk the plank" into a canal. —A.T.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS



Salvadoran government, rebels sign accord, agree on cease-fire

Representatives of El Salvador's government and of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed an accord in New York January 1, pledging to end the civil war in that country.

Even though the accord is not the final peace treaty, both sides said a cease-fire would begin February 1. Negotiations to set the schedule of implementation of the agreements are set for January 10.

The FMLN was formed in 1980 as repression by the U.S.-backed regime increased. Since the spring of 1990 the FMLN has participated in UN-sponsored talks with the government of president Alfredo Cristiani.

The two sides reportedly agreed to reduce the size of the military; purge the armed forces of abusive officers; and create a new police force under civilian rule. This force is to include some former guerrilla fighters and leaders. The accord also provides for political freedoms for former guerrillas once they give up their arms and distribution of some land to peasants in rebel-held zones.

"Our ten years of struggle are expressed in these accords," said Salvador Sanchez Ceren, one of the FMLN commanders.

Islamic Salvation Front wins Algeria's parliamentary election

The Islamic Salvation Front, a capitalist party that says it wants to turn Algeria into an Islamic republic, won the largest body of seats in that country's parliamentary elections December 26.

The Salvation Front, the major opposition party, won 44 percent of the vote or 189 seats in the 430-member parliament. It is expected to win an absolute majority of seats in the January 15 runoffs. The party's two top leaders, Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj, have been jailed since June, charged by the government with plotting to take power by force.

By contrast the National Liberation Front (FLN), in power for 30 years, won only 16 seats. The FLN came in third behind the Front for Socialist Forces, a party with a base in the Berber minority, which won 20 seats.

The Salvation Front victory came amidst a severe economic crisis and widespread charges of government corruption.

Algeria's foreign debt exceeds \$24 billion. Unemployment stands at 30 percent while inflation tops 40 percent. There are severe shortages of housing, schools, and hospitals.

The governing party has its origins in a procapitalist faction of the FLN which overthrew the workers and peasants government headed by Ben Bella in 1965. The FLN, under Ben Bella, led the Algerian revolution that won independence from France in 1961.

Headline stories in the news

Yugoslavia: Cyrus Vance, UN special envoy to Yugoslavia, reportedly won formal agreement from the regimes of Serbia and Croatia for a new cease-fire plan. The accord also provides for the deployment of UN "peacekeeping" forces and the withdrawal of the Serbian-led Yugoslav army from Croatia.

None of the previous 14 cease-fire agreements have been observed. The move came after the European Community's decision December 17 to recognize Slovenia and Croatia as independent states by January.

Taiwan: The governing Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang, won 71 percent of the vote in the December 21 parliamentary elections. A major issue in the elections was a proposal for a declaration of independence from China, advocated by the opposition Democratic Progressive Party, which won 24 percent of the vote, and fiercely opposed by the Kuomintang.

Both the regime in China, and the government in Taiwan, insist that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, although each claims sovereignty over the other part. The capitalist regime of the Kuomintang in China, under Chiang Kai-shek, was overthrown by the Chinese revolution in 1949, and fled to Taiwan.

'Contribute to the antiapartheid struggle!'

Interview with African National Congress information director Pallo Jordan

The following is an interview with African National Congress Department of Information and Publicity director Pallo Jordan. Jordan is a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. The interview by *Militant* reporters Derek Bracey, Greg McCartan, and Mary Zins was conducted in Johannesburg in mid-December, on the eve of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The two-day convention was attended by nearly 20 political organizations in South Africa and marked the initiation of full scale negotiations on the future of the country.

The African National Congress is the leading liberation organization in the revolutionary struggle for a nonracial, democratic, non-sexist South African republic. Unbanned in early 1990, the ANC is charting a course to lead millions in struggle against apartheid: to forge a South African nation, win basic democratic and political rights for all, and address the social and economic needs of the country's working people.

* * *

Question: Does the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa mark a point of irreversibility in the elimination of apartheid?

Answer: We wouldn't say it marks the irreversibility of the elimination of apartheid. We would say it marks a very important step forward in the elimination of apartheid. The issue of irreversibility will be determined very much by the outcome of Codesa. If from Codesa emerges a solid, workable agreement about the establishment of an interim government of national unity, that in many respects will be the turning of the corner. It will mean that for the first time in this century South Africa will not be governed exclusively by the white minority.

Of course, it will not be a democratic government as yet. It will be a government of national unity whose purpose will be to prepare the country for democracy. We would say that the tasks an interim government has to undertake would be to supervise and conduct elections for a constituent assembly. That body would be responsible for drawing up a democratic constitution for our country. Once the constituent assembly has completed its work, I think then that one could consider the process having become irreversible.

That is one of the reasons why we think it is still very important that various instruments of international pressure, such as sanctions, continue to be exercised by the inter-

national community. This will help ensure that the process remains on course, until we can say we have reached the point of irreversibility.

Q: Which of the sanctions against South Africa would the ANC say could be lifted with the establishment of the interim government?

A: A government of national unity could address the issue of sanctions, and at its instance, review the existing sanctions and call upon the international community to lift certain sanctions. We say that it is important that the initiative for the lifting of sanctions

that we broaden the base of the democratic forces. It is going to be important both in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and during the period of office for the interim government of national unity to isolate the pro-apartheid forces as much as possible. That can be achieved by drawing in broader forces on a commonly agreed platform.

The Patriotic Front was an effort to reach that kind of breadth to isolate the apartheid regime. The previous efforts that had been made by the democratic movement, such as the Conference for a Democratic Future in 1989, were also attempts to do likewise. It is important in this period that the racist regime be contained in various ways. What emerges



Militant/Greg McCartan

Pallo Jordan, director of ANC Department of Information and Publicity.

comes from the interim government of national unity and not as unilateral decisions taken by the nations of the world. Sanctions, we must underscore again, were conceived of as one of the instruments the international community could wield to supplement the actions of the South African people in the struggle against apartheid. The objective for which sanctions were devised has not yet been attained. So, until such time as the people of South Africa, through either their mass organizations or the interim government of national unity pronounce on the issue of sanctions we think it is proper for the international community to hold its horses on the issue.

Q: In recent speeches ANC leaders have stressed the need to build a much broader alliance of forces opposed to apartheid than the historic alliance of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the South African Communist Party. Why is this both possible and needed today?

A: Objective conditions have changed in many respects which have created the possibilities of a much broader alliance. One important thing to note is that, in the period after the unbanning of the ANC, many political forces that had identified or collaborated with the apartheid regime or taken an equivocal attitude toward it began to distance themselves from the apartheid regime. They decided they needed to position themselves better for the future and choose to be associated with the democratic future rather than the apartheid past. Insofar as that is concerned, those social and political forces have sought ways and means of collaborating with the national liberation movement.

The creation of political space — which was achieved not through the goodwill of the apartheid regime but as a consequence of the struggle of the people of South Africa — I think has also offered many who had an equivocal position vis-à-vis the apartheid regime a window of opportunity to identify with the national liberation struggle and identify with the democratic future.

All of these political factors created the possibility of a much broader alliance. It is also a political imperative at this point in time

from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa could be a consensus that might well exclude the National Party and pro-apartheid forces.

The overwhelming majority of political parties and players in this country are for a democratic dispensation, a democratic constitution, and a democratic constitution that will in no way try to accommodate the demand of the white minority for the protection of their accumulated privileges.

Q: In recent speeches ANC President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Walter Sisulu have emphasized that the national, democratic revolution must both extend political rights to the whole population and address the legacy of apartheid in lack of housing, poor quality education, denial of access to land, and other areas.

What are the perspectives of the ANC today on the sections of the Freedom Charter that take up nationalization of the mines and banking and distribution of land to the peasantry in order to redress these problems?

A: It is important that the legacy of apartheid be addressed. To that end, during the course of the last five or six years, the ANC has had a constitution commission to research and enter into dialogue with practically every stratum of South African society as to what should be the character of a democratic constitution.

One of the most important dialogues that was initiated was with the trade union movement and people in the rural areas. We have said, for example, a democratic constitution needs to incorporate what is referred to as the "second generation" of human rights. These are the rights that refer to livelihood, decent schooling, availability of shelter, the right to work, and others.

We have also sought to address the issue of landlessness in the rural areas. One point that is very strongly stressed by agricultural workers and the rural poor is that landlessness is not a result of scarcity of land, so much as a consequence of a monopoly over land ownership exercised by a minority of white farmers, exclusively white agricultural corporations, and huge white farms. A lot of land is lying unused or is underutilized. These are issues that need to be addressed.

The rural poor, workers in urban areas, and agricultural workers raise issues around poverty, landlessness, joblessness, and the need for proper shelter, health care, and education. If one places the issue of state intervention in the economy in the context of those demands, I think one understands better what the ANC is talking about when it raises the need for nationalization and land reform.

What we also have to bear in mind is that in the South African economy as it is structured today, there is probably not a single white human being that has not been a beneficiary of state intervention.

There are a number of extremely vociferous right-wing white editors who pontificate about the virtues of free enterprise and decry the level of state intervention. They would not be in the position they are in today if it were not for state intervention. The difference is that state intervention up to now has been state intervention to favor the rich and the white minority.

What the ANC is talking about is using state intervention — which is an accepted practice in South African political economy — for the benefit of the disadvantaged and the poor who are predominantly Black. Insofar as that is concerned, the question of nationalization also has to be looked at in that context.

There are sectors of the South African economy right now which are publicly owned: the railroads, telecommunications, the harbors, electricity generation and distribution, iron and steel production, oil production — all these are part of the public sector of the South African economy.

The difference is that those have been run not to advantage the poor and the deprived, but to advantage the large corporations, the government, and the white minority. If you look, for example, at how the railroads are structured in this country, you could almost graphically analogize a funnel. It all comes down to the port cities — Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban. The railroad system here was structured to take produce from the mines and rural areas to the ports so that it could be exported to the Western countries.

If you look at the railroad links between predominantly Black rural areas and the areas of mining, industry, and large scale farming, the same sort of relationship exists. The purpose of the railroad into the Transkei is to take labor from there to the industrial areas of Johannesburg and the port cities of the Cape. The other railroad into the Transkei goes north, which links it with the port city of Durban and the sugarcane fields there, again to siphon labor off in that direction. That is the pattern. It gives you a good idea how the railroad system here was designed and for what purpose it was designed. The same thing holds for road transport.

There has not been and there will not be — until we get a democratic government — any attempt to rationalize the road and communications system such that it facilitates, for example, the movement of produce from Black farming areas to other areas or to facilitate trade within those areas. It was not designed for that purpose. It was designed to advantage the mining house and the big white farmers.

Now we say that state intervention need not take that direction. It can take another direction, which is to address the problems of the rural poor, to address the problems of working people in the rural areas, to address the problems of working people in the urban areas.

Q: The government has been hit recently with revelations concerning the funding of rallies of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and of organizing and training some of Inkatha's members to carry out hit-squad activities. What demands do you place on the government in light of these facts? Does this effect the ANC's attempts to bring Inkatha more squarely onto the side of the democratic movement?

