

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Harsh realities of market system in Eastern Europe

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Miami meeting on Cuba draws large audience

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MIAMI — "1992 is going to be the most difficult year ever for the Cuban revolution," said Mary-Alice Waters.

To combat serious food shortages, "hundreds of thousands are mobilizing in voluntary work brigades to plant and harvest the crops that are crucial for survival."

Nearly 100 people packed the Pathfinder Bookstore here February 16 to hear Waters speak on the challenges facing the Cuban revolution today. Waters is the editor of *New Internationalist* and has also edited several collections of speeches by leaders of the Cuban revolution, published by Pathfinder Press. She had just returned from a two-week reporting trip in Havana.

Thousands more heard Waters discuss many of the same questions two days later during a one-hour interview with Waters broadcast twice on Radio Progreso, an increasingly popular radio station here that has become the voice of those in the Cuban community who want the U.S. government to normalize relations with Cuba.

The public meeting was the largest free-speech event ever hosted by the Militant Labor Forum in Miami. Its size was a measure of the deep-going interest in the battle being waged by the Cuban people to assure the survival of their revolution.

More than half of those attending the forum were first-generation — and a few were second-generation — immigrants from Cuba. These included a number of supporters of the Association of Workers in the Community (ATC) and the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

Both groups are made up of Cubans living in the United States who oppose the U.S. embargo and other forms of aggression that violate Cuba's right to self-determination.

Others in the audience included members of Veye Yo, a key organization in the fight for the rights of Haitian refugees; the Socialist Workers Party; the Young Socialist Alliance; and a number of trade unionists and young people. Translation was provided in both Spanish and Creole.

Andrés Gómez, national coordinator of the

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Unionists build March 22 strike solidarity rally

Stakes are high for labor movement in Caterpillar strike

BY SETH GALINSKY

The United Auto Workers union is calling on its members and other unionists to go to Peoria, Illinois, March 22 to support the strike against Caterpillar Inc., the world's largest maker of earth-moving equipment.

In a February 28 phone interview from the union's international headquarters in Detroit, UAW spokesperson Karl Mantyla stated, "We've sent a letter to UAW locals around the country urging them to come to the March 22 rally in caravans and to bring money and moral support to their union brothers and sisters."

A letter has also been sent by UAW international president Owen Bieber inviting other AFL-CIO unions to participate in the event. The rally will take place at the Peoria Civic Center at 2:00 p.m. March 22.

Unionists around the country have already begun organizing to go to the rally. Six UAW locals in Iowa are on a drive to collect food, which will be donated by a union delegation at the event. Two buses have already been reserved to take Iowa unionists to the rally.

As the strike by workers at Caterpillar heads into its fifth month, the unfolding labor battle is being watched closely by corporate owners around the world who would like to force more concessions on their employees.



Militant/Steve Craine
Striking Caterpillar workers outside picket shack by the plant in East Peoria, Illinois. United Auto Workers union sees March 22 action as part of campaign to step up the pressure on Caterpillar.

It is also being watched by working people looking for a way to defend their standard of living.

Two-thirds of the company's 16,000 unionized workers are on strike at several of Caterpillar's Illinois factories. The strike began November 4.

The London *Financial Times* wrote Feb-

ruary 26, "Bets are that the dispute could rival the seven-month [Caterpillar] strike of 1982-1983, the longest in UAW history."

The February 17 issue of *Forbes* magazine, published in New York, emphasized, "The labor war that has divided Peoria for the last three months has broad implications

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U.S. escalates threats against N. Korea

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Washington continues to escalate its propaganda campaign against North Korea. Central Intelligence Agency director Robert Gates accused North Korea of lying about its nuclear facilities in his February 25 testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

"We have information that I can't go into here in this setting," said Gates, "that suggests that they have a deception plan for hiding their nuclear capabilities."

Accusing North Korea of stalling on the question of inspection of its nuclear facilities, Gates asserted that the production of nuclear weapons by that government was imminent. When asked directly how long it would take Pyongyang to actually build such weapons, Gates replied, "We think a few months to as much as a couple of years."

Gates also raised the charge that North Korea at some point might sell nuclear materials and technology abroad.

This escalation of Washington's propaganda and thinly veiled threats against North Korea takes place in the midst of the most recent round of talks between North and South Korea on implementing agreements reached in December. The two Korean gov-

ernments signed an agreement December 13 on reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation. Delegations from the North and South signed an agreement December 31 for denuclearization of the entire Korean peninsula.

The North Korean government has always admitted it has nuclear power facilities. But it denies accusations that it is developing

nuclear power, explaining its use of nuclear power is for peaceful purposes only.

Washington, which is making a hue and cry that North Korea might soon have nuclear weapons, has for years itself maintained an arsenal of nuclear weapons in South Korea, as well as 40,000 troops. Last December

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Protests help win victory in Irish abortion rights case

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

The Irish Supreme Court ruled February 26 that it was legal for a 14-year-old rape victim to travel to Britain for an abortion. Abortion is illegal in Ireland.

This victory in the fight for women's rights came out of a series of protests following a February 17 ruling by Dublin's High Court upholding an order forbidding the young woman from leaving the country for nine months. Protests demanding that the government reverse the ruling shook Dublin. One

of these actions, held February 22, drew 8,000 demonstrators. Protests in support of the young woman also took place in London and New York.

The Supreme Court decision is a blow to right-wing opponents of abortion, who have sought to stop the well-known practice of Irish women traveling to Britain to obtain abortions. It is estimated that between 4,000 and 10,000 women from the Irish Republic went to Britain and Wales

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April 5th
in Washington, DC

March for Women's Lives

We Won't Go Back!

We Will Fight Back!

Abortion Rights & Reproductive Freedom

Poster issued by NOW for April 5 demonstration. See page 2.

NOW calls for massive pro-choice action

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

The National Organization for Women office in Washington, D.C., is filled with staff members and volunteers working to build a massive demonstration to respond to attacks on a woman's right to choose abortion. The national protest action, called "We Won't Go Back! March For Women's Lives," will take place in Washington Sunday, April 5.

The purpose of the march is "to show the nation that the supporters of safe, legal and accessible abortion and birth control are the overwhelming majority," says a National Organization for Women (NOW) fact sheet. "Thousands will march to send an unmistakable message to the nation that we won't go back, we will fight back!"

Hundreds of organizations have endorsed the action. These include organizations for women's and civil rights and civil liberties advocates. Also represented are student, professional, and religious groups, as well as national trade unions.

The march will assemble at 10 a.m. at the Ellipse, and will step off at noon, marching

past the White House. A rally will be held at the mall on 3rd Street and Madison Drive, scheduled to conclude at 5:30.

Activists are building the march throughout the United States. Bus transportation is being organized in most areas. Telephone numbers for local contacts across the country are available through the NOW office. NOW has made arrangements for reduced air fares for march participants flying to the demonstration. For tickets and reservations call 1-800-741-4384.

NOW has also reserved blocks of rooms at several Washington-area hotels. Prices start at \$69 and reservations can be made by calling Washington D.C. Accommodations at (800) 554-2220.

Those interested in building the demonstration can get organizing kits from the NOW office. Kits include a copy-ready national leaflet, complete information on the demonstration, and other organizing tools.

For more information call NOW at (202) 331-0066.



Militant/Judy Stranahan
Abortion rights demonstration in New York called by NOW in July 1991. The women's rights organization has called for a big turnout for the April 5 march.

Organizers for April 5 march getting 'tremendous response'

Activities to build the April 5 "We Won't Go Back! March For Women's Lives" national demonstration to defend a woman's right to choose abortion are getting into full swing. The march, to be held in Washington, D.C., was called by the National Organization for Women (NOW), and has been co-sponsored by hundreds of organizations throughout the United States.

"The most striking thing is that any initiatives taken to build this demonstration are met with a tremendous response," said Angel Lariscy, an abortion rights activist in New York and a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Lariscy said 60 people attended the first meeting for volunteers to build the march, held at the New York NOW office three weeks ago. "Many of those involved are young people — students who want to get involved in making the march a success. Five activists from the SUNY [State University of New York] campus in Purchase made an hour-and-a-half drive to attend the meeting."

Activists on campuses throughout New York are organizing conferences, classes, and meetings to build April 5. They are setting up tables to sign students up for buses to the march. New York NOW aims to fill 200 buses. Buses will also be going from

Columbia University, La Guardia Community College, New York University, Queens College, and many other campuses.

"People see this work as very important — it's the future of defending abortion rights and key to organizing as many people as possible to attend the April 5 mobilization," said Lariscy.

Lariscy attended a February 21-22 conference on reproductive rights at Swarthmore College near Philadelphia. Organizers hoped the meeting would give people confidence to get out and do pro-choice campaigning.

Two hundred people attended the conference activities throughout the weekend. The opening session featured Karen Bell and Bill Bell, Jr., the mother and brother of Becky Bell, an Indiana youth who died of an illegal abortion as a result of that state's law requiring parental consent for an abortion. The Bells are now speaking publicly in defense of abortion rights and against laws that restrict access to abortion.

Nell Wheeler from the Young Socialist Alliance in Washington, D.C., said in an interview she had been helping to build the April 5 march at several campuses in her area. At George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia, students at a women's center are

organizing weekly public events on the fight to defend abortion rights. The sessions over the coming weeks include presentations by NOW, the National Abortion Rights Action League, and the YSA.

"Every effort to build this action pays off," said Lariscy. "We find people are excited about the April 5 action and willing to build it. Taking the message out to

campuses and to political events is key to building a demonstration that reflects the breadth of support that exists for abortion rights. Activities such as the March 8 International Women's Day events are opportunities to draw more people into going, and also getting involved in using the remaining weeks to help organize others." — E.D.

Victory for Irish abortion rights

Continued from front page
in 1991 for abortions.

Leading the antiabortion campaign is the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children (SPUC), which was founded in England in 1967 when the government legalized abortion in that country. SPUC led the campaign in Ireland for the national referendum on abortion in 1983 that resulted in a two-thirds majority voting for an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the "right to life" of a fetus.

Since 1983, the right-wing forces have successfully pushed for legal rulings making it a crime to distribute information on abortion. One pregnancy counseling agency has been closed down, and other women's clinics have had their activities restricted. It is illegal to provide anyone with the details of abortion clinics in Britain.

An extensive underground abortion network, including an illegal telephone helpline, operates throughout Ireland. Support groups in Britain help organize transportation, accommodations, and appointments for abortions.

The case of the 14-year-old rape victim has reopened the battle over abortion in Ireland.

A recent poll published by the *Sunday Independent* showed a complete reversal of the 1983 referendum, with 66 percent favor-

ing abortion "in special circumstances" and 28 percent in favor of maintaining the current law.

News reports have noted growing confidence among abortion rights advocates. For example, some women in Dublin are openly wearing T-shirts with the illegal telephone number of the abortion hotline printed on the front and back.

The right to freely travel in order to get an abortion will be an issue when the Maastricht treaty on European political union is the subject of a national referendum in June. The treaty contains a protocol that protects the section of the constitution under which Irish women are not permitted to travel to obtain an abortion. This is despite the fact that under the Treaty of Rome, citizens of countries that are members of the European Community are guaranteed free travel and access to any services, including abortion, that are legal in other member states.

Dublin officials have expressed concern that because of the abortion issue, the treaty could be voted down. Without the treaty Ireland, one of the poorest nations in Europe, stands to lose hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies from the European Community.

Anne Howie from London contributed to this article.

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Pathfinder books are well received at Havana book fair

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

HAVANA, Cuba — Eighty thousand people visited the Fifth International Book Fair, held here February 4–10. The event, held every two years, draws publishers from around the world.

In the course of the week, several thousands of these visitors stopped by the Pathfinder booth. Many of them asked about politics in imperialist countries like the United States. Accurate information on this is not easy to come by in Cuba, and many were clearly surprised to learn of the depth of the social crisis affecting broad layers of the population in the world's richest countries.

The Pathfinder team — volunteers from Australia, Canada, and Sweden — had a big poster of the Pathfinder mural on display at the stand. It proved to be an excellent place to start to explain the political situation in the United States and, by extension, in the other imperialist countries.

People would ask, "How is it possible to put up such a mural in the United States?" recounted Catharina Tirsén, a Pathfinder representative from Sweden. For many Cubans, the concept of winning a hearing in the United States, or in Sweden for that matter, for the writings and speeches of revolutionary leaders is hard to imagine.

"So we would use the poster of the mural on the one hand," explained Michel Dugré of Pathfinder in Canada, "and pictures of Mark Curtis and Larry Milton, two victims of sadistic police brutality in Des Moines, on the other. We explained that both are part of politics in the United States. And both breed further reactions. We explained that you have to understand both things and their dynamics at the same time."

Another big discussion at the book stand was on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, reports Marnie Kennedy of Pathfinder in Australia. Among the hundred-odd titles on display in the Pathfinder booth was a copy of a book recently published in Spanish, *La revolución traicionada* (The Revolution Betrayed) by Leon Trotsky. Many people who came by the Pathfinder booth were interested in this book.

When they learned that the Pathfinder titles were not available for sale in Cuba due to the problems of currency convertibility, several sat down and read this and other books, returning each day to read a few chapters.

Many others asked for works in Spanish by Nelson Mandela, and particularly by Malcolm X, whose books were probably the single most-asked-for item.

A number said they had read Alex Haley's



Militant/Michael Baumann

Thousands of visitors stopped by Pathfinder booth at book fair in Cuba

biography of Malcolm X, which was published here in Spanish translation in the mid-1970s. But most had no idea there were so many books by Malcolm X — "Malcolm speaking for himself," as one person put it.

Following the fair, all Pathfinder books on the booth were donated to the libraries of two major cultural institutions here, Casa de las Américas and the National Union of Writers and Artists.

Miami meeting on Cuba draws large audience

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Antonio Maceo Brigade and editor of its publication *Areíto*, opened the meeting by welcoming Waters to Miami and extending greetings from both the Brigade and the ATC. He also participated with Waters on the Radio Progreso program.

The ATC has grown rapidly in the last few years, especially among younger Cubans who have recently emigrated to the United States. The organization now claims more than 600 members and has been carrying out a number of public activities in Miami, including two demonstrations of several hundred people each and a petition campaign calling on the U.S. government to change its policies toward Cuba.

According to organizers of the campaign they have already collected 20,000 signatures through weekly petitioning on the streets in Miami's Cuban community.

The activities of the ATC, and those of other political groups in Miami that are increasingly vocal in demanding an open debate and freedom for all points of view to be expressed, are clear indications of the political changes in the Cuban population in the United States. The popularity of Radio Progreso is another reflection of this shifting relationship of forces. In the year it has been broadcasting, Radio Progreso has become one of the city's most popular Spanish-language stations.

Widespread shortages

In both the forum talk and radio interview, Waters described how Cubans are confronting shortages in everything from fuel to food and spare parts. The immediate hardships stem from drastic cuts in goods shipped from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The unrelenting 30-year U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba, however, is the reason why Cuba's trade relations were distorted and reorienting them is so difficult.

In the last 24 months the value of goods imported by Cuba has been cut by more than half. Even that figure understates the reality, Waters pointed out, "because until the last few months one of the main imports — oil — had continued to come in fairly regularly." Other vital imports, particularly food, and animal fodder, have been slashed even more.

"In 1991 less than 50 percent of the foodstuffs that were contracted for in trade arrangements with the Soviet Union actually arrived in Cuba," Waters reported. "And none of the rice that was expected, none of the frozen fish, none of the canned meat, none of the raw materials for the production of soap and detergent. Absolutely zero. Only

one-fifth of the fertilizer that had been contracted for was delivered.

"And that was 1991 — a good year compared to what is expected in 1992."

In 1991, when Cuba still enjoyed relatively favorable terms of trade with the Soviet Union, the revolutionary government was able to exchange one ton of sugar for about four tons of oil. Today, trading in convertible currencies at world market prices, Waters reported, Cuba will be able to purchase only 1.3 tons of oil for each ton of sugar. In addition, it now has to pay the transport costs in hard currency.

"But purchasing oil from Russia even on those terms is far from certain," Waters added. "We were told in Cuba that [the president of Russia, Boris] Yeltsin, in conjunction with his recent visit to Washington, Paris, and other capitals, informed those who control the purse strings in the imperialist centers that Russia will not fulfill the terms of its oil contract with Cuba for the first six months of 1992."

Economic development stalled

Many of the plans for development of the economy have had to be put on hold. The highest-priority construction projects continue, although with disruptions. But almost all other construction has stopped.

Some of the most productive of the special construction contingents — which were the political vanguard of the Cuban working class for the last couple of years, setting the highest norms of productivity, quality, and team methods of work — have been disbanded because materials are no longer available for the projects they were working on.

Some contingents have been reorganized for work in agriculture, with the same political perspective and the same spirit, Waters said. But many factories are on short hours and some are closed altogether.

"The most important thing being done in Cuba today in the attempt to confront this situation is the mobilization of voluntary labor," Waters said.

"It's the way every single Cuban citizen can have an impact on what is happening and affect the conditions of life for everyone." In the production of food, the impact of the voluntary brigades is "already being felt."

There is "great uncertainty about what's going to happen. People don't know whether there will be electricity in Havana next month, or the month after that, or whether there will have to be blackouts in Havana, as there are already in other cities.

"They know it will take time to qualitatively alter the production and availability of

food, that it can't be done in a few months. But among broad layers of Cubans," she stressed, "there is also a sense of determination and pride — that people in Cuba will be able to meet this challenge and emerge stronger than before, more independent than ever."

Waters contrasted the situation in Cuba to that in other countries in Latin America. "There is not as much food in Cuba as there was two years ago," she said. "But there is still ample food for everybody and it is distributed equitably through the rationing system. Moreover, there is more food grown and processed in Cuba than there used to be.

"It may not be what you most want to eat any particular day, but no one is begging in the streets for food. No one is starving; there are no homeless, ragged, or malnourished children imploring visitors for food or money — conditions everyone knows exist throughout all the rest of Latin America."