A: The revelations tend to confirm what

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had been the view in fairly wide-ranging sections of the Black population in South Africa: that there is collusion between the leadership of the IFP and the South African government. They would tend also to confirm that the lenient attitude that the South African government has taken toward the activities of the IFP — activities which are a breach of the laws on the South African statute books, proclamations the South African government has made declaring certain parts of the country unrest areas, and the National Peace accord — is to be explained by the fact that there is some link between the government security forces and, if not the entire leadership of the IFP, at least sectors of the IFP leadership.

What is becoming increasingly evident is that although the IFP says it is opposed to apartheid and presents itself to the South African people and the world as a party that stands opposed to apartheid, there are in fact clandestine links between it and the apartheid government.

We would say that the basis of these links needs to be explained by the leadership of the IFP. These revelations suggest that there is a conspiracy on the part of the IFP leadership and the South African government to devise ways and means of thwarting the democratic desires of the people of South Africa, and even to a certain extent destabilize the peace process itself.

Many had felt that the IFP could be won over to the forces of democracy and stand in opposition to the South African government. There are obviously areas of contradiction between the IFP leadership on the one hand



Militant/Greg McCartan
ANC recruitment table in Johannesburg. 'We are rebuilding the ANC as a legal organization,' Jordan said.

and the National Party/South African government on the other. I think it is becoming increasingly clear that these are not of a nature and a character that would commit the IFP solidly to the democratic project.

Q: What are you suggesting opponents of apartheid around the world do to help advance the aims of the revolutionary-democratic struggle today?

A: There are quite a number of ways that the international community can still contribute to the struggle against apartheid.

The maintenance of international pressure is one, and probably the most impor-

tant. It will continue to be until we have a democratic constitution.

In addition, there are various levels of material aid and assistance that can be offered to the democratic forces in this country.

After 30 years of illegality we are rebuilding the ANC as a legal organization. That is an extremely costly process. We've had to establish regional headquarters in 14 regions, staff them with personnel, devise ways and means of maintaining that personnel, equip those regional offices, and provide training for our personnel in various skills they have been deprived of. This is one area where the international community can be of assistance.

We are in the unfortunate position that most of the support we have won internationally is from working people like ourselves, who do not have a great deal of money — unlike the opposite side, which is linked in a myriad of ways to people of wealth and all sorts of resources in the international community.

We think that, if working people, through whatever means they can, bring pressure on their governments to extend these forms of international aid to the democratic forces in South Africa through the aid-giving agencies, this will be of some assistance to the process of democratization in this country.

In the period of the interim government, during the run-up to the elections to the constituent assembly, we are going to need a very sharp focus on political developments in this country.

It will be important for our friends in-

ternationally to maintain their vigilance because there seems to be a tendency among some governments, especially in the West, to regard the trouble in South Africa as over. It will be very important for the international community to ensure that the South African government plays fair and that the process of democratization is not subverted by backsliding on the part of the South African regime or derailed by ultraright forces.

Its also going to be important for our supporters in the media to keep the South African story on the front pages. There is a tendency, given the volatility of the world, for certain issues to be placed on the back burner because there are other issues catching the headlines.

One of the pressures which assisted the people of South Africa in reaching the stage we have reached now was the fact that the story was on the front pages. That acted as a deterrent to some of the worst excesses that the South African government would have committed.

There is also the strengthening of the person-to-person links, and of those between progressive forces internationally and the democratic forces within South Africa. It will be of great assistance to the entire democratization process in this country if we have more visits from progressive forces, antiapartheid forces, and democratic forces internationally, coming to see for themselves what is happening in South Africa and being able to carry what they have seen back to their constituencies in their country.

South African gold miners protest mass firings

BY MARY ZINS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Hundreds of riot police equipped with automatic rifles, shotguns, tear-gas launchers, and armored personnel carriers surrounded 25 buses full of mine workers here December 4.

The 2,500 members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) had come to the Gold Fields head office to protest the dismissal of 5,800 miners at the Doornfontein gold mine near Carletonville, southwest of Johannesburg.

The standoff lasted over three hours, as officials from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the NUM sought to get permission for the miners to get off the buses and hold a peaceful protest.

That same day 3,300 mine workers at Iscor's Durban Navigation colliery (Dumacoal), in northern Natal Province, were fired for rejecting management's ultimatum to return to work. The next day 4,000 members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) at the Anglo-American Highveld Steel Corp. mine in Witbank went on strike.

In each of these cases management has threatened to break the union by hiring scab labor. They seek to capitalize on rising unemployment, especially in the mining industry, to weaken the union movement.

As the economic downturn here continues, 40-50 percent of what the government calls the "economically active" population is without work. This year alone employment in the mining, steel, and textile industries has declined by 88,500.

Of the three strikes, the only one where workers have not yet returned to their jobs is at Gold Fields.

Issues in Gold Fields strike

Mineworkers at Gold Fields' Doornfontein mine walked out after the company fired 38 workers for their involvement in the two-day countrywide stay-away to protest the new Value Added Tax (VAT).

Unions and democratic organizations denounced the tax, saying it hit working people hardest. Food prices rose between 6 and 10 percent in one month as a direct result of the VAT. Food monopolies have taken advantage of these increases to add on their own price hikes as well. Overall, food prices have risen

16 percent since October.

In the most massive labor action in South Africa's history, 3.5 million workers stayed home November 4-5 demanding the VAT be repealed and the government end all unilateral economic decision-making.

Doornfontein miners had staged two other walkouts protesting layoffs in August. Gold Fields management claimed the dismissals were justified because, if the mine was to have a future, it needed reliable workers.

Striker Thomas Moeketsi said in an interview that there was widespread police intimidation during the VAT strike. "During the strike in August there were several clashes with the police in which several miners were injured. The cops returned several days before the VAT stay-away, reminded us of what happened in August, and said it would be worse this time. They tried to physically drag us to the mine and force us to work during the walkout. Only 90 out of 7,000 workers went underground."

After the dismissal of the 38 workers, management refused union officials access to the workers at the mine. The union proposed taking the cases of the 38 to arbitration and negotiating procedures to address disputes of the kind that had led to the earlier strikes. Workers walked off the job in protest December 2 after the company turned down the offer. Management told the strikers that if they did not return by December 4 they would all be dismissed.

Seeing that Gold Fields refused any negotiation of the dispute, the union organized as many buses as possible to bring workers here so their grievances could be heard directly by company officials.

'Peace commission' brought in

To mediate the standoff between the police and the miners packed onto the buses, COSATU officials called in "peace commission" chairman John Hall. The commission was set up after a conference designed to bring an end to violence across the country. The conference was attended by most political parties and trade unions.

"The peace accord says people must obey the law," Hall said after learning about the dispute. "If they want to protest they must get permission. These protesters did not get permission, which put the police in a difficult situation." He reminded union delegates that



Militant/Margrethe Siem
Gold miners near Johannesburg. Owners seek to capitalize on rising unemployment to weaken union movement, especially in the mining industry.

the organization had signed the peace accord.

"An offer has now been made to meet people at the mine. Hopefully the situation will be defused," Hall said.

At a press conference following the standoff, NUM acting general secretary Marcel Golding said, "What we have seen is clearly an attempt at union-bashing. Our union has grown rapidly in the last few years at Gold Fields mines."

Gold Fields public affairs spokesperson Marian Brower denied the charge, saying the union was losing support.

She said the company had asked the union to give assurances that if workers returned to the job they would not embark on further strikes. "The union was unable to provide a satisfactory answer in this respect and given those circumstances management decided to employ a new work force."

Gold Fields has applied to the Supreme Court to evict the workers from company-

owned barracks, called hostels, where workers live. Golding said the company "had rejected every single proposal the union made. We have called for the reinstatement of the entire work force and will contest the validity of each and every dismissal in the industrial court," he said. The union is appealing the evictions to the Supreme Court and the dismissals to the Industrial Court.

Long struggle at Iscor

The firings at Iscor's mine are part of a running dispute since workers began to organize there in 1989.

According to the *New Nation*, a weekly, many workers at the Dumacoal mine were loyal to the Zulu royal family, since the company deliberately hired workers from known strongholds of the political organization Inkatha. Inkatha is headed by the Kwa-Zulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Continued on Page 12

Toronto meeting defends Mark Curtis

BY COLIN McKAY

TORONTO — "Without our support Mark will be languishing in the penitentiary for many, many more years. We must continue to fight for his release from jail," Dudley Laws told a meeting to defend Mark Curtis held here December 7 at the Trinity St. Paul Church. Curtis, a political and union activist from Des Moines, Iowa, is serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Laws, a member of the Black Action Defense Committee, is a leader in the fight against police brutality. He is facing trumped-up charges of conspiring to smuggle people between Canada and the United States.

Referring to Curtis's arrest and beating, Laws said, "Some think that things like this only happen in the U.S.A." He reviewed the rash of police shootings of Blacks in Toronto. That week, a 32-year-old welder, who was Black, died in police custody. Police claim he had a heart attack. Two young Blacks were shot by police in the last month.



Militant photos by Helen Nelson

Speakers at Toronto meeting in support of Mark Curtis (from left): Dudley Laws, Susan Berman, and Zubair Kashmeri.

Speakers at the meeting condemned the November 19 Iowa State Board of Parole's denial of parole for Mark Curtis. They also sent support to Curtis's civil suit against

Des Moines police for the savage beating he received at the time of his arrest.

Cherie MacDonald, a leader of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, explained the

stakes in not accepting the cops' frame-up of Curtis. "We have to make sure as feminists that we don't let the cops get away with false charges of rape . . . because we are justifiably concerned about violence against women," she said.

Susan Berman, a leader of the Communist League, explained, "This case is not about rape. This is a case that flows out of the deepening economic crisis that confronts working people worldwide." She explained, "Curtis was framed because he is an effective fighter who defended immigrant coworkers to help unite working people."

"Curtis is not unique," she continued. "He refused to accept the attacks on our rights and standard of living. He is like workers in Haiti fighting repression, like public sector workers here fighting wage freezes, and like the 30,000 farmers in Canada who have demonstrated for a livable income."

Zubair Kashmeri, a senior editor of the Toronto magazine *Now* and author of the book *The Gulf Within: Canadian Arabs, Racism and the Gulf War*, also spoke. He linked Mark's frame-up and Canadian government and police harassment of Arab immigrants during the war against Iraq aimed at silencing antiwar opposition.

George Rose, a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1967, chaired the meeting. Rose read greetings from Steve Watson, education director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport, and General Workers. "Some of the recent attacks on Mark only confirm in my own mind that the charges against him were and remain politically motivated," he said. At the meeting \$675 was donated to the fight and another \$184 was received by mail.

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'Myth of race', defense of immigrants are discussed at Minnesota conference

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Eighty-four people gathered at the Pathfinder Bookstore here for the Midwest Socialist Educational Conference on "Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions."

Participants at the December 28-29 meeting came from St. Paul and Minneapolis; Chicago; Des Moines and Iowa City, Iowa; St. Louis; Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska; and Austin, Minnesota.

A factor in deciding to host the educational conference was the experience over the fall of the Twin Cities Young Socialist Alliance in mobilizing forces against an ultrarightist formation at the University of Minnesota, called the White Student Union.

YSA members helped organize mass protests and meetings aimed at cutting off the political space of the white supremacists. In statements, articles in the campus press, and debates, YSA members provided working-class answers to the rightist arguments. Six people have joined the chapter since August.

James Mac Warren, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, gave the keynote speech. Warren described the accelerating worldwide economic crisis. It is out of the growing debate in capitalist politics on how to deal with this crisis, he said, that the ultraright campaigns of David Duke and Patrick Buchanan emerge.

Liberal politicians are at a loss in response to these campaigns, because the program being argued for today by the ultraright candidates is not fundamentally different than the program that Republican and Democratic city, state, and national administrations have been carrying out since the 1974-75 world-wide recession.

What sets Duke and Buchanan apart and makes them a special topic of discussion among workers today is their demagoguery.

"They play on fears about the economy," said Warren, "and they offer up scapegoats to explain away the economic problems confronting big layers of U.S. society."

Duke claims that affirmative action is "unfair to white workers" and aggressively joins in on the Japan-bashing popular among U.S. capitalist politicians today.

"These positions must be discussed and argued against," urged Warren.

In addition to this talk, three classes helped conference participants look more deeply at important political questions: "The Origins of Anti-Black Prejudice and the Myth of Race"; "Defense of Immigrant Workers: Necessity for Working People"; and "The Origins of Women's Oppression." The three presentations drew on the continuity of the communist movement.

Is there a 'white race'?

Doug Jenness, from the Twin Cities SWP and a member of the International Association of Machinists, began his talk on racism by commenting on the more than a dozen cross-burnings in Dubuque, Iowa. He also quoted passages from a leaflet distributed by the White Student Union.

The leaflet extolled the virtues of "white culture" and urged other students who are "pro-white" to join the organization and help protest affirmative action and quotas.

Jenness explained that the idea of human subspecies called "races" has no scientific basis. Race is a social construct that was originally designed to justify chattel slavery.

The fact that there are no "human races" but continuous variation within our species is a separate question from the right of oppressed nationalities for self-determination, Jenness explained.

During the discussion one woman asked, "Why is it easier for Duke or Buchanan to present a prominent Black supporter at a press conference than a Jew?"

"It is because anti-Black prejudice has a different historical origin than anti-Semitism," Jenness replied. "While racism is not a key component in the Duke and Buchanan campaigns today, anti-Semitism is."

"This is not because Jews are more oppressed than Blacks, but because ultraright demagogues use anti-Semitism to give a mystical explanation for what is wrong with the economy," he said. "They use the fantasy of an 'international Jewish conspiracy'."

"Historically, before the rise of capitalism, a layer of Jews played the role of moneylenders in society. As capitalism began to develop in Western Europe and Britain, Jews were driven out of these countries by a new lending class. They sought refuge in Eastern Europe where capitalism had not yet begun to develop."

"However, the capitalist class kept alive the stereotype of Jews as moneylenders so that they could be used as scapegoats in bad financial times. This is different from the way that racism is used, primarily as a tool for dividing the working class."

In a discussion over lunch with Jenness, Sunita Mehta, a new member of the YSA in Iowa City, Iowa, remarked, "Once you blow up the idea of race the way you did, it makes the fight against racism everybody's fight — a political fight."

Priscilla Schenk, an SWP leader from Des Moines and an activist in the United Auto Workers union, led a class on the attacks on immigrant workers.

"Immigration does not create unemployment," explained Schenk. "That's a feature of the capitalist system. By maintaining a large layer of the class unprotected and super-exploited, the bosses are in a better position to attempt to intensify competition among workers, drive down wages, and increase the exploitation of the class as a whole."

'Family, faith, and country'

The final class of the conference, on the origins of women's oppression, was given by Kate Kaku, a steelworker and member of the Chicago SWP.

"Key manifestations of the current assault by the employers on the working class and the rightist ideological offensive that goes along with this assault are attacks on the right of women to choose abortion and the attempt to sanctify the family," said Kaku. "Ultraright

presidential contender Buchanan's theme and program center on three pillars: family, faith, and country."

This poses challenging questions for communists to answer, Kaku said. Are women "naturally" inferior to men? Are we opposed to the disintegration of the family under capitalism? Why are these such emotionally explosive questions?

"Because the oppression of women has been imbedded in our consciousness for thousands of years, longer than racism and the superexploitation of immigrant workers, it is more difficult to discuss and harder to fight," said Kaku.

One clear indication of the desire of conference participants to continue to delve deeper into the questions discussed over the weekend is that the Twin Cities Pathfinder bookstore sold close to \$400 of literature during the event. Popular titles included the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*; the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*; and books by Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky.

The conference closed with an eyewitness account of racist activity in Dubuque, Iowa, by Greg Rosenberg, organizer of the Twin Cities YSA. Rosenberg described the call for a January 18 "white rights" national march in Dubuque. He urged conference participants to attend a January 12 Martin Luther King celebration in Dubuque as a way of protesting against the rightists.

March for homeless rights in Detroit

BY MARK FRIEDMAN AND KAREN SCHAUMANN

LANSING, Michigan — Braving a snowstorm and below freezing weather, 200 homeless rights advocates marched on the state capitol here. Organized by Up and Out of Poverty and other statewide groups, the protesters came from campuses, churches, and cities like Pontiac, Saginaw, and Detroit. They demanded state aid for the homeless and a reversal of the cutoff of 90,000 people from General Assistance, as well as an end to decreases in Aid for Dependent Children and utility assistance cuts.

The march comes on the heels of Governor Engler's new wave of cuts that ends dental care for 500,000 Michigan residents on Medicaid.

Chanting "No housing, no peace," and "Engler says cutback, we say fightback," the demonstrators marched from the civic center to the state capitol to hear speakers from religious and community groups urge them to lobby politicians to restore the cut social services.

For Dawn McDonald, one of eight students who took off from final exams at Sienna Heights College in Adrian to come to the protest, it was her first demonstration ever. "We have to show that we are aware of the housing problem and we are not supporting the cuts," Student Andrea Poling added, "We are opposed to the way the government

is conducting its policies and how they forget about those who really need help."

Heidi Parsons was the only high school student who came from Detroit. She has been active at Cass Tech in organizing others against the cutbacks. "Many wanted to come," she told the *Militant*, "but couldn't skip class. I don't like Engler, but he is not the main problem, it is the federal government that is pushing him."

A recently laid-off steelworker, Tom Surant, came to the march because he thought unionists should be there. "Our union is not too strong but we should be helping the homeless," he explained how the bosses had convinced the union officials to recommend and campaign for a change in the pension plan. Two days after the company got their way, 50 workers were laid off. "The problem was the union didn't put up a fight. I told people to vote no. We need to stick together."

Urging the crowd to "go to Washington to demand money," Sane/Freeze representative Jackie Victor got one of the best responses. "It is a nationwide crisis," she said, "with 52 cents out of every dollar going to the Pentagon."

The demonstrators ended the rally by erecting numerous symbolic tents and naming them Englerville. Dozens of white crosses were planted for those who have already died as a result of the cutbacks.

SWP leader extends solidarity to Korean reunification fight

BY SETH GALINSKY

In New Year's greetings to the people of Korea and leaders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, commented on recent developments in the region.

In a letter to Kim Jong Il, commander of the Korean People's Army, Barnes wrote:

"The Socialist Workers Party sends warm revolutionary greetings through you to the men and women of the Korean People's Army and to the people of Korea.

"For the past several months the Socialist Workers Party has followed closely the escalation of the propaganda effort by the U.S. government and big business-owned media that North Korea has developed a nuclear weapons program that is the greatest threat to peace and stability in Asia.

"But as we know, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been proposing an agreement for a nuclear-free Korea since the 1970s.

"It is Washington that has maintained troops armed with nuclear weapons in bases throughout South Korea and on ships and submarines that patrol Korean waters.

"The United States alone of all govern-

ments has used nuclear weapons against the world's peoples — in 1945 when the U.S. rulers dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki," Barnes noted. "It is Washington that is the greatest threat to peace and stability, not only in Korea but around the world."

In greetings to Korean president Kim Il Sung, Barnes said, "It is the continued presence of U.S. troops on Korean soil that helps maintain the divisions and tensions on the Korean peninsula. The U.S. government continues to use its nuclear-armed occupation army to prop up the oppressive landlord-capitalist regime in Seoul, cutting off communications between the Korean peoples who live in the north and the south."

The people of Korea, however, "are closer than ever before to putting the scars of the American-instigated war behind them and reunifying the country," Barnes said.

"The protests of Korean workers and youth have helped gain important support for the reunification of Korea," he added. "The decision of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to seat a delegate at the United Nations will provide another



Students demonstrate in Seoul for Korean reunification. Korean people 'are closer than ever before to reunifying the country,' socialist leader said.

international platform to promote the fight against perpetuating the divisions of Korea."

The Socialist Workers Party "will continue to join with other supporters of the reunification of Korea to demand the re-

moval of all U.S. troops and weapons from Korea.

"We are confident," Barnes concluded, "that the Korean people will win their fight for a united Korea, free from Washington's interference."

S. Korea calls off joint exercises with U.S. army

Continued from front page

which provided a new landmark in the way of achieving national reunification."

The Korean leader noted the mass sentiment that exists in the north and south for reunification. The latest agreements are "arousing a hope for reunification and inspiring confidence in the minds of all our fellow countrymen who eagerly desire national reunification," he said.

He saluted the struggle of thousands of workers and students in South Korea for their "gallantry and self-sacrificing spirit" under which they fought for "independence, democracy, and national reunification even under the difficult conditions in which repression and persecution continued."

The continuing sentiment for reunification combined with South Korea's economic crisis helped pressure Seoul to seek an agreement. Demonstrations, strikes, student protests, and unionization drives have plagued the southern capitalists.

Kim stated that it has been "our consistent stand that the Korean Peninsula should be turned into a denuclearized, peace zone. We have stated more than once that we have no intention or capacity to develop nuclear weapons and that we are ready to accept the nuclear inspec-

tion if fair treatment is assured."

President Kim, 80, is also head of North Korea's Workers Party. It was announced at the end of December that his son, Kim Jong Il, 49, was named to replace him as head of the army.

After the signing of the agreement on moving toward a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, the U.S. State Department issued a statement saying that it "welcomes the recent developments."

However, when asked in a phone interview

if Washington had agreed to the inspection of U.S. bases, staffed by some 40,000 troops, by representatives of the DPRK, State Department press representative Cynthia Whitteley responded by stating that she was "not authorized to comment any further."

Official drops attempt to keep Duke off ballot

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BOSTON — The Massachusetts secretary of state has backed down from an attempt to keep the name of rightist presidential candidate David Duke off the March 10 Republican presidential primary ballot.

In a move with dangerous implications for supporters of independent working-class political action and others who favor more democratic election laws, Secretary of State Michael Connolly, a Democrat, had declared December 12 that he would not place Duke's name on the ballot, saying he was not a "nationally recognized, legitimate" candidate. Connolly's decision was backed by Republican state chairman Leon Lombardi, who said Duke is "a racist" who, according to Lombardi, is not recognized by Republicans as a member of their party.