'We will never go back to capitalism'

It is the exact opposite of what is happening in the United States, Waters pointed out, where ruling-class politicians use the growing economic crisis capitalism has produced, and which these policies have exacerbated, as a pretext to reduce access to education, housing, and medical care. "In Cuba these services remain a very high priority, along with equal distribution of food and continued pay for laid-off workers."

These gains will not be given up lightly, Waters said. "People say, 'We will never go back to capitalism. We know what capitalism is; we know what it does to human beings. We know what it would mean for our children, for their education and health care, for their human values.'"

There is outrage, she said, that Washington, for the first time in years, is allowing terrorist groups based in the United States to launch armed actions and sabotage operations within Cuba. "The reaction of people in Cuba is to demand the harshest punishment under law — and correctly so — for those responsible for the attempt to destroy important economic centers, and for the criminals who recently killed four policemen while trying to steal a boat from a children's entertainment camp."

In Cuba, Waters attended the Fifth International Book Fair, where Pathfinder was among the exhibitors (see accompanying article). The six-day fair, open to the public every day without restrictions, provided an opportunity to talk with hundreds of Cuban working people and students.

The discussions indicated some hotly de-

bated topics in Cuba and a range of opinions on them. These included the accelerated development of tourism as a source of hard currency; reasons for the collapse of the regimes of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; the recent banning of a film satirizing Cuba's bureaucrats; and the adequacy of news coverage in the Cuban press and television.

Significance of Buchanan campaign

Many also wanted to discuss what was happening in U.S. politics, Waters told Radio Progreso. "The greatest interest was in Malcolm X," she said. "People were amazed to see so many books by Malcolm and to learn that they sold so well.

"They also wanted to discuss the U.S. presidential election campaign. We explained that the Buchanan campaign represents the most significant development in the presidential elections this year. The Democratic candidates, co-responsible for the bipartisan shift to the right in domestic policy, offer no alternative to Bush. Buchanan appears to many to do so. He taps the deep anxiety and insecurity among middle-class U.S. citizens generated by the depth of the economic and social crisis.

"We would explain that Buchanan's support doesn't just fall from the sky. The fact that he can win a substantial vote, with a radical program that smells of Joseph McCarthy and the clerical fascism of Spain's former dictator Francisco Franco, comes from what we have been living through in this country for the last 15 years. The standard of living of the average worker in the United States has been falling steadily for more than a decade. Health care, education, housing, and social services of every kind are in growing crisis. Government and employer attacks on affirmative action continue to be pushed, along with violent attacks on Blacks and immigrants, by fascist-minded gangs and cops. Everyone knows that, when we come out of this cyclical recession, we will still be worse off than before."

Many of these facts are not well known in Cuba, Waters noted. But "there was great interest in what we had to say.

"Some people had heard of Buchanan but didn't know what he represented. The fact that he speaks for layers of the middle class that are very disturbed because they see their standard of living falling, and fear what they view as competition from immigrant workers, made sense. People could understand that when Buchanan starts speaking out against non-white, non-Christian immigrants — 'the Zulus,' as he says explicitly

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Montreal cops protest brutality charges

BY ROSEMARY RAY

MONTREAL — Some 2,500 uniformed Montreal cops took to the streets February 13 in a massive show of force demanding the resignation of the city's police chief, Alain Saint-Germain. They denounced his mild criticisms, made under public pressure, of the cop killing of a young Black man, Marcellus François.

Organized by the 4,500 member Police Brotherhood union, the demonstration was called a "March for Respect."

As they descended down St. Denis Street toward the city center, the marching cops were joined at each street intersection by dozens of on-duty cop patrol cars with their sirens wailing in solidarity.

The cops organized the demonstration in reaction to Saint-Germain's public disclosure of an internal police report. The report was critical of a police SWAT team operation on the night of July 3, 1991, in which seven cop

cars ambushed François's car. The cops later described the shooting of François as a case of "mistaken identity."

Saint-Germain described the SWAT ambush as "a series of errors of judgement." No disciplinary action was taken against Michel Tremblay, the cop who killed François. He was transferred out of the SWAT team to a desk job.

Saint-Germain's criticisms and the job transfer of Tremblay met with an angry response from the Police Brotherhood. Yves Prud'homme, president of the Police Brotherhood, described Saint-Germain as a bureaucrat with no experience as a beat cop and said Saint-Germain "has no police blood coursing through his veins" and "lacks backbone."

Racist slurs

Responding to charges that the shooting of François was a racist murder, Saint-

Germain's report declared, "The Marcellus François event was not a racist event." But during a coroner's inquest into François's death, when tapes were played of SWAT team communications recorded seconds before François was killed, cops were heard referring to Blacks as "niggers, darkies, coloreds, tam-tams."

As the cops marched by the University of Quebec at Montreal, they were met by 70 people, mainly students, who were protesting against cop brutality. They chanted, "Zero Tolerance of Rambo Cops" and waved signs that said, "Black, White, Red, Yellow: Police Repression is Constant." One sign said, "Griffin, Prestley, François: Murdered by Cops Full of Prejudice." These are the names of some of the Blacks that have been killed by the cops.

Charlene Nero, an organizer of the protest against the cops and copresident of the Concordia University Students Organization,

said during the protest, "Not only do the cops think they are the law, they think they are above the law."

A right-wing, anti-immigrant outfit called S.O.S. Genocide was cheered by the cops as they joined the cop demonstration carrying signs that said, "Immigration Equals Unemployment" and "Immigrants: Respect Our Laws and Our Police."

Saint-Germain's report comes in the wake of several protests over the past several years against increased police brutality. Leaders of Black organizations in Montreal have demanded that criminal charges be brought against the cops who shot François.

The Quebec Commissioner of Police Ethics office reported that it has received 1,077 complaints of police misconduct in the last 17 months. Nine men were killed by cops in Quebec in 1991.

The cop demonstration has provoked conflicting reactions in the ruling circles of Montreal. In an attempt to downplay the racist nature of the demonstration, some city officials have dismissed it as simply a pressure tactic by the cops to get a new contract. The cops have been without a contract for two years.

The editors of the Montreal daily *Gazette* have expressed concern for the declining public confidence in the police force and have written several editorials critical of the cops' public protests. A February 15 *Gazette* editorial called on the premier of Quebec to "energetically denounce" the police protests. The *Gazette* described the cop demonstration as a "spectacle of uniformed police officers massed in the streets attempting to intimidate the civil authority." The editorial called on the public to "rally behind" the police chief in his "laudable drive for a more open, responsive and representative police force."

The cops themselves are trying to cover up their racism and brutality by saying that Saint-Germain should stand up to the city politicians and demand larger budgets for police operations. The cops say that "mistakes" like the killing of François happen because they suffer from "understaffing, inadequate equipment and poor training."

Connecticut cop kills unarmed 14-year-old

BY WILL WILKIN

EAST HARTFORD, Connecticut — A plainclothes cop killed an unarmed 14-year-old youth here February 14, by firing a bullet into his abdomen at close range. The officer had chased Eric Reyes half a mile before catching up with him, firing at least one warning shot.

When the officer, William Proulx, applied a choke hold, Reyes's friends arrived and tried to pry the cop away, thinking the teenager was being attacked by a stranger. One of the youths involved in the incident said that the cop told Reyes during the struggle, "You're gonna be the first Puerto Rican to die in East Hartford."

Proulx, through his lawyer, gave his account of the killing, saying Reyes took the gun from the cop's pocket and was holding the barrel toward himself. Proulx admits only that as he reached to take the gun away, he "instinctively" pulled the trigger. East Hartford police chief James Shay said at a press conference that backup officers handcuffed Reyes after he was shot "because he continued to struggle."

Eyewitnesses told a different story. Angela Jackson Carter, a resident of the apartment complex where Reyes was killed, told the *Courant*. "The boy was in between his [the cop's] legs. He shot him one time, then he pointed the gun toward the kids. He shot at them."

On February 20, residents of the Hockanum Park housing project, where Reyes lived, angrily confronted Chief Shay at a meeting. As a result, Shay released police department records on Proulx. Proulx had five brutality complaints in eight years, all dismissed by the police department as "unjustified."

Proulx had been assigned to find Reyes, who left the Long Lane reform school in nearby Middletown. Escapes from Long Lane are routine — 253 in 1991 — and officials at the school attribute this to extreme overcrowding. There are currently 211 youths there despite a capacity of 146.

School officials emphasize that Long Lane is supposed to be "a treatment center, not a prison," but acknowledge oppressive conditions for the youth there, such as

"stripping their rooms of their belongings and street clothes — leaving them only pajamas — to discourage them from running away again."

One of Reyes' friends said in an interview, "Just because he escaped from Long Lane, he [Proulx] doesn't have a right to shoot him."

Elsewhere in Connecticut, 100 protesters gathered February 22 at the Norwalk police station to protest a similar incident. Norwalk police had chased a car carrying four young Black men into the city of Bridgeport, where they fired 17 times at the vehicle. The car then skidded off an embankment and into a creek. Two of the occupants of the car, including a 12-year-old, drowned; one other was hospitalized with bullet wounds.