Massachusetts law allows the secretary of state or the head of the Democratic or Republican Party to place a candidate's name on a primary ballot if they determine a person is either nationally recognized as a presidential candidate or nationally advocated as one. Recognition or advocacy in the national news media is to be used as a gauge.

On January 4 Connolly said that fighting a lawsuit on the issue, which had been threatened by the American Civil Liberties Union, would be too costly and time-consuming. Duke will now appear on the ballot.

Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts executive director John Roberts explained, "We would say that Duke probably falls within the criteria that have been used to put other people on, and he should probably be put on."

In response to the earlier decision to deny Duke a space on the ballot, Duke campaign representatives had assembled a team of petitioners to try to collect the necessary 2,500 signatures to place their candidate on the ballot. But they fell well short of the required number of signatures.

Massachusetts Republican party leaders were divided about the move to attempt to deny Duke ballot status, with Republican William Weld opposing Connolly's earlier decision. However Republican officials in nearby Rhode Island and the Connecticut secretary of state have also indicated they will try to keep Duke off their respective primary ballots.

In an interview Margo Storsteen, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent November Boston mayoral election, explained that efforts to keep Duke off the ballot do nothing to aid the fight against Duke and his politics.

"The election laws are set up to insure the monopoly of big-business candidates on the ballot," said Storsteen. "Any moves to limit who can appear on the ballot — even if they are aimed initially at rightists like Duke or Patrick Buchanan — will only contribute to making it more difficult for working-class candidates to break the capitalist electoral monopoly."

"Furthermore," the socialist electrical

worker explained, "in this case state officials simply handed Duke a chance to win sympathy as someone being denied his rights by the government."

"Seeking to deny Duke a spot on the ballot is simply a diversion from the real fight against Duke and his politics," Storsteen continued. "Of course, despite the claims of Republican officials, Duke is every bit as much a part of the Democratic and Republican Party set-up as they are, and they have no intention of organizing a fight against his ideas and proposals, many of which they share."

"That is why the fight against Duke and 'Dukeism' must depend on the independent organization and mobilization of working people."

—CALENDAR—

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Justice for Mark Curtis! Fight Police Brutality! Speakers: James Warren, a national leader of Socialist Workers Party and defense of Mark Curtis; Gina Aranki, Palestine Aid Society; Leonard Grossman, civil libertarian; Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Detroit Archdiocese; James Lyle, shop steward Machinists' union Local 141; Karen Schaumann, homeless rights activist. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 4605 Cass Ave., (near Woodward & Warren). Donation: \$3. Sponsors: Supporters of Mark Curtis, and Social Action Committee of the Unitarian Church. For more information: (313) 831-1177.

BRITAIN

London

Demonstration to Stop the Asylum Bill. Saturday, January 18. Assemble at 1:00 p.m. at Embankment Tube Station. Sponsor: National Union of Students (London).

Following the demonstration **Open House at the Pathfinder Bookshop**, 47, The Cut, Waterloo, London SE1. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* video will be shown.

Challenge to Hawaii write-in vote ban

Continued from front page

offices, state house, governor, U.S. Senate, and Congress.

However, no one can get on the ballot as an independent unless he or she polls 10 percent of the vote in the primary. Candidates for U.S. president other than the Democrats and Republicans must submit petitions bearing the names of 1 percent of the voters. Both of these stipulations have kept most of those running off the ballot apart from the two big-business parties.

Democrats ran unopposed in more than half the state's legislative districts last November. The law is so strict that, where there is no opponent, the office does not even appear on the general-election ballot.

When Burdick's case was first heard in federal district court in Honolulu, Judge Harold Fong ruled that a write-in vote was a protected form of political expression.

"If even one voter wished to dissent from the voice of the majority by writing in the name of a candidate not available on the printed ballot, this court believes that is his right," Fong wrote in the decision. The issue "strikes at the very heart of our democratic

processes," he added.

Overturning Fong's ruling, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit Court said that, while there is a fundamental right to vote, it does not extend to "an unlimited right to vote for any particular candidate."

"The fact that a voter may want to say no candidate is acceptable does not mean that he has a fundamental right to say that on the ballot... He has no guarantee that he can voice any particular opinion through the ballot box," the court's three judges said in a unanimous ruling.

An earlier ruling often cited, which directly contradicts the Ninth Circuit Court's decision, is a ruling in Maryland. There, the Socialist Workers Campaign challenged a law that required write-in candidates for certain city offices to pay a \$150 filing fee in order to have their votes tabulated and be eligible for election. The Fourth Circuit Court struck down the fee in 1989.

The American Civil Liberties Union will be arguing Burdick's case before the Supreme Court.

Caterpillar strike enters third month

Continued from front page already planned to do so."

The union was hit hard throughout the 1980s. Compared to 1979 there are 10,000 fewer UAW workers in East Peoria, said Jerry Brown. "We went from more than 18,000 members of Local 974 in 1979 to about 9,000 today."

One picket, commenting on the announcement that General Motors will lay off 74,000 UAW workers, explained, "We're no different from UAW at GM. They're definitely downsizing. It wouldn't surprise me if they lay off more or even close down."

The union plans a rally in York in January to "show them we're in this together," Brown said.

Among the concessions Caterpillar is asking for is a two-tier wage scale, with new hires on a lower pay scale. "They want to start at the Mossville plant and establish it there," said one picket. "But if they start there, it will grow. They'll try to establish it in all the plants. It will strip seniority rights and divide up our union."

No job security

The company's offer of a "six-year job guarantee" is another concession demand. "They set up what they call profit centers," explained a picket. "They establish a 'job' for each worker. You have to stay in one of these centers, at your 'job' and throw away your seniority. During the contract they can also lay us off up to 32 weeks. If they have no work for your 'job' you can be laid off while someone with less seniority is working. It's no job guarantee. The company is just trying to look good."

The nearly 6,000 unionists locked out by Caterpillar were denied unemployment benefits. The union has set up an adopt-a-striker fund to help out those striking and locked out. "We've got some money through the adopt-a-striker program," said picket David Young. "But mainly we're living on our savings and \$100 a week from the union."

"We're asking working members of the union to give \$35 a week. So far we've got about 50 percent of the working members in Local 974 contributing to this fund. I think that's pretty good."

More than a dozen members of UAW Local 2096 from Caterpillar in Pontiac, Illinois, visited the picket lines December 30. They brought money for the adopt-a-striker fund and organized the delegation to show their solidarity. The unionists wore buttons indicating the number of strikers they had adopted each week.

"Since the contract expired and we're still working, this is one way we can help those on strike and locked out," one of the unionists explained.

"We feel bad that we're still working while our brothers and sisters are out here on the picket lines. We know we could be next with the company's attacks," another added.

The company laid off 60 workers at the Pontiac plant, then denied them supplemental unemployment benefits. "The company is taking on the union here," said one Local 2096 member. "All unions should watch this one. They never mentioned all these concessions as long as the economy was strong. Now when things get a little weak for them, they go after us."

"We're anxious to get a contract, but we have to do it together. We're with them 100 percent here in East Peoria."

One of the striking workers, Dennis Barr, expressed thanks for the contributions of UAW Local 2096. "It's a big help to be able to survive. We need to stick together. We have to be willing to stay out here as long as it takes."

Caterpillar has so far refused to negotiate. "There's been one meeting, but nothing came of it," said Wes Jockisch, a gate picket captain. "We're going to be out for a while. The company won't negotiate until they feel some pressure. The whole economy is going down. We have to stand up to make sure the company doesn't take it out on us."

Priscilla Schenk is a member of UAW Local 1672 in Des Moines. Joe Callahan, a member of UAW Local 879 in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Kelly Gibson, a plastics worker in Des Moines, contributed to this article.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Collapse of the USSR and Its Meaning for Working People Worldwide. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers Local 2368. Sun., Jan. 12, 5:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

FLORIDA

Miami

Protest U.S. Death Squads in Puerto Rico. New Revelations in the Cerro Maravilla Case. Video: *Show of Force*. Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Working Class Solutions to the Current Economic Crisis. Speaker: Miguel Zarate, chairperson Atlanta Socialist Workers Party and member United Auto Workers Local 882. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Free Trade or Protectionism — Neither One a Solution for Workers and Farmers. Speaker: representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa. A Historic Development in the Struggle Against Apartheid. Speaker: Mary Zins, Socialist Workers Party, traveled to South Africa in December. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

South Africa: A Historic Moment. Eyewitness report on Convention for a Democratic South Africa, held in Johannesburg Dec. 20-21, 1991. Speakers: Greg McCartan, editor the *Militant* newspaper; Rich Stuart, Pathfinder Press. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St, 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Lessons of Recent Strikes. The Fight Against

the Employers' Offensive Today. Speaker: Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 783. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

What's Happening in the Former Soviet Union? Speaker: Connie Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electrical Workers Local 123. Sat. Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

TEXAS

Houston

The Collapse of the Soviet Union. Speaker: Mike Chamberlain, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Break-up of the Soviet Union: Bureaucrats Hold onto Power. Speaker: Dean Denno, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 454. Sat., Jan. 11, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

South African miners protest firings

Continued from Page 9

who tried to start up a union federation in the mid-1980s to counter the growing strength of COSATU, the union federation which supports the African National Congress.

Most of the leading members of the NUM organizing committee at the mine were supporters or members of Inkatha. The core group leading the effort said that miners joined the NUM because the union was fighting starvation wages and inferior working conditions.

Eighty percent of the workers signed up for the union but the company delayed recognition, effectively excluding workers from industrywide wage hikes won by the NUM in 1990. Workers at Durnacoal were granted lower wage increases. This sparked a one-day underground sit-in, forcing management to grant a 31 percent wage increase. More workers subsequently joined the union.

Iscor then began to incite violence between Xhosa-speaking workers, mainly from the Transkei and Ciskei Bantustans, and those who spoke Zulu. Management bused in new recruits from KwaZulu and other parts of Natal, forcing many Xhosa-speaking workers to leave the mine for fear of their lives.

But the company's strategy backfired. Miners went on strike for three days in July demanding that those who left the mine be reinstated. Many of the new recruits then joined the union as well.

The mass firings in December grew out of a legal strike the union began November 4, demanding the minimum wage at the mine be increased from 447 rand (1 rand = 36

cents) to 900 rand a month for underground workers. Durnacoal miners are the lowest paid workers at Iscor mines. The company offered only 10-14 percent wage increases.

When the company issued its back-to-work ultimatum December 2, only 150 out of 3,300 workers complied. Iscor indicated it would try and recruit scabs.

On December 18 the NUM announced the company had agreed to hire back all the miners. According to the newspaper *Business Day*, the union said the company could lay off up to 815 workers by mid-January due to economic conditions. The paper also reported that the NUM accepted the 10-14 percent wage increases as part of the accord.

Highveld strike

Workers at Highveld struck after the company threatened to lay off 600 union members with only three weeks' notice. The company refused to negotiate any of the alternatives the union proposed to the layoffs and rejected talks with the union over severance pay. An earlier agreement between NUMSA and Anglo-American committed the company to "consult in good faith" before laying off any workers.