After a rally outside the police station the marchers moved inside chanting, "No justice, no peace." They demanded that the officers involved in the incident be fired.

Death rate doubles for those held in police custody in New Zealand

BY AGNES SULLIVAN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — The rate of deaths for people in police custody in New Zealand has more than doubled in the last two years. Between 1980 and 1991, 49 deaths reported as suicides occurred in police cells and 53 in prison cells. In 1990 alone there were nine deaths labeled police-cell suicides, and another seven in 1991. New Zealand's population is less than 3.5 million.

In the first six weeks of 1992, two prisoners died in police cells. One was only 17 years old. Another prisoner, Joseph Horua, died in an isolation ward at Paremoro maximum security prison. According to prison officials, he suffered a heart attack. However, a former Paremoro prisoner has charged that Horua was severely beaten by a prison officer just before he died.

A spotlight was put on these deaths in early February when New Labour Party leader Jim Anderton denounced the "scandalous" rate of prison suicides. Anderton has called for a government commission of inquiry into these deaths.

Anderton, who is member of parliament for Sydenham, a working-class suburb of Christchurch, had been asked to investigate the February 1990 death of Shane Griffiths in the Christchurch central police station. Griffiths, 24, was arrested on a charge of stealing a bottle of whisky from a city hotel.

After his arrest Griffiths phoned his mother from the police station to tell her he was all right. An hour later he phoned again in a distressed state. His mother then went to the station but was not allowed to see her son. Griffiths reportedly hanged himself while she was there waiting to see him.

Griffiths's mother has consistently maintained that her son did not have suicidal tendencies. The police officer who refused her access to her son has been "counseled" by a superior.

Minister of Justice Doug Graham and Minister of Police John Banks have both said an inquiry is not warranted. However, Prime Minister Jim Bolger has been forced to take

nominal action by including what he called the "unacceptably high" custodial suicide rate in a vaguely proposed review of penal policy. Police nationally have asked for nearly NZ\$1 million (US\$540,000) for "suicide-proof" cells.

Victory against police violence in Philadelphia

BY CRAIG McKISSIC

PHILADELPHIA — A victory against police brutality was won here following an out-of-court settlement between the city of Philadelphia and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP).

Last September 3,000 people gathered to protest the visit here of President George Bush. After a few members of ACT-UP peacefully crossed the police line in an act of civil disobedience, a violent melee ensued as cops began clubbing people with nightsticks and shouting antigay epithets. Several demonstrators required medical attention. Three members of ACT-UP were presented a list of 10 felony and misdemeanor charges.

Under the terms of the settlement, the City of Philadelphia will pay a total of \$76,500 to 14 individuals and six organizations. Due to opposition from forces inside city government, ACT-UP will not receive any money as a group. ACT-UP's share will be given to We the People, a coalition that provides treatment and care facilities to people with AIDS.

The city also agreed to the terms of a consent decree which holds the city responsible for honoring the First Amendment rights of demonstrators and not to "use any unnecessary force against any person involved in or associated with any demonstration, protest or public gathering in the City of Philadelphia."

The Fraternal Order of Police attempted to block the settlement by challenging the consent decree. They maintain that the decree will impede police work.

Protests over acquittal of killer cop continue in Teaneck, New Jersey



High school students demonstrating February 12 in Hackensack, New Jersey, to protest acquittal of cop who killed Phillip Pannell. Protests against verdict continue.

BY DAVE HURST

TEANECK, New Jersey — Close to 300 opponents of police brutality marched through the rain here February 15 to voice their anger and frustration at the acquittal of Teaneck officer Gary Spath a few days earlier. Spath was acquitted of reckless manslaughter in the April 10, 1990, shooting death of Black teenager Phillip Pannell.

As the crowd marched, they chanted, "No justice, no peace!" and "Gary Spath — Guilty!" This was the third protest in a week by supporters of the Pannell family's fight for justice. Protesters came from Teaneck, Hackensack, Newark, and Plainfield, New Jersey. There were also two busloads from Brooklyn and Harlem in New York City. Some of the marchers had participated in a walkout of students from Hackensack High

School a few days earlier.

The rally was addressed by Phillip Pannell, Sr., father of the slain youth, who caught the mood of the crowd when he said, "I just want to tell Gary Spath, it's not over. It's not going to be over until we get some justice." The U.S. Attorney's office for New Jersey is currently studying the case to see if the slain teenager's civil rights were violated by the cops involved in the shooting.

Other speakers included Sharon Mayse of Newark and Venus Hannah of Plainfield, who each had children killed by police in New Jersey; Moses Stewart, whose son Yusuf Hawkins was killed by a racist mob in Brooklyn in 1989; and Black community figures such as Al Sharpton, Herbert Daughtry, and Keith Muhammad of the Nation of Islam.

Activists begin organizing drive for Mark Curtis Parole Now! Fund appeal

BY BILL KALMAN

DES MOINES, Iowa — A dozen supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee met here last week to begin organizing the Mark Curtis Parole Now! Fund.

This fund was launched after Mark Curtis's recent court victory against two Des Moines cops who beat him when he was arrested March 4, 1988. Curtis, a former packinghouse worker, was framed up on rape and burglary charges.

The defense committee meeting was held at the home of Harold Ruggless, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 270.

The committee recently decided to eliminate the position of a full-time staffperson and to move out of its office. This move accomplished two things. Money spent on rent, office maintenance, and staff costs can now be used to pay legal expenses, including the upcoming federal appeal of Curtis's conviction. In addition, plans have been made to produce new literature explaining the im-

portant developments in the fight for justice for Curtis.

Secondly, with no full-time office coordinator, all the responsibilities of keeping the defense committee running now rest on the entire committee.

At the first work meeting, everyone was assigned to one of three teams. Working around the dining room table was the mailing team, which sent out a 400-piece selected international fund-raising mailing, including a copy of Judge Charles Wolle's decision that Curtis's constitutional rights were violated by Des Moines cops.

Larry Johnston, a member of Local 764 of the International Association of Machinists in Vancouver, British Columbia, spent a week in Des Moines working with the defense committee. He helped organize the mailing. Johnston explained, "It really felt good getting in there and doing the work. We accomplished a lot."

Three activists spent an hour opening the



Militant/Samad Irvani

Mark Curtis Defense Committee literature on display at 1990 Nelson Mandela rally in New York City. Curtis Parole Now! Fund is at center of defense committee efforts.

week's mail and organizing a new ordering system that will allow Curtis's supporters in other cities to receive materials more quickly.

The third team set up shop in the living room to divide up the list of pledges made at the February 8 victory rally held in Des Moines. Maurice Williams, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local

50N in Marshalltown, Iowa, coordinated this effort.

The defense committee plans to organize these work meetings every week. Once a month, the committee will sponsor a broader public meeting to discuss defense effort perspectives. The work meetings will be held in the homes of supporters, in public libraries, and community centers.

Activists in the defense committee are confident that broad public support can be won and that the Parole Now! Fund can be completed. Priscilla Schenk, an activist in the defense committee, explained, "Mark Curtis won a victory against the cops who beat him, a victory which helps all fighters against police brutality. It opens more opportunities for us to explain the full story of the frame-up. In this light, we are reorganizing the defense campaign to involve as many people as possible and taking the Curtis fight to other political struggles. This effort will ensure that we build the maximum possible support. We're striking while the iron is hot."

So far \$9,750 has been collected for the fund.

Unionists build March 22 rally

Continued from front page

for labor relations throughout the country, but especially in Detroit."

The dispute centers on Caterpillar's refusal to accept a pattern agreement in line with the contract the UAW recently signed with Deere and Co. The UAW first signed a full-fledged pattern agreement with the earth-moving giant in 1958, and successfully fended off the company's 1982 attempt to get out of the pattern.

The three-year Deere agreement includes a 3 percent wage increase in the first year and 3 percent lump sum bonuses in the second and third years.

The UAW "cannot afford to flinch," said the *Financial Times*. "If a Caterpillar precedent is set that breaks the tradition of pattern agreements, it could face a demand from the car makers to re-open negotiations and thereby risk having its power undermined."

UAW spokesperson Mantyla said there have been no bargaining sessions since February 19.

"We raised a lot of questions with Cat at that session," Mantyla stated. "We asked why they had hired what we call 'rent-a-thugs' from Vance International. And they did not answer any of our questions."

Mantyla noted that during the 1982-83 strike Caterpillar did not make use of outside security. "Our picket lines have been peaceful and disciplined," he said.

Vance International is notorious for its union-busting activities. It was hired by the owners of Pittston coal company, Greyhound, and the New York *Daily News* during strikes at those companies.

"It seemed like we had a good relationship with the Caterpillar management over the past half dozen years," Mantyla said. "There appeared to be an interest in recognizing the contribution workers made to higher productivity."

"But now all they talk about is so-called 'global competitiveness,' that they have to slash to be competitive, that workers must get less," he said.

In a recent move against the strike, Caterpillar won a restraining order limiting the

UAW to five pickets outside the main entrances at plants in East Peoria and Mossville, Illinois.

The temporary injunction was granted soon after Caterpillar management complained that 75 strikers had threatened them at the main assembly plant in East Peoria February 24.