NUMSA was demanding four weeks of severance pay for each year worked; the company offered two weeks for each year of employment. Union regional secretary Frank Boshelo said the strikers were also trying to block the layoffs altogether.

Union officials condemned the company's action as "brutal and high-handed behavior" given the stated policy on layoffs. They appealed for support from other

metalworkers' locals, COSATU affiliates, and the International Metalworkers Federation.

On December 9 Anglo-American gave an ultimatum to the union members: either return to work or face mass dismissals. A company spokesman told the press, "Management is now concerned with effecting a return to work by the striking employees." Anglo-American got backing for their ultimatum in the courts.

The metalworkers returned to work December 11 after the company agreed to negotiate on the severance package and reduction of the work force. Union officials later said that all 600 would retain their jobs for at least one year.

In reaction to the settlement, 950 white employees at the steel plants went on strike demanding the company not reinstate those who were to be laid off.

The Mineworkers' Union (MWU) and members of other craft unions complained that the company had refused to rehire whites who were laid off and that NUMSA had staged six strikes over the past two years.

"Management did not act against NUMSA members during these strikes, and the white workers had to perform the work of those strikers against very low pay," a MWU official said. "The white workers also believe that these countless strikes have forced Highveld into retrenching workers in the first place."

Mary Zins is a member of the United Mine Workers of America, Local 2295, currently on layoff.

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

They do go together — "What Boris Yeltsin needs to succeed in privatizing the Russian economy is a good Internal Revenue Service."



Harry Ring

— Stanford University economist Ronald McKinnon.

Simple and to the point — Meanwhile, Charles McLure of the Hoover Institution, which has been giving Yeltsin economic advice, favors a "simplified" tax. The tax

would cover all income earned from labor — with interest, dividends, and capital gains exempted.

Scrooge sings Dixie — Dixie Bedding in Miami invited employees to a pre-Xmas lunch and advised them to "appreciate the opportunity to have a place to return to work after the holiday." Because things are tough, they added, "we are sad to say there will be no holiday gift certificates given out this year." Previously, the "gift" was a \$10 grocery certificate.

Lucky they weren't turkeys — During the preparations for Desert Storm, Gen. Schwartzkopf received a letter from the World Society for the Protection of Animals. It pro-

tested the fact that U.S. gunners training in the Saudi desert were shelling camels. The general assertedly ordered that target zones be cleared before shellings and that veterinarians be available to help care for the wounded.

And maybe fleeing soldiers too? — That protest to Schwartzkopf had cited the case of a wounded camel left writhing in pain because troops couldn't find the owner to get permission to end its misery. Responded the Gen.: "Our legal staff has concluded that, although Islamic Law upholds the sanctity of an owner's property, the principle of mercy, which pervades Islamic Law, justifies euthanasia for animals that are critically wounded."

Rolled out the carpet — Preparing for the recent visit by the British queen, officials in Harare, capital of Zimbabwe, ordered a town cleanup and asked court permission to evict some 2,000 squatters and to bulldoze their shantytown. The court refused, so they cranked up the bulldozers anyway. The squatters were relocated 40 miles away.

They've been around the block — Wolcott's, a century-old Los Angeles stationery store, does accept checks and credit cards — except for how-to bankruptcy kits, which are strictly cash-on-the-line.

Fully qualified — Ivan Selin, current head of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, may not know

much about nuclear power but he probably knows what he's supposed to do. Previously he was an Under Secretary of State. In that capacity, as one publication put it, he advised "on all matters involving the allocation of State Department resources in support of the president's foreign policy objectives."

The American Way of Death — Ship the cremated remains of a deceased sportsperson to Canuck's Sportsman's Memorials. They'll pack the ashes into a shell and use them on a hunting trip. Other options include stuffing the ashes in a duck decoy which will then be used by former hunting companions.

How 'Times' lied about Cuba-Noriega drug link

BY SETH GALINSKY

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

That's what the *New York Times* prints at the top of the front page of every issue.

But when it comes to Cuba and Fidel Castro, the *Times*'s slogan should be "Only the News That We See Fit to Print." An article by Jane Franklin in the November 1991 issue of the Center for Cuban Studies *Newsletter* shows how this works.

The *Times* ran an article September 24 reporting charges that Panamanian Gen. Manuel Noriega had met with president Fidel Castro to "discuss a drug trafficking dispute."

During the trial of Noriega, Lieut. Col. Luis del Cid, one of the general's former aides, testified that Castro had mediated a quarrel between Noriega and the Medellín cocaine cartel. Del Cid claimed he accom-

panied Noriega to Havana for the meeting.

The Panamanian military raided a cocaine-processing laboratory in 1984 that Noriega had allegedly agreed to protect. Del Cid said September 23. Noriega, who Del Cid stated was in Paris at the time, supposedly flew immediately to New York and then Havana to meet with Castro.

But under sharp cross-examination by Noriega's attorney the next day, Del Cid's story fell apart, in spite of rulings by the presiding judge limiting the questions the defense was allowed to present.

The Newark *Star-Ledger* carried an Associated Press article on the September 24 hearing headlined, "Testimony of Noriega 'errand boy' caves in under defense questioning."

The defense attorney proved that Noriega had ordered the raid on the laboratory

and did not leave Panama until a month later on a pre-planned trip that took him to the United States, France, Israel, and Cuba.

The AP story reports, "Del Cid then admitted his account was wrong. 'It was an error, a mistake on my part,' he said."

Did the *Times* correct the information it had published the day before? No way.

Instead the prestigious daily headlined its article on the cross-examination, "Noriega Defense Runs into Security Roadblock." It did not report one word of Del Cid's statement.

Franklin phoned the *Times*' news desk and asked why not.

"The woman at the *Times*," Franklin reports, "answered with uncommon candor: 'That was an editorial decision.'"

Undaunted, the *Times* has continued its slander campaign using fraudulent testimony from the Noriega trial.

The November 21 edition carried an article claiming, "Former Smuggler Ties Top Officials of Cuba and Nicaragua to Drug Ring."

"No documentary evidence was introduced to corroborate his assertions," the paper admitted, referring to the charges made by Colombian Carlos Lehder Rivas against Raúl

Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries.

Lehder agreed to testify at the Noriega trial in exchange for receiving a reduced sentence on his conviction of conspiring to smuggle 3.3 tons of cocaine into the United States. In Colombia he commanded both a private army and a neo-Nazi political party that called for the extermination of communists. Lehder was extradited to the United States in 1987.

Correction

In the December 13, 1991, issue of the *Militant*, the date of excerpts from an interview with Cuban president Fidel Castro was incorrectly given.

The interview by Italian journalist Gianni Miná — where Castro explains Cuba's political and ethical opposition to the drug trade — was published in Spanish in July 1991 with the title *Fidel: The present and future of an ideology in crisis analyzed by a historic leader*. The article instead referred to an earlier interview by Miná, which was published in Spanish in 1987 as *An Encounter with Fidel*.

Atlanta desegregation fight

Continued from Page 6

graphic changes" over which the board had no control, they claimed.

In 1988, the court ruled that the school board had to equalize per-pupil expenditures and ordered the transfer of veteran teachers to predominantly Black schools. At the same time, the court upheld the school board's claim that the students in the system were not segregated.

A year later, the U.S. 11th Circuit Court of Appeals overturned this decision and ruled completely in favor of the plaintiffs.

"For many years, the DCSS [DeKalb County School System] planned, contributed to, and directly caused racial segregation in its schools. By operating a dual system, the DCSS affected the 'hearts and minds' of its students and may have contributed to the housing patterns that today 'cause' school desegregation," the decision said. "After twenty years of court supervision, the DCSS continues to operate racially identifiable schools. The DCSS has never achieved unitary status and it retains the duty to eliminate all vestiges of the dual school system."

The judges ordered the district to consider mandatory busing and major expansion of the magnet school programs — which today involve less than one percent of DeKalb students — to achieve greater desegregation.

The school board's appeal of this ruling is what the U.S. Supreme Court heard in early October.

Foes of school desegregation hope that the U.S. Supreme Court will deal a more decisive blow to desegregation and busing than their January 1991 ruling in a school desegregation case from Oklahoma City. In that case, the court ruled that the standard preventing the Oklahoma City School Board from being released from a 1972 busing order was too stringent.

'Co-plaintiffs' oppose busing

In 1989, following the Court of Appeals pro-desegregation decision, a new group appeared on the scene: an organization of parents and others opposed to the ruling, and especially to the possibility of "forced busing." This group has received at least \$45,000 from the local Chamber of Commerce, says Mills.

Mills attended one of the first meetings of

this group in 1989. Some 300 people were there, he recalls, including a few Blacks. This small group of Black parents has since gained considerable attention from the big-business media, which seeks to bolster opposition to busing by highlighting disagreements among Black parents over the issue. Although they are opposed to the 1989 desegregation decision, this group of Black parents has been entered as 'co-plaintiffs' in the suit against the school board.

"There are divisions on this question, especially among middle-class Blacks," said Maceo Dixon, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and longtime Black rights fighter who was active in the Boston busing struggle. He and Roger Mills spoke at a Militant Labor Forum on the DeKalb desegregation fight, held here December 7.

"In the Boston struggle, Black parents, overwhelmingly working-class, fought hard for busing, and their children sometimes faced difficult and even dangerous conditions to gain access to the better education that had been denied them for so long," Dixon said. "In DeKalb today, some 5,000 Black students participate in the voluntary M-to-M busing program because they believe they will get a better education at schools outside their 'neighborhood.' But some middle-class Blacks now oppose mandatory busing to advance desegregation. Like others in the middle class who think they've 'made it,' they identify with the system, they are part of the system, and they don't want to rock the boat."

A few Black parents who oppose busing argue that they don't care if their children attend all-Black schools, as long as they're equal to "white" schools.

"This attitude is a step backward from the perspective of forcing the government to desegregate and provide equality of education for all students," Dixon commented in a later interview. "And experience has shown that it always takes a fight. That's what some Blacks have backed away from."

"Enforcing desegregation is more difficult now, with many of the gains of the civil rights movement under attack from the ruling rich. But under capitalism, where racial oppression is constantly reinforced and reproduced, the idea that all-Black schools will be equal to 'white' schools is not facing reality," Dixon concluded.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

January 16, 1967

Speaking before a huge throng gathered in Havana's Plaza De la Revolución Jan. 2 in celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro cited the impressive gains made by the revolution. He said the Cuban people have refuted those whom he characterized as "pessimists" who believe that people will toil and sacrifice only for immediate material gain.

He saluted revolutionary fighters throughout the world, declaring Cuba's particular solidarity with guerrilla fighters in Latin America. He singled out the Vietnamese people for special tribute for their heroic resistance to U.S. aggression.

These are some of the advances he cited:

- There are now 150,000 fully supported scholarship students in the country and next year the figure will surpass 200,000.

- The number of nurses and public health workers has increased several fold.

- Prior to the revolution, the Cuban mortality rate was 13 out of each one thousand of the population annually. It is now down to 6.8. This figure is lower than all of Latin America, Fidel said. A similar gain has been registered on infant mortality.

- All Cubans now pay reduced rents and almost a majority pay none.