"The mere numbers [of union members] make it difficult to peacefully picket," claimed the U.S. circuit judge when granting the order.

Students and striking unionists buy 'Militant'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Over the past week the *Militant* has received a warm response when offered to striking unionists on picket lines and to student activists.

In Coshocton, Ohio, where members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 7014 conducted a just-concluded eight-month strike against Clow Water Systems, several strikers chipped in to buy a paper after reading reprints of the *Militant's* coverage of the USWA strike in Ravenswood, West Virginia.

"I'd like to shake the hand of the person who thought of putting out this paper," commented a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union who had joined the striking steelworkers at a solidarity event outside the plant.

Militant distributors who are members of the United Auto Workers union (UAW) in New York City reported some of the best results last week. They sold 8 *Militants*, 3 subscriptions, 4 copies of the book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro, and 10 copies of the *International Socialist Review*, which features the article "Origins of the myth of race." In Cleveland supporters of the paper sold 10 *Militants* and 3 books to UAW members.

Members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union on strike against a government-owned uranium enrichment plant in Piketon, Ohio, bought two copies of the paper.

In Pittsburgh at a Black History Month event held at the University of Pittsburgh, *Militant* distributors sold 22 papers. Salesperson Dick Geyer reports that many who purchased copies were interested in the article on the myth of race.

At La Guardia Community College in Queens, New York, supporters of the *Militant* have been selling papers and setting up weekly literature tables. Dean Athans, a participant in a number of these teams, reports

that one week his team sold 5 *Militants* and one renewal subscription in just 40 minutes. The following week 8 *Militants*, 1 *Perspectiva Mundial*, and three books were sold in about an hour.

Three students purchasing papers were veterans of last year's Gulf war and expressed interest in the *Militant's* analysis of the U.S. government's drive against Iraq. Another who had been stationed in Saudi Arabia during the U.S. bombing of Iraq invited the socialists to come back for discussions with members of the campus veterans club.

More than 1,400 copies of the *Internation*

ational Socialist Review have been sent to distributors during the past two weeks since it was reprinted separately from the *Militant*. Additional copies are still available and can be ordered from the *Militant* business office for 35 cents each for bundles of five or more.

This week's "Sales to industrial unionists" chart is based on reports received from 17 cities in the United States and 3 in Canada.

Those contributing to this article include: Michael Italie, member of USWA Local 14919, and Don Mackle, member of USWA Local 1170, in Cleveland; and Dean Athans in New York.

Sales to industrial unionists, Jan. 18-March 19

Union	Weekly sales goal	No. sold Militant #8*	Percentage sold of weekly goal	Subscription renewal goal	No. of renewals sold	'How Far We Slaves Have Come!' book goal	No. of books sold
U.S.							
ACTWU	20	6	30	12	6	25	8
IAM	60	22	37	30	14	55	19
ILGWU	14	1	7	3	4	15	2
OCAW	40	11	28	19	13	50	34
UAW	40	32	80	20	13	40	43
UFCW	40	8	20	20	5	25	8
UMWA	8	10	125	7	4	17	14
USWA	45	10	22	30	7	30	11
UTU	45	8	18	35	8	30	6
U.S. Totals	312	108	35	176	74	287	145
Canada							
ACTWU	3	0	0				
CAW	4	7	175				
IAM	5	3	60				
ILGWU	5	2	40				
USWA	4	7	175				
Canada Totals	21	19	90				

* Includes copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'internationaliste* sold this week.

Labor's history

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Irish activists murdered by cop

BY HELEN WARNOCK

MANCHESTER, England — An off-duty member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) gunned down three political activists in the offices of Sinn Fein in Belfast, Northern Ireland, February 4. Firing a shotgun, the cop killed Pat Loughran, Michael O'Dwyer, and Pat McBride. Two others were wounded.

Sinn Fein leader and Member of Parliament Gerry Adams said he would have been in the building at the time of the attack but had been detained by police for 15 minutes at a nearby security post. Sinn Fein is a republican political party that actively opposes British occupation of the north of Ireland and is for the unification of the country.

"When you get the type of climate of opinion that has been created in this situation, where Sinn Fein is censored and demonized, it's hardly surprising that some people think they can kill Sinn Fein supporters," Adams told the press minutes after the attack.



British soldier in Belfast. New revelations show British Army intelligence encouraged right-wing bombing campaign.

Although a Sinn Fein statement and initial press reports said at least two gunmen were involved, police put the number at only one.

James Alan Moore, a member of the RUC's Mobile Support Unit, was reported to have claimed responsibility for the attack in a phone call to the RUC shortly after the shooting. Moore was later found dead and police are treating his death as suicide.

This latest incident comes at a time of growing discussion on the role of the British Army in the North of Ireland, following the recent trial in which British Military Intelligence agent Brian Nelson was convicted of five charges of conspiracy to commit murder. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. The affair was reported in the press as "The Army's Watergate."

In a deal with the Crown Prosecution Service, two charges of murder against Nelson were dropped. David McKittrick, writing in the *Independent*, said, "The fact that a legal deal was done in the Nelson case has meant that the media and the public have gained only a glimpse of what happened. Suspicions will always remain about what dark secrets were kept under wraps."

During the trial Nelson revealed that while in the pay of the Army and with their full knowledge he acted as head of intelligence for the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), a right-wing terror group. He said his task was, "to build an efficient intelligence network to enable it [the UDA] to properly target known republicans for possible execution."

Maura McDaid, whose husband was killed by the UDA, was reported as saying that British intelligence was, "worse than the paramilitaries" and that Nelson and his handlers should be tried for murder.

Another fact revealed during the trial was that army intelligence encouraged the UDA to mount a bombing campaign south of the border, with the aim of winning the Irish government to support extending extradition agreements with Britain.

The Nelson trial was a result of the Stevens Inquiry, a commission set up in 1989 to examine links between the paramilitary and security forces. Before his arrest Nelson handed over all the UDA intelligence files to the army for safekeeping. They were then



Militant/Jonathan Silberman
Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams narrowly missed being at scene of attack.

hidden from the Stevens Inquiry for four months until Nelson admitted their existence.

Helen Warnock is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union.

Recession is Britain's longest since World War II

Figures for Britain's gross domestic product for the last three months of 1991 confirm the country is in its longest recession since World War II.

Excluding oil and gas production, the economy shrank for the sixth consecutive quarter. The slowdown is not as deep as the recession in the early 1980s, when despite some quarters of growth the economy shrank overall for two consecutive years.

Cholera epidemic sweeps through Latin America

At least 322,000 people have been infected with cholera in Peru during the last year, with 2,900 deaths reported. The epidemic has spread to 13 other Latin American countries.

One person died and at least five others became ill with cholera after arriving in Los Angeles February 14 on a flight from Argentina that stopped over in Peru. More than 20 passengers reported cholera-like symptoms. The disease is transmitted through fecal matter or food.

European Community postpones vote on recognition of Macedonia

Bowing to pressure from the government of Greece the European Community (EC) has postponed recognizing the independence of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. So far, only Bulgaria and Turkey have recognized the republic.

The Greek government insists Macedonia must change its name, otherwise it will veto EC recognition. Athens, which claims Macedonia is historically a Greek name, fears demands for rights among ethnic Macedonians in northern Greece. Many in the Greek capitalist class have in the past raised territorial claims against the southern parts of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria where the majority of the Macedonian nationality lives.

Women from North and South Korea hold conference in Seoul

Delegates from North and South Korea gathered in Seoul November 26-30 for the South-North Women's Conference, "Peace in Asia, the Role of Women." Fifteen women delegates from North Korea attended, including Ryo Yon-Ku, the deputy chair of the Supreme People's Assembly.

The conference was significant because it was the first such meeting between women from the two parts of Korea since the division of the country more than 40 years ago. The delegation from the North had to return home ahead of schedule due to the fact that the South Korean government prohibited them from attending a rally at Ewha Women's University, which thousands were expected to attend.

Washington says Israel must halt settlements to get loan guarantees

U.S. secretary of state James Baker announced February 24 that Washington would back the Israeli request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees only if Tel Aviv agreed to freeze all construction of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza strip.

If the Israeli government of Yitzhak Shamir felt that it could not accept a total freeze on settlements the White House was prepared to offer a compromise: a far smaller amount in loan guarantees for one year at a time, on the condition that only those settlements now under construction are completed.

Shamir responded by saying he would not stop new settlements "even for a day."

Vietnamese gov't wants money to accept Hong Kong refugees

The government of Vietnam told London that it wants a per capita payment for accepting Vietnamese refugees scheduled for deportation from Hong Kong, which is a British colony.

More than 54,000 Vietnamese seeking asylum are held in the colony's detention centers. Hanoi had earlier signed an accord with the British government agreeing to the forced repatriation of thousands of these refugees. London intended to ship 2,000 per month to Vietnam, but the latest request for funds has stalled the program.

Fraud trial jury deadlocks over Mexican workers' case

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa — A Marshalltown fraud trial involving three undocumented Mexican packinghouse workers charged with illegally collecting Iowa unemployment pay ended on January 17, when the judge declared a mistrial.