Fidel declared: "Imperialism has helped all our people... to become international-minded. Just as we all have a common enemy, we acquire an awareness of the duty and the need of practicing consistent internationalism, and an understanding of why the policy of Cuba and the foreign policy of our revolution is the firm and inflexible one of giving support to the revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

"If anyone were to ask us what has been the most important effect of the revolution, we would say: the incredible revolutionary consciousness that has been developed among our people."

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

January 17, 1942

Hundreds of thousands of jobless auto workers today are asking why in the midst of the war the greatest manufacturing industry in the world is shutting down.

The Jan. 2 issue of *U.S. News*, an authoritative dope sheet for big business, gives the real reason for the plight of the unemployed auto workers. "Until now: Industry had more to gain by producing peacetime gadgets than by converting to war production, than by speeding arms output. Now: Industry no longer can obtain materials for peacetime production. . . . So there is every incentive to convert to war production."

This is a confession that the big industrialists run their plants only to grab the greatest possible profit in the shortest possible time.

For a year the UAW and CIO have been proposing a plan to pool auto productive forces to prevent mass unemployment during the transition from automobile to military production. This proposal was shelved as "impractical" and "socialistic" by the employers.

C.E. Wilson, president of General Motors, has admitted that General Motors turned out more automobiles in 1941 than at any time in its history and made more profits than in any other year. In 1941 GM hauled in a profit of close to a quarter of a billion dollars.

This was a good reason why General Motors can now afford to take 9 months to convert their plants. But 450,000 jobless auto workers will have no such reserve to fall back upon.

No support to 'Japan bashing'

Following the General Motors bosses' announcement of their huge layoff plans, a fresh wave of protectionist calls has swept capitalist politics. Led by Democratic Party politicians, backed by the union officialdom, and echoed by administration officials such as Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher, the charge is that Japanese protectionism is responsible for the continuing recession and rising job losses in the United States. The solution offered by these forces is to threaten stepped up U.S. protectionism against imported items such as Japanese autos.

The Japanese government, like the government of the United States and all imperialist powers, does implement protectionist policies in specific areas. But Tokyo's restrictions on auto imports are extremely minor and cannot be held responsible for the very small sales of U.S. cars there. The protectionist campaign around cars is entirely fraudulent.

As the worldwide crisis of capitalism deepens, the trade policies of the most powerful imperialist governments, which combine both protectionism and calls for free trade as they feel it appropriate, become more intense. These policies directly reflect the needs of the most influential corporations, as shown by the entourage to Japan of President George Bush. According to Mosbacher, this trip allows business and the White House "to speak with one voice."

For working people, supporting any of the aggressive trade policies of our capitalist masters leads away from fighting toward real solutions to the devastation of the economic crisis.

Just as it is fatal for auto workers employed by GM to begin competing against each other to save "their" plant at the expense of another GM plant, or for Canadian auto workers to compete against U.S. auto workers for "Canadian

jobs," so it is disastrous for workers in the United States — or Japan — to back their own bosses' efforts to compete with their rivals in other countries. This is all the aggressive trading policies of the imperialist powers amount to.

Subordinating workers' needs to the profit concerns of the bosses leads to abandoning every conquest the labor movement has won in the past. As the long-term capitalist economic crisis deepens, the pressure for trade disputes to escalate will rise. Inevitably, workers will be asked to back the rulers of "their" country through trade wars, into shooting wars, as has happened repeatedly in history.

But there is no such thing as "American interests" or "Japanese interests," common to all who live in those countries. What exists in each country are social classes; exploiters who wage war on workers and working farmers for their own profit, and working people who have the same interests as workers in other countries.

Bosses in the United States, like those in Japan, seek to convince workers in each country to back them against their capitalist rivals.

Workers must find ways to link up with fellow workers in other countries to carry out a combined struggle against this same system that is waging war on all of us.

The road to fighting against job losses is not through supporting protectionism, but through struggles around demands which can unite working people of different plants, industries, and countries; employed and unemployed; male and female.

Demands such as for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to spread around the available work, are central to such a working-class strategy. Defense of existing hard-won job conditions and wages is a precondition to being able to wage such a broader struggle.

Stakes in Hawaii ballot fight

Working people have a big stake in seeing Hawaii's ban on write-in voting overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Many state governments are watching the case closely, because a ruling in favor of Hawaii would give them a green light to impose similar measures.

Alan Burdick, who filed the suit against the bar on write-in votes, makes the right point. "Participating fully and freely in the electoral process" is a fundamental right, he said.

The Ninth Circuit Court's argument that there is no "unlimited right to vote for any particular candidate" and that a voter "has no guarantee that he can voice any particular opinion through the ballot box" should raise alarm bells among working people and every defender of democratic rights.

That such a reactionary ruling and attempt to set a precedent for restricting ballot rights should come today is no surprise. As the economic crisis worsens and the fact that the capitalist system does not offer a prosperous future becomes clear to millions, the wealthy families who run America must try to clamp down on freedom of speech and assembly, and other hard-won rights.

They want to restrict alternative voices, especially parties representing the interests of the working class, from gaining

a hearing. In recent years, states have made access to the ballot for parties other than the Democrats and Republicans more and more difficult.

The 1992 elections vividly show that none of the wings of the ruling class have any solution to the social and economic problems confronting working people. The twin parties of the rich want to keep working-class candidates off the ballot and out of public view.

The Socialist Workers Party election campaigns have waged efforts over many years to defend the right of candidates to appear on the ballot and strike down restrictive ballot laws. Despite these fights many states have implemented laws that virtually prohibit all the parties except those backed by the wealthy from gaining official ballot status.

Running as write-in candidates affords such candidates a measure of recognition as part of the electoral process. They are able to receive media coverage, enter into debates, and speak on other public platforms as a result.

Supporters of democratic rights should explain the stakes in this case as widely as possible — in unions, student organizations, women's rights groups, and elsewhere.

Support Caterpillar workers

The fight by striking and locked-out workers at Caterpillar Inc., now in its third month, is a big test for the employers and for the union. After 2,400 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) selectively struck plants in Decatur and East Peoria, Illinois, in early November, the company quickly responded by locking out 5,600 workers at other factories.

Caterpillar, the world's largest manufacturer of earth-moving and construction equipment, seeks to break the previous pattern of adopting contracts with similar terms as those negotiated by the UAW with Deere and Co. Attempting to pit union members against each other, it wants to negotiate eight separate contracts with different sectors of the company rather than bargain collectively with all seven UAW locals. Caterpillar demands a two-tier wage scale with lower pay for new hires, proposes that workers pay part of their health-care costs, and wants to gut seniority rights, among other giveaways.

The manufacturing giant says these concessions are necessary so it can remain competitive on the world market and keep workers employed. As one picketer commented, "Japan is being used as a scapegoat. I think they're trying to shift the blame off their own responsibility for the problems."

Caterpillar is attempting to deal a heavy blow to the union. UAW officials, however, have accepted and repeat the company's argument that workers should see themselves as being in the same boat with the owners in the effort to "make Cat a world class competitor." This position has only weakened the union in the face of the employer's assault.

The current contract fight comes after years of Caterpillar pressing the union for concessions. Union officials thought that since they had led workers to accept concessions, the company was supposed to stop demanding more. But millions of workers who have gone through the bitter experience of takeback contracts over the last decade and a half know that giving the employers concessions is like feeding meat to a hungry wolf — it only whets the wolf's appetite for more.

The only way to confront the company's union-gutting demands is to reject the bosses' framework of their profits and their competitiveness, and to begin with our needs as working people: to stand together and fight to defend our unions, wages, and working conditions.

Caterpillar's anti-union drive is part of a broader employer assault on working people that has intensified with the current recession. The recent announcement that General Motors plans to lay off 74,000 workers and shut down 21 plants over the next few years is one further indication of what capitalism has in store for millions of other working people: more layoffs, pay cuts, speedup, government cutbacks in social programs, and attempts to restrict democratic rights. At the same time, workers at Caterpillar and elsewhere have shown their desire and capacity to resist this offensive.

If Caterpillar gets away with its attack, it will embolden other employers to do the same. This fight is an important challenge for the unions as a whole. It should be met with the solidarity of the entire labor movement.

This column is devoted to a discussion with our readers — printing remarks, questions, suggestions, and other comments sent to the *Militant*. Where possible we will take up issues raised in notes and letters as a way to help clarify and expand on the coverage in the paper.

Was the William Kennedy Smith trial a fair trial? Steve Halpern from Philadelphia argues in today's letters section against the conclusion drawn by Estelle DeBates in a recent issue of the *Militant*. DeBates took up a number of the issues in the trial, concluding that she believed that "Smith's trial was not typical of what working people go through day in and day out in the bourgeois courts. Smith did get a fair trial, one where his innocence was presumed. The burden of proof was kept squarely on the state and the evidence it could supply concerning the charges."

Halpern argues the trial was not a fair one because of the way the woman accusing Smith of raping her was questioned by the defense attorney. He concludes that "we should

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

not be fighting to implement the same standards that were used in the Kennedy Smith trial."

The woman's character was "put up for judgment" because the judge "allowed questions relating to the most intimate details of the alleged rape," Halpern says, thus intimidating women and bringing about a miscarriage of justice.

As DeBates points out in her column, most women who press charges of rape are not able to have their charges heard without their character and past experiences being put up for judgment. But during the Kennedy Smith trial, issues concerning both the woman's and Smith's past were kept out of the proceedings. DeBates points to the important decision to not allow the prosecution to bring on the stand three women who claim Smith assaulted them or attempted to do so in the past.

Defense lawyers should, though, be able to question their client's accuser in detail about the alleged events, contrary to what Halpern argues. Would Halpern argue that this should not be the case in other criminal charges?

Working people should fight for the presumption of innocence applied in the Kennedy Smith trial and for the burden of proof being on the state to prove its charges.

* * *

Thanks to Ellen Haywood for the important questions surrounding the anti-Japanese propaganda of the employers and their government. We'll work to gather those facts and figures and get them into the paper.

* * *

Gary McIntire writes that he agrees with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in South Africa and disagrees with the African National Congress because the ANC would "consider the Conservative demand for a white homeland."

The article McIntire refers to says that the ANC "has expressed a willingness to place a discussion on the creation of a 'white homeland' on the agenda" of the negotiations. To end any confusion on the matter, the ANC explicitly rejects any partition of South Africa and the demand for the "white homeland" in particular.

As the start of the December 20-21 Convention for a Democratic South Africa neared, the ANC made a number of political gestures to organizations that announced they would not be attending the meeting. ANC policy was clear: in the negotiations any party could raise its point of view for discussion and debate. This helped make it clear who was standing in the way of progress toward a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

The revolution unfolding today in South Africa is not a socialist revolution, but a national, democratic one. It is a revolution championed by the working class and toiling masses in the country, who look to the ANC for leadership. A full explanation of this can be found in *New International* No. 5 entitled, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa." It is available from Pathfinder Press. (See ad on page 8).

Some, such as the PAC and others in South Africa and around the world, criticize the ANC from the "left." Trying to paint themselves as the true revolutionaries and representatives of working people, they condemn the ANC for entering into negotiations, bait it for being a "multiclass organization" which they assert will not be capable of leading a thoroughgoing revolution, say it is no longer "militant" because it suspended the armed actions against the regime, and so on.