District Associate Judge Sandra Holiend dismissed the jury, which was deadlocked on a vote of seven for a guilty verdict and five opposed.

The three workers were employed at the Monfort meat-packing plant in Marshalltown when a layoff of workers occurred last summer. Monfort management told all the laid-off workers that they could file for unemployment.

On November 14 Immigration and Naturalization Service agents, along with federal marshalls and local police, raided the Monfort plant and arrested the three workers for being in the United States without the proper documents.

Subsequently, state charges of fraud were filed against them for collecting a total of \$980 in unemployment benefits during the summer layoff.

Two of the workers, Javier and Silvia Rincon, have three children and are buying a home on contract in Marshalltown. They have been held in jail in lieu of \$1,300 bond while other family members and church groups keep their children supplied with food and other necessities. A \$5,000 bond is being placed against them by the immigration authorities. The state attorney said the three should be convicted because they knowingly made false statements.

"They took the system for a ride," said assistant Marshall County attorney Paul Crawford in his final argument.

Defense attorney Luis Herrera said the three did not understand the documents they were asked to sign and no one translated them

into Spanish. None of the forms were in Spanish. One Mexican worker commented, "This is just another government rip-off. 'Illegals' can't collect income tax refunds although they take out income tax on their checks. It's not like they were trying to beat the system because they were working. That unemployment money belongs to them; they earned it."

Maurice Williams is a member of UFCW Local #50N, and works at the Monfort packinghouse in Marshalltown, Iowa.

New Zealand government increases harassment of immigrant workers

BY IAN WESTBROOKE

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Immigrant workers in New Zealand faced stepped-up harassment by the Immigration Service during January. Officials in the Hawkes Bay region ordered eight undocumented horticultural workers from Malaysia to leave the country and threatened to continue the crackdown.

"New Zealanders must always get first preference for New Zealand jobs," said Immigration Service branch manager Grant Mudgway about the deportations.

Meanwhile, a Moroccan man was ordered to leave the country after officials refused to recognize his 10-month marriage to a New Zealand citizen.

These actions come in the wake of a tightening of immigration legislation late last year. Under new provisions prospective immigrants have to amass a certain number of "points" to be eligible for permanent residence. Points are awarded on the basis of age, educational qualifications, the amount of money being brought into the country, and

1991-92 job loss greater than in last recession

More jobs have been lost during the current economic depression than during the sharp economic downturn in 1982. Official unemployment figures mask this reality.

Unemployment soared to 10.8 percent in the 1982 recession while in 1992 it has thus far reached only an "official" rate of 7.1 percent. These figures, however, do not measure the number of discouraged jobless workers who are not counted as part of the nation's labor force. One indication of the scope of unemployment is that, since the start of the current economic downturn in June 1990, the size of the labor force declined by 1.2 million, compared with only a 125,000 drop during a similar period of the 1982 recession.

A total of 4.2 million jobs were cut in the 19 months between June 1981 and January 1983. But between June 1990 and January 1992, 4.5 million jobs have been slashed.

The Northeast has been particularly hard hit with a decline in jobs of 10 percent in New Hampshire in the last three years. New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut have posted higher job losses than in the 1982 recession.

Labor news in the Militant

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Haiti pact proposes return of Aristide, amnesty for military

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

An agreement has been signed in Washington between exiled Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and leaders of the Haitian legislature that if implemented could lead to Aristide's return, but with much diminished powers.

The February 25 accord grants amnesty to all those involved in the September 30 military coup, and calls for installing as prime minister United Communist Party leader René Théodore, who is to form an interim government to negotiate Aristide's return within "a reasonable time."

The document remains deliberately vague about when Aristide would be reinstated to the presidency. It simply calls for the need to "create the conditions for his return." Once Haiti's parliament ratifies this agreement, the economic embargo, imposed by the Organization of American States (OAS) last October, is to be lifted.

OAS-organized observers are to be sent to Haiti to monitor implementation of the accord.

Aristide continues to call for the removal and punishment of Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the army commander who led the coup. However, the pact permits Cedras to retain his top military post. Théodore has publicly condemned Aristide's calls for Cedras's removal. "What links us to President Aristide is the agreement, not what he says," commented Théodore.

'Figurehead presidency'

Many Aristide supporters have expressed sharp criticisms of these accords. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs called the agreement with leaders of Parliament "a near-total defeat for Haitian democracy."

"Aristide was effectively left with no option but to mutilate his own stature by signing away his powers in exchange for the still uncertain prospect of his restoration to what will now be a figurehead presidency," stated the council.

An unnamed Western diplomat told the *Washington Post* that the agreement is use-

less, adding that "Parliament is not a real force. Either negotiate with the people who are blocking the process, meaning the army, or force them to leave."

The fate of the current military-appointed government, headed by provisional prime minister Jean-Jacques Honorat, remains unclear under the accord.

Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Bernard Aronson hailed the agreement as "an important step forward towards the resolution of Haiti's crisis," and offered U.S. assistance in reorganizing Haiti's army and police into separate units. It was Washington that set up Haiti's current joint military and police force, which has ruled that country with an iron hand for decades.

"Democracy, barring miracles, has been lost," commented the *New York Times*, while making a call for "early ratification and carrying out of the agreement's terms."

Secretary of State James Baker, reacting cautiously, admitted that "there's some question about whether [the accord] will be acceptable to the military leadership in Haiti."

Some 200 government-organized anti-Aristide protesters attempted to storm Haiti's parliament upon announcement of the OAS agreement. Demonstration organizer Vladimir Jeanty said the legislators who signed the agreement should be arrested upon their return to Haiti.

Prime minister designate Théodore had come under criticism from the military for his continued negotiations with Aristide. On January 25 police attacked one of his political meetings, killing his bodyguard, and in February Théodore's house was fired at. Canadian and U.S. diplomats escorted Théodore to the airport to help ensure the military would not prevent him from boarding a plane to attend the Washington talks.

Though top military figures have taken no part in these negotiations, the *New York Times* reports that Lieut. Col. Joseph François, one of the central coup leaders, supports the agreement.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court voted 8-to-1 February 24 against placing on their



Thousands of Haitian refugees have packed into overcrowded boats like the one pictured above to flee repression and extreme poverty in their homeland. U.S. Supreme Court has backed Bush administration's policy of forced repatriations.

agenda an appeal of a lower court ruling that upheld the Bush administration's forced repatriations of Haitians.

In a statement filed with the Court, the U.S. Justice Department wrote, "No one in the executive branch would deny that the situation in Haiti is unfortunate," but argued that the Supreme Court lacks the constitutional authority to change the president's foreign policy.

"Our role is limited to questions of law,"

stated Justice Clarence Thomas who backed the Bush administration's arguments.

More than 16,250 Haitians have been intercepted in international waters by U.S. ships since the coup, and at least 6,400 have been returned.

The House of Representatives passed a bill February 27 permitting Haitians to remain at the Guantánamo Naval base in Cuba for six months. This measure would apply only to Haitians intercepted by the Coast Guard prior to February 5. An amendment allowing these refugees to come to the United States was overwhelmingly voted down. The White House has made clear that it plans to veto the bill.

The Coast Guard continues to return 2,000 Haitians a week. The vast majority of Haitians held at Guantánamo Bay, are scheduled to be returned within the next two-and-a-half weeks.

More than 2,500 Haitians and their supporters marched through Manchester, New Hampshire, February 15 to protest the Bush administration's forced repatriation of Haitian refugees. Participants came from Boston, New York, Montreal, and Miami. The demonstration was sponsored by the Boston-based Haitian Democratic Resistance.

In East St. Louis, Missouri, Katherine Dunham, a renowned dancer and choreographer, began a fast February 1, demanding that the U.S. government stop repatriating Haitian refugees. Dunham, 82, is an "honorary citizen" of Haiti. She vows to continue fasting until the Bush administration responds to her appeal.

On February 16, 200 people rallied in front of Dunham's house as she was carried by ambulance to St. Mary's Hospital, where she continues her fast. "This is the first time in my life that I am truly embarrassed to be an American," stated Dunham.

On February 21, a rally of 300 was held outside the hospital. Prayer vigils and civil disobedience actions have been held at the Federal Building, across the street from the hospital.

Among the participants in these events were activist Dick Gregory and several local Black elected officials, including East St. Louis mayor Gordon Bush and Illinois state representative Wyvetter Younge.

Fred Stanton, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1345 in St. Louis, and Mark Zola, a member of United Transportation Union Local 898 in Boston, contributed to this article.

Sandinista leader Ruiz completes U.S. tour

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK — Sandinista leader Henry Ruiz recently completed a tour of several cities across the United States. Ruiz, former minister of foreign cooperation in the Nicaraguan government, is a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The former guerrilla commander told a meeting at Columbia University here that he undertook the tour to help "build a new relationship with the U.S. government."

"We need to remove the worry of the U.S. government that we are the spearhead of some huge thing that they should lose sleep over," Ruiz said.

During his visit, the FSLN leader met with Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs.

Ruiz elaborated on his views in an interview with *El Diario/La Prensa*, a Spanish-language New York daily. Both Washington and the FSLN held prejudices about each other, he said. "Now we need to get to know each other."

The United States believed that the "Sandinista Front was a communist breeding ground, a center for terrorism," Ruiz stated. "On our part we labeled the United States a ruthless capitalist force, a reflection of supreme power and exploitation."

Times have changed, Ruiz said. "My party, the FSLN, only seeks a democratic regime and respect for human rights."

"Is this a threat? Nobody wants to see a catastrophe and the people of Nicaragua are no exception."

The FSLN hopes to win future elections, Ruiz said at Columbia University. "The only way to return to power is through elections."

Ruiz commented on the recent controversy in Nicaragua over actions taken by Gen. Humberto Ortega. A former member of the FSLN National Directorate, Ortega re-

mained as head of the army after the February 1990 presidential election victory of Violeta Chamorro. He was released from the FSLN's leadership body at that time. Ortega attended the FSLN's July 1991 congress, but declined nomination for reelection to the National Directorate.

On January 14 General Ortega accorded the U.S. military attaché in Managua, Lt. Col. Dennis Quinn, the Camilo Ortega Gold Medal. The medal is named after one of Ortega's brothers, who died fighting in the revolution that overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza. The award to Quinn created an uproar.

Many Sandinista supporters were outraged that "yesterday's enemy today wears the same symbol on his chest which was awarded for bravery in the struggle against the likes of him," wrote one FSLN member in the FSLN newspaper *Barricada*.

Under pressure from the ranks, FSLN leader Luis Carrión criticized General Ortega for awarding the medal. He suggested that Quinn could have been honored in some other fashion. Maybe it would be best, he said, to "create other medals."

In an open letter General Ortega called Carrión's statements "hasty." He called on previous recipients of the award to not let themselves "be confused by the radical language of an ultraleftist minority that seeks to distort the sacred sentiment of patriotism and national dignity to foster fanatical and perilous confrontation between Nicaragua and the United States."

Two members of the FSLN National Directorate, Daniel Ortega and Victor Tirado, defended giving the medal to the U.S. military attaché. At the meeting at Columbia University, Ruiz said he was not passing judgment on the debate.

At a January 24 meeting in Washington, D.C., Ruiz expressed concern that the eco-



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Henry Ruiz described debate among Sandinistas over relations between Nicaragua and Washington.

omic crisis in Nicaragua, with 50 percent unemployment and strikes by unionists, creates an unstable situation.

"Neither the Chamorro government or the FSLN have a solution to the crisis," he said, explaining that the FSLN continues to back many of the policies of the current regime.

"We used to say, 'Only the workers and peasants would go all the way.' I think it should be 'only the workers, peasants, and middle class will go all the way.'"

Aaron Ruby, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 400 in Washington, D.C., contributed to this article.

Capitalist market 'shock therapy' proves a disaster in Eastern Europe

BY SETH GALINSKY

Two years after the Polish government began "shock therapy" to open the way to capitalism, its privatization plans are a dismal failure, the economy is in disarray, and the government itself is faction-ridden and in permanent crisis.

In mid-February Warsaw announced that it was, at least temporarily, backing away from some of the harshest austerity measures it had been implementing.

"Once the country with Eastern Europe's boldest plan for dismantling the Communist economy," wrote a *New York Times* reporter February 21, "Poland has been struggling in recent months to come up with some mid-course corrections that would retain a measure of austerity but restore popular confidence in the nation's leadership."

The British *Economist*, after taking a look at Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, complains in its Sept. 21, 1991, edition that "few anticipated how complex would be the task of turning socialism into capitalism."

"Hopes for a quick transition to the market have faded," the magazine says. "Disappointment and bitterness are growing." The *Economist* article, a special feature on the prospects for capitalism in Eastern Europe, urged far harsher and more rapid moves in order to establish capitalism as it operates in the rest of the world.

Because it was the first of the workers' states to begin an attempt at introducing capitalism on a large scale, Poland is a case in point.

More slowly than planned

Warsaw began its "shock therapy" in January 1990. It ended state subsidies, lifted price controls, and made the national currency, the zloty, almost fully convertible to the dollar. Most restrictions on foreign investment were abolished.

The Polish government also began ambitious plans to sell off state-owned businesses and industry but, as the *Economist* admits, this "is going more slowly than expected."

About 70 percent of retail trade there is now in private hands. These are almost entirely small operations on the scale of mom-and-pop stores. The 1.2 million officially registered private businesses employ only 2.7 million people — an average of 2.2 per business.

The key industrial and manufacturing sections of the economy remain in state hands. According to the *Economist*, 75 to 90 percent of industrial production is state-owned in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

The problem is not the unwillingness of Warsaw and the other Eastern European regimes to sell off the factories. The big problem is there are few buyers.

The impact of the Polish government's

transition plans are no secret to millions of Polish workers and farmers. Annual inflation has reached 70 percent, there are more than 2 million unemployed — 11 percent of the population — and many businesses are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Growing disenchantment

Elections held in Poland last October reflected growing disenchantment with the market reforms. No party won a majority. The parties that won the most votes campaigned on platforms of increased government spending and help for state enterprises.

But after forming a fragile 13-party coalition, the new government continued to push ahead with the previous economic projections. In response, the Solidarity trade union's 2 million members mounted a one-hour strike January 13, protesting against the imposition of higher energy prices and other austerity measures.

The next day, 50,000 workers at aircraft factories staged a one-day strike demanding government aid for the industry.

Faced with burgeoning opposition, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski announced plans in February to guarantee minimum prices for farmers and loosen wage restrictions at some state-owned companies, while retaining other austerity measures.

The situation is not very different in its essentials in other Eastern European countries.

"When foreign businessmen first arrived by the plane-load in newly liberated Eastern Europe, the opportunities they found seemed intoxicating," the *Economist* recalls. "Capitalists were about to remake Eastern Europe from the rubble of communism. Who could fail to make money? They have now sobered up."

What went wrong?

What went wrong? Why has the process been more "complex" than anticipated?

The *Economist* headlines one section of its analysis, "Owners are the only answer." This gets right to the heart of what constitutes capitalism: the separation of the great majority from control over the means of production — the factories, mines and other engines of the economy — and the concentration of these resources in the hands of a small group, the capitalist class.

The editors of the magazine don't really care where these owners are to come from. They note that in many of the more successful cases of privatization in Eastern Europe, the former managers "literally stole the firms from the state. They sold or leased their assets to shell-companies owned by friends, or to joint ventures set up with foreign partners, in which they had some kind of stake or guarantee of employment."

This outright theft, mostly by former members of the Communist Party, the *Economist* admits, "provoked an outcry." However, it continued, this "may be the only route to rapid privatization."

The key question, the magazine argues, is the need for "a single owner, that bogeyman of communist demonology known as a capitalist."

But the problem, the article states, is that there are "too many firms, too few buyers."

This may seem odd given the existence, as the article points out, of "extremely low wages" in these countries. But the *Economist* notes the "abysmal" productivity of the factories and the fact that many potential owners are repelled by the social benefits, and in some cases workers' participation in management, at the plants that could be on the auction block.

Citing the case of Tungram, a Hungarian light bulb maker, the *Economist* reports that it reduced its work force by 4,000 after it was purchased by General Electric.

While successful in getting employees to accept "painful changes," the new manager has still "not worked out what to do with the company's vast array of social services, in-



Polish miners protest the government's economic policies in Warsaw

cluding kindergartens, schools, holiday homes and even three professional sports teams."

The manager of a state-owned plant in Poland was fired by the workers' council there, after he proposed laying off 700 workers in a bid to mimic capitalist efficiency.

"To sell a state-owned company," the *Economist* states, "the government first has to seize control back from its managers and workers, who own it in all but legal name." But this, it seems, is easier said than done.

Still more obstacles

Even if the "mass-privatisation schemes are wildly successful," the *Economist* argues, "they will not create a genuine market-economy on their own. The missing element will be an efficient financial industry, the heart of modern capitalism."

But once again there are serious obstacles. Like industry, the banks are virtually bankrupt. And private banks are not willing to lend either to what they view as unreliable state enterprises or to shaky new private ones.

To catch up with the average wage levels in Western Europe over the next 10 years, the six countries of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, would need \$420 billion a year in investment.

But this aid is not forthcoming from the major imperialist powers. Estimated aid for all of 1991 was only \$14 billion, barely a drop in the bucket.

The introduction of additional market mechanisms into these economies that continue with predominantly public ownership

Students in Iceland protest plans for gov't cutbacks in education

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — Several student protests here have demanded the government withdraw plans to impose cutbacks in education.

Two thousand students gathered at a movie theater at the University of Iceland February 13. The meeting was called by a committee that was formed to address the attacks against access to education.

As part of plans to cut back on the entire education system, the government has announced plans to increase costs for university students. The current system charges only a nominal fee, which is for processing student registration. Under the new plan a system of paying tuition will be instituted, beginning a process of students paying to finance the school system.

The university students were addressed by Icelandic foreign minister Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson. He told the students they need to accept that the current "welfare" system is now obsolete and that providing university education with only a nominal fee is a "system of waste." Representatives of the three opposition parties in Parliament also addressed the students.