All of these arguments are an obstacle to seeing the revolutionary course charted by Nelson Mandela in his speeches and concrete actions since being freed from jail; he has sought to increase the politicization and revolutionary mobilization of tens of millions in the country to fight for a constituent assembly. As Mandela points out, the final demise of the white minority regime and the establishment of a government that represents the majority will open the door to the deeper revolutionary struggle necessary to address the historic legacy of apartheid.

This course is the only possible one for the building of a communist party in South Africa. Communists should be in the front ranks of the fight for a nonracial, democratic, nonsexist South African republic because an anticapitalist revolution is impossible without that victory.

Upcoming articles in the *Militant* will review the PAC's positions toward the ANC and why its call for "one settler, one bullet" — directed toward whites in South Africa — is not the way forward in the struggle against apartheid.

Sawmill workers win reinstatement of unionists

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and

ever been selected for one of the mill's higher-paying skilled jobs. About 70 of 120 Mainland workers are of East Indian origin. Punjabi-speaking workers make up an important part of the whole Vancouver-area forest industry.

Suspended worker Jim Uppal, who has worked at Mainland for 24

the New Zealand Food and Textile Workers Union, reports the outcome of a case taken before the Employment Court by the union on behalf of its members at Alliance Textiles.

Alliance Textiles was one of the first employers to probe the union-busting opportunities opened up by the passing into law of the Employment Contracts Act (ECA) in May 1990. The company employs up to 500 workers at five South Island sites, spinning and knitting woolen yarn.

The collective agreement, which covered all five mills, expired April 30. The Employment Contracts Act removed many of the legal protections under which unions in New Zealand had previously operated.

Following the expiration of the agreement, Alliance presented workers with a proposal for separate site agreements. These proposals included wage cuts of NZ\$2.25 per hour, bringing the wages on one site down to NZ\$6.15, barely above the legal minimum wage. (NZ\$1.00 = US\$54)

Workers at all the sites had designated the Food and Textile Workers Union as their bargaining agent as required under the terms of the ECA. However, at the Mosgiel Timaru plants the company approached workers individually and succeeded in getting a number of workers to sign contracts.

After this experience, workers at the Milton plant, near Dunedin, went on strike for eight days, successfully forcing the company to agree to negotiate only with union representatives. At Mosgiel and Timaru, some former union members have set up alternative organizations, called Independent Thought Societies, with company support. A majority of workers at these sites have now signed the

company contract.

The court case brought by the Food and Textile Workers Union centered on the testimony of more than 20 workers from Mosgiel and Timaru who sought to have the contracts ruled invalid. Under the terms of the ECA, both employers and unions are forbidden to bring pressure to bear on any worker to sign or not sign a contract "under duress."

In this case, the court accepted that the employer had issued and carried out various threats against those who would not sign the contract and had misled workers. However, it declined to rule the contracts invalid. The union is considering appealing the decision.

No contract has yet been signed with the workers at Milton. In late November, Alliance informed the union that they intended to lay off one-third of the workers there.

Norfolk Southern wins new concessions from rail labor

The owners of Norfolk Southern Railroad scored a major victory when members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) overwhelmingly ratified a concession contract that dramatically reduces the size of crews assigned to each train. The new agreement is the product of years of prior concessions and the defeat of the national rail strike in April 1991.

The railroads and unions have been battling over the question of crew size for decades. The traditional train crew consisted of an engineer, fireman, conductor, and two brakemen. A number of years ago, after a long struggle, the railroads succeeded in largely eliminating the fireman's position. They immediately targeted the second brakeman as the next to go.

The agreement eliminates all second brakeman positions, and

the first brakeman position on 50 percent of all through-freight trains. This percentage will increase by 10 percent a year until all first brakeman positions are eliminated.

The agreement stipulates that all other first brakeman positions become "blankable," that is, subject to elimination. The company also won the right to establish "utility positions" in which a brakeman is not assigned to a train at all, but services the yard as a whole, doing the work that the first brakeman on a train would have done, but doing it for a large number of trains each day. Other work rules have also been revoked, allowing the company for the first time to organize work with little if any input from the union.

Workers at Norfolk Southern are angry and bitter about the new contract, but see no alternative. Many agree that rail workers should have defied Congress's back-to-work order and stayed out on strike in April. Most also believe that, given the failure of the national strike, local strikes are hopeless. The vote in Chicago was 5-to-1 to approve the new agreement.

The full scope of the UTU's defeat in the April strike is now being felt. It is generating a lot of anger, but also a lot of questions. Workers at Norfolk Southern feel that they have to accept this defeat, but the discussion over how to prevent future setbacks is a lively one.

Joanne Pritchard and Cheryl Pruitt, members of ILGWU Local 287 in Vancouver, Canada; James Robb, a member of the Food and Textile Workers Union in Auckland, New Zealand; and Scott Ware and Ruth Nebbia, members of UTU Local 1895 at Norfolk Southern in Chicago, contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

International Woodworkers of America (IWA) members celebrated their victory against Mainland Sawmills in Vancouver December 14. The company was forced to reinstate three workers it had fired and nine it had suspended following a two-and-a-half day walkout. The workers are to receive full back pay.

Jim Parker, IWA plant chairman, explained in an interview that the walkout was sparked when management verbally abused and suspended a union safety committee member. Behind this, however, lay years of resentment against poor safety conditions and favoritism in awarding job postings.

According to the IWA, no worker of East Indian origin has

years, said, "They don't train any of the East Indian guys for the good jobs, like millwright, filer, or sawyer. It's due to racism."

One East Indian worker said that as a result of the walkout, one racist foreman "has been shamed. He used to be very bad, say bad things. Now he's very quiet."

The walkout was illegal since Mainland and the union are involved in industry-wide negotiations. "We were supposed to use the grievance procedure to solve this but the company abuses the grievance procedure. When it comes down to it, workers have to be able to withdraw our services because the legal system doesn't work for us," said Parker.

After the suspensions and firings the IWA of Canada informed the Forest Industrial Relations, which negotiates for the forest companies, that it was pulling Mainland out of negotiations to allow for strike action by the workers. The company, which is working at full capacity, backed off on the suspensions and firings at the threat of a strike.

On December 18 Mainland Sawmills and the IWA signed an agreement which included an anti-racism clause.

New Zealand textile workers fight union busting

The December issue of *Food and Textile Worker*, published by

LETTERS

Rent criminals

Working-class and unemployed renters were slapped across the face for Christmas in Salt Lake City. On December 23 the Salt Lake City Council voted to override Mayor Palmer DePaulis' veto of the Theft-of-Services ordinance making it a crime to fail to pay rent. The ordinance calls for up to six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine. If you are too poor to pay your rent in Salt Lake City you will now be considered a criminal and a debtor's prison awaits.

Mayor Palmer DePaulis called the new ordinance "a club for unscrupulous landlords to bludgeon tenants" who seek rights under a previous Fit Premises ordinance. Under this ordinance tenants could make needed repairs and deduct the money from rent when landlords failed to make necessary repairs. The new amendment cancels this ordinance.

Opponents of the Theft-of-Services law fear that this will be a bonanza for slumlords and jails will fill up with poor people whose only crime is being poor.

John-Michael Eggertsen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Kennedy Smith trial

I appreciated the *Militant* article by Estelle DeBates on the Kennedy Smith trial. While the article provided a lot of thought-provoking information, I disagree with one of the conclusions that it made. That was that Kennedy Smith received a fair trial.

In the article it is stated that "every woman coming forward with rape charges is entitled to have her charges heard without having her character and past experiences put up for judgment. This, unfortun-

nately, is not the experience of most women who press rape charges." In the cross examination of the alleged victim in the Kennedy Smith trial, the character of this woman was put up for judgment. The judge allowed questions relating to the most intimate details of the alleged rape. When the judge allowed these questions she was doing what the courts generally do, that is to use the judicial system to intimidate working people. As a result of the judge's action, victims of rape may feel more intimidated in bringing charges against their assailants, especially when they are rich.

Today there are lawyers in this country who never lose a case. The reason for this is that they are always representing rich people. Given the unlimited resources they receive, these lawyers can virtually guarantee a not guilty verdict, whether their client is innocent or not.

The only way to get trials that resemble some sort of fairness in this country is to organize a movement that will fight for them. Such a movement will fight against victimizations such as Mark Curtis. It would also fight to force the state to

treat rape victims as human beings and take their accusations seriously. We should not be fighting to implement the same standards that were used in the Kennedy Smith trial.

Steve Halpern
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Questions to answer

Two questions come up all the time in discussions at work which I would like some help from the *Militant* on. One is the idea that the U.S. government is "giving aid to all these people around the world and isn't taking care of people in the U.S." I argue that the character of U.S. foreign aid is not to help the people of other countries but to help U.S. corporations make profits. I'd like an article that gives me more facts to prove this.

Secondly, coworkers are always saying that "the Japanese are buying up the United States." I argue that it doesn't matter to the working class which capitalist class exploits us — that we wouldn't be better off worse off under a Japanese or a U.S. boss. It would be good to have an article that explains what increased Japanese investments in the U.S. mean

about increasing inter-imperialist competition and the declining position of the U.S.

Coworkers also restate what they are told in the media and by union bureaucrats that the Japanese can sell all they want in the U.S. but U.S. products cannot be sold in Japan. I argue that every capitalist country tries to erect as much of its own protectionist barriers as possible while busting down those in competitor countries. But I lack facts and figures which would only help draw the conclusion that it is in our interest not to try to improve the competitive position of U.S. corporations but to fight to defend the interests of working people around the world.

Ellen Haywood
Granite City, Illinois

Favors PAC over ANC

While reading the article entitled "South African political parties set negotiations" in the Dec. 20, 1991, issue, I was outraged by the fact that the ANC would consider the Conservative demand for a white homeland! Such a demand is racist and is not even worthy of consideration by

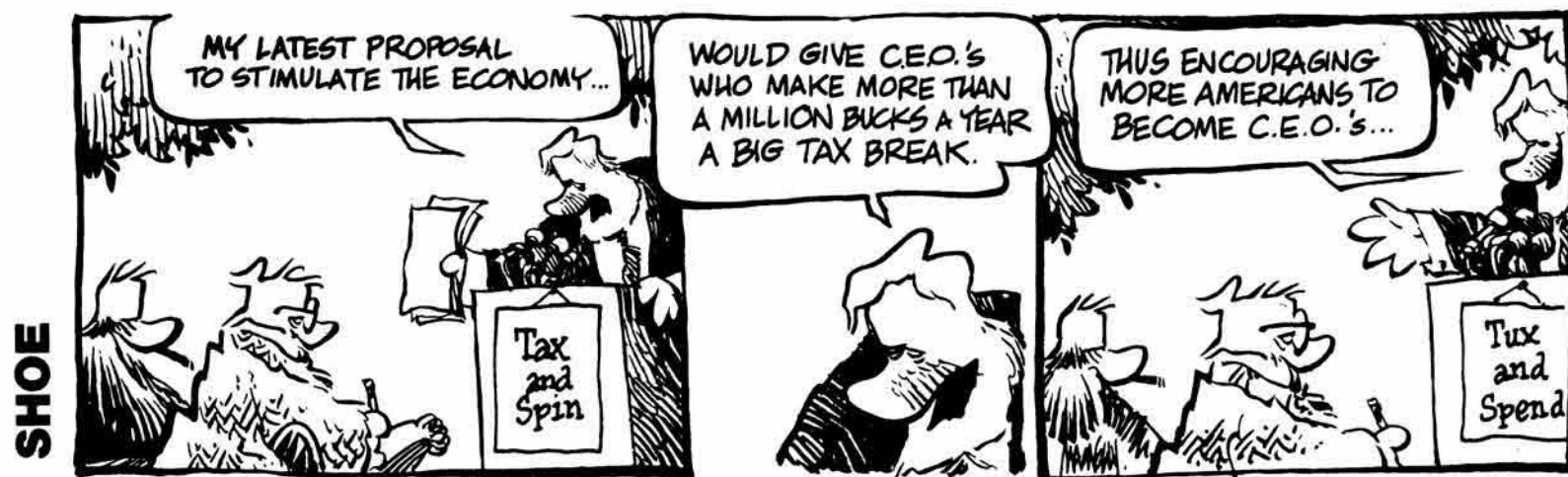
revolutionaries. I cannot blame the Pan Africanist Congress for walking out of the preparatory meeting if the ANC is going to put up with this. If the whites don't want to live by non-whites let them leave South Africa and go to hell!

There should not be an inch of space anywhere that a person should be kept out of because of his or her skin color.

I agree with the Pan Africanist Congress's call for a socialist South Africa/Azania, even though my skin is white and the PAC had a history of being anti-white. If the ANC is so desperate to negotiate with fascist white groups, who represent a very small minority of the South African population, to hell with it!

Gary McIntire
Saint Paris, Ohio

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.



Basic goods prices skyrocket in Russia

Government shifts burden of economic crisis onto working people

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Prices of food, clothing, and other basic necessities skyrocketed in Russia as state controls and subsidies were lifted January 2. The long-anticipated move by Russian president Boris Yeltsin shifts further the burden onto working people of the spiraling economic crisis.

The measures were implemented following the formal dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Eleven former republics of the Soviet Union constituted themselves as the Commonwealth of Independent States December 21 in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan.

The accord was signed following the December 8 proclamation of the commonwealth by the governments of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus (formerly Byelorussia) and the subsequent announcement of the five Central Asian republics to join in.

On Christmas day Mikhail Gorbachev resigned from the post of Soviet president, formally ending the existence of the USSR. The republics of the former Soviet Union are heading for greater instability and an accelerated economic crisis. The bureaucratic rulers who govern these territories continue to pillage resources in order to maintain their privileged way of life, just as they did throughout the previous six-and-a-half decades, when they posed as "communists." They hope that greater use of market forces will solve problems of plummeting production, attract capitalist investment, and integrate these economies into world capitalism.

Most working people in Russia were spending 80 percent of their income on basic subsistence items before the latest price increases. Long lines in front of virtually empty state stores have become a feature of daily life.

As 1991 drew to a close, Polish hams sold for more than 1,000 rubles in the black market while a pound of cucumbers cost 70 rubles at farmers' markets or commercial stores allowed to sell at unregulated prices. There were no long lines for these, as the average wage is about 350 rubles per month.

"I went to five shops, but my bag is empty," said Raisa, a train conductor in Moscow, as the price increases took effect. "We didn't think we would have to prepare for war."

Hoarding of goods

Yeltsin first announced plans for lifting price controls in late October but hesitated implementing them, fearing angry reactions by working people. Hoarding by speculators waiting for higher prices had since accelerated.

The Soviet press agency Tass reported from St. Petersburg December 27 that hundreds of angry citizens with empty shopping bags blocked the central avenue for an hour and a half after being unable to exchange their ration coupons for food.

Prices are now expected to rise by as much as 400 percent, with wide differences between different cities and republics. On January 2 chicken sold for 36 rubles a kilo in Moscow, up from 22, while the price of sugar tripled. The government will maintain ceilings on prices of milk, some kinds of bread, gasoline, and a few other products but these will still be three to five times higher than previously.

In a televised address to the nation Yeltsin said that the price increases would be "the most painful and unpopular" of his so-called economic reforms. Yeltsin said his government intended to privatize at least half of light industry, food production, construction and services by the end of the year, and to lift all subsidies from unprofitable enterprises.

This will not be easy. In several Eastern European countries where mass upheavals toppled Stalinist parties, the pro-imperialist



Moscow shoppers waiting in state store. New government decrees are expected to raise prices for food and other essential items by up to 400 percent.

individuals who lead the governments have had a hard time making inroads into nationalized property. Each measure they have proposed headed in the direction of working people having to again sell their labor power to private capitalists has met resistance.

'Russians must be willing to suffer'

"I am certain we will get through this difficult period," Yeltsin said. "It will be hard but the period will not be long. We are talking six to eight months. We need patience. We cannot permit a breakdown or panic."

"For Mr. Yeltsin to have any success at all, Russian people must be extremely patient and willing to suffer," commented the *Wall Street Journal*.

Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's chief economist, said he expected to resign in a year, "under loud outcry from an angered public, but with financial stability."

The bureaucratic layer that attempts to maintain its stranglehold on political power in Russia is prepared to take harsh measures to deal with any protests by working people. One thousand additional police were deployed in Moscow January 2 in anticipation of possible unrest when the price increases took effect. No protests have so far been reported.

The petty-bourgeois rulers continue to maintain their existence separate and apart from that of working people. "These guys still have their special VIP place to get their special bread and sausage picked up," said Minsk resident Vladimir Nerozha. He was referring to government representatives who were meeting in Minsk December 29.

Fearful that goods would be diverted to Russia because of higher prices there, the regimes in Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova also lifted price controls January 2. The Central Asian republics are expected to follow suit next week.

Divisions between the bureaucratic regimes in the republics, in their struggle to expand control over the country's resources, have already begun to grow. The Ukrainian government had earlier objected to the price hikes. "We cannot accept that only tricolor Russian flags wave over the former Soviet embassies," grumbled Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk December 31.

By that time Russia had already assumed control of the Soviet embassies and the former Soviet Union seat at the UN security council. The Ukrainian regime declared it would take control over the entire navy fleet in the Black Sea while the Russian government demanded most of the fleet for Russia. Yeltsin immediately moved an aircraft carrier to a Russian port in the Black Sea, prompting a Ukrainian protest.

On January 4 the Ukrainian government ordered the entire Black Sea fleet and all ground forces based on its soil to take a

loyalty oath to the Ukraine. Russian officials responded that the move had created an "explosive situation."

Fighting in Georgia

In Georgia heavy fighting between opposition forces and the government of Zviad Gamsakhurdia has raged since the middle of

December. About 60 people have been killed and 300 wounded in the fighting so far.

Gamsakhurdia was elected president last May with 86 percent of the vote. He soon began jailing opponents, implementing press censorship, and other autocratic measures. He has attempted to militarily suppress popular demands for independence in South Ossetia, a region in northern Georgia.

Demonstrations against his totalitarian regime were first organized following the defeat of the August 19 coup in Moscow. The actions of thousands of working people in the streets at that time showed the difficulties the bureaucratic regimes face when they attempt to deal blows to the rights and political confidence working people have gained in recent years.

Rebel forces have pinned Gamsakhurdia inside the Parliament building in the republic's capital, Tbilisi, where he is guarded by 500 to 1,000 loyalist troops.

On January 2 opposition leaders declared a military council to replace Gamsakhurdia, but there was no sign he would resign. The self-proclaimed military council declared a state of emergency and banned demonstrations and rallies in Tbilisi. The next day opposition gunmen fired at a demonstration of 3,000 supporters of Gamsakhurdia, killing two people and wounding 25 others.

Unionists rally in support of striking Colorado miners

BY NELS J'ANTHONY AND DAVID SALNER

CRAIG, Colorado — More than 300 supporters of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1799 rallied here December 21 to show their commitment to winning the local's strike at Cyprus Mineral's Empire Mine.

Unionists from Colorado and Salt Lake City, as well as mine workers from Utah, Wyoming, and Arizona, assembled at Moffat County Fairground along with local area mine workers for the day's activities. A brisk 20-minute march through downtown Craig to the Middle School auditorium preceded a rally and dinner. A scattering of blue posters indicating support for the strike were visible in store windows along the march route.

Larry Deeds, president of UMWA Local 1972, pointed to the "economic violence" of the coal bosses in forcing the hardship of long strikes on the miners and their families. His local in Sheridan, Wyoming, had just returned to work after a four-year struggle for a union contract against Decker Coal Co. The local donated a pickup truck full of Christmas gifts to children of the strikers on the day of the rally.

Deeds thanked those present who had helped his local win a contract and pointed to the importance of renewed efforts for the Craig strikers. He described the worsening conditions facing U.S. workers today and called for family involvement in the unions.

District 15 president Donnie Samms described a letter sent to the rally by Colorado governor Roy Roemer. Samms received loud applause when he said that he tore the governor's letter into pieces because the obvious lies contained in it were an insult to the union. Other speakers also pointed to the hostility toward the strike from politicians and the courts.

Richard Trumka, international president of the UMWA, emphasized the union's determination to win this strike through building the statewide campaign to expose the strikebreaking role of Public Service of Colorado. PSC is accepting coal from Cyprus's nonunion Twenty Mile Mine. Local 1799

miners have exposed this strikebreaking operation through informational pickets and visits to union locals throughout the Denver area as well as in Craig.

PSC is headed by notorious union-hater Del Hock, a leader of the Mountain State Employer's Council. "Del Hock is to the working people what Colonel Sanders is to chickens," said Trumka, "and the UMWA is not going to get plucked."

The need to force Cyprus to negotiate in good faith was underscored by all speakers. During the last round of negotiations in early November, Cyprus maintained it would drastically curtail production at Empire. Temporary work was offered to a handful of the miners on strike.

Cyprus forced the strike May 13 by refusing to consider acceptable medical coverage for underground miners. Mine workers and other unionists throughout the area recognize that Cyprus is testing the waters for other employers in the West, who would like to further cripple the unions and pass on ever higher medical costs to employees.

Some workers came to the rally as a result of tours to other states by Local 1799 members. Steelworkers Local 2701 President Pete Kroft from the Geneva Steel mill in Provo, Utah, made the 12 hour round-trip to Craig with a carload of the union's members for example.

Other speakers at the rally included Craig City Councilwoman Charlotte Kraft, UMWA International representative Dallas Wolfe, UMWA staff member Joe Drexler, Fred Lupc from UMWA District 22, and UMWA Local 1799 President Floyd Gutierrez, who chaired the event.

Following the rally, discussions on the state of the labor movement continued between striking miners and their guests at a dinner and dance.

Contributions and messages of support to the strikers should be sent to the following address: Cyprus Miners Relief Fund, 30 West Victory Way, Craig, Colorado 81625.

Nels J'Anthony is a member of UTU Local 1416. David Salner is a member of USW Local 8319.