Pétur Th. Oskarsson, a university student, spoke on behalf of the students. He blamed the government for "forcing university authorities to institute a system of tuition, whereby the policy of free education will be abandoned." Oskarsson said the result would be an education system like the United States where "education is a privilege of the rich."

Limits on classroom time

Later that same day 700 students, ages 13-15, walked out of classes to participate in a protest in downtown Reykjavík. They

of the major industries, far from solving the problems that existed previously, has only exacerbated the situation. Unemployment is rising, speculation is rampant, shortages of key components are endemic, production is falling, and strikes are common.

The "original preference for speed has run up against another paradox," the *Economist* says. "The need for bold action certain to disrupt the lives of millions coincides with the birth of a boisterous democracy, the biggest obstacle of such boldness."

Government leaders must be "deaf" to the human suffering that would be caused by trying to drive ahead on free-market shock therapy, the *Economist* advises. "For now they [the so-called reformers] should opt for simplicity and speed, even if the result is rough justice for many citizens."

The armchair capitalists of the *Economist* are not optimistic, though, even about their own advice.

"Every swing of the knife will be risky," the magazine warns.

Swing the knife as they will, the bureaucratic regimes in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union face huge roadblocks.

A survey in Poland published in early February showed that only 25 percent of those polled support faster privatization. Some 51 percent said they agreed that "foreign capital should be prevented from buying up Poland." And when asked to pick the best-qualified person to lead the government from a list of six well-known figures, a large majority favored "none of the above."

brought with them petitions signed by more than 4,000 people protesting attacks on primary and secondary education.

The government has announced plans to cut classroom time by more than nine hours a week at the elementary level. It also plans to implement a grading system for secondary students whereby only students with a high enough grade average can continue studies after age 16.

At the protest, 14-year-old students Lousa Hannesdóttir and Helga Jónsdóttir told the press that "with fewer hours at school there will be more homework — our education just won't be as good. The education system should stay at least at what it is now."

The minister of education accepted the petitions and addressed the students briefly. While leaving the podium, he was pelted with eggs. Four students have been expelled for the incident. He blamed teachers for "allowing the students to demonstrate," a statement he apologized for later.

One aspect of social crisis

The attacks on education here are part of broader attempts by the Icelandic government to attack the social wage of working people. Unlike in the past, workers must now pay to see a doctor.

Unemployment in the country has gone from virtually none to 2.5 percent over the past year and the employers are so far refusing to negotiate new contracts with the Federation of Workers Union. Members in this sizable union representing unskilled workers have been working without a contract since September.

Helga Rakel Halldórusdóttir and Ottó Másson contributed to this article.

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Puerto Rico unions resist bosses' attacks

U.S. colonial oppression of island underlies economic and social crisis

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — As chanting strikers and their supporters picketed by the airport here, they were greeted by a chorus of honking cars. Hundreds of working people, young and old, waved and yelled their support as they drove along the nearby highway February 8. "A lot of people are with us," remarked a striking airport worker with a grin.

Three hundred kitchen workers at Luis Muñoz Marín Airport walked off the job in mid-January when 330 coworkers were fired from Airport Catering Service. The workers prepare meals for American, Delta, British Airways, USAir, and other airlines that fly into this city.

The strikers are members of the Independent Union of Airport Workers (UITA). Besides the kitchen employees, the union organizes baggage handlers, ticket agents, and the airport shop and restaurant workers at four companies owned by businessman José Santana.

Santana bought out a bankrupt company, Sky Caterers, and hired workers who were forced to sign a statement saying they would not join a union. He then transferred work from Airport Catering Service to the non-union shop and fired the 330 unionists.

"The boss wants to divide us and break the union," explained UITA president Manuel Ortiz. "We're demanding that the company recognize our union at the other plant and rehire the fired workers."

"We have pickets at every airport entrance," added striker José Rodríguez, "even though the boss went to court and got an injunction against picketing. And we've got a lot of support from other unions."

The airport strikers have participated in other labor fights. A sizeable contingent of UITA members took part in a picket line of 500 teachers and other unionists that was held in front of the Education Department February 7.

In the largest teachers' protest in years, members of the Teachers Federation of Puerto Rico came from all over the island to demand retroactive pay raises that are owed them by law. They were joined by workers from several other unions as well as some students.

The pickets angrily chanted, "This is an indignant abuse," and "My patience has run out, pay the 89 now!" Law 89, passed in 1979, mandated a modest raise of between \$19 and \$25 a month every five years for public employees. The government has refused to pay the approved raises, alleging a lack of funds. Some teachers have not had a raise in 13 years. At the same time, teachers say, conditions in the schools are deteriorating from lack of resources.

The government now owes teachers an estimated \$40-60 million in back pay.

Teachers Federation president Renán Soto proposed that since the government claims there is no money, it should increase taxes on U.S. corporations that profit from huge federal tax breaks.

In a leaflet distributed at the rally the union explained that Law 89 stipulates wage increases for all public employees, not just teachers. "Demonstrations like this one are necessary for all those who are affected" by the law, it stated.

In Puerto Rico one out of four workers are state employees, in addition to many others who work in government-owned hotels, factories, and other enterprises. The government has joined with the employers in the drive to push down the wages and living standards of working people.

The 6,000 members of the electrical workers union UTIER have been working at the state-owned electric company for more than 30 months without a contract. Meanwhile, the government has hired subcontractors in the power plants to try to undercut the union.

"They don't want to negotiate with the union," explained Carlos, a power plant worker. "The government recently tried to send our union leaders to jail, claiming the union had caused some power blackouts. They want us to blame the union for the problems [with the stalled negotiations] instead of them."

Sugarcane workers have also faced government austerity demands. Carlos López, a steward of the Southern United Workers



Militant/Susan Apstein
Member of Teachers Federation of Puerto Rico. Teachers say government owes more than \$40 million in back pay.

Union in the southern town of Salinas, explained in a phone interview that in the current contract negotiations the state-owned Sugar Corporation had pleaded poverty. After the union threatened a strike, the company tentatively agreed to a 30-cent-an-hour raise this year, but refused any raises for the following two years of the contract.

The union, which organizes the majority of sugar workers on the island, has 10,000 members. Cane cutters currently make \$3.85 an hour, while mill workers earn about \$5 an hour. López estimated that about 1,000 sugar workers are laid off; the company claimed it would be forced to lay off more workers if it granted further pay increases. At the same time Sugar Corporation director Carlos Hernández has given himself and other top managers thousands of dollars in salary increases.

In spite of rising unemployment, the government announced February 10 that federal job-training funds for unemployed youth will be cut by 12 percent next year. Other federal social programs have also been cut.

The breakdown of the economy is reflected in other ways. The number of bankruptcies in Puerto Rico has skyrocketed, increasing by more than 500 percent in the last decade. The hospitals in two important cities, Carolina and Fajardo, are currently in bank-

ruptcy proceedings, which has led to substandard care of patients.

Puerto Rico: U.S. colony

These worsened conditions add to the underlying cause of the social and economic crisis in this country: Puerto Rico's colonial oppression by the United States.

Puerto Rico, which was under the Spanish boot for 400 years, was occupied by U.S. troops in 1898 and has been a colony of the United States ever since.

The Puerto Rican people are subject to U.S. laws, courts, cops, and military authorities over which they have no control. U.S. military bases occupy 13 percent of Puerto Rico's most arable land. Federal courts here are conducted in English even though most defendants, jurors, and judges are Spanish-speaking.

The U.S. rulers try to cover up this colonial status by calling Puerto Rico a Free Associated State or a Commonwealth. But all the fundamental questions facing the Puerto Rican people are decided in Washington, D.C. The United States Congress can overturn any decision by the island's legislature that it doesn't like.

Colonial domination has distorted Puerto Rico's economy to benefit the ruling U.S. capitalist families. Although Puerto Rico has become quite industrialized and is rich in natural resources, it must import 90 percent of its food, mainly from the United States.

Lax environmental laws have allowed companies to massively contaminate the island's waters, land, and air.

Through a law known as Section 936, U.S. corporations pay virtually no taxes. Johnson & Johnson and Coca-Cola Co., for example, each save more than \$140 million a year in tax breaks. U.S. multinationals rake in \$9 billion a year in profits.

For working people, colonial rule means an average income that is less than half that of Mississippi, the poorest U.S. state. Two out of three people in Puerto Rico live below the federal poverty line.

Unemployment is now officially 16 percent but is actually 25 to 30 percent. Another 26 percent of the workforce is officially underemployed.

These conditions have forced more than half of working people on the island to rely on federal welfare. In addition, two out of five Puerto Ricans have had to migrate to the United States in search of work and a living wage.

Since a wave of union struggles in the early 1970s, the employers and the government have gone on an offensive against the labor movement, particularly since the 1974-75 world recession. The attacks have been carried out by both colonial parties, the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP) as well as the currently ruling Popular Demo-

cratic Party (PPD), which favors the present commonwealth status. The proportion of unionized workers decreased from 20 percent in 1970 to 6 percent in 1988.

The government places great restrictions on the right of public employees to organize. It has also resorted to victimization of union activists. Thousands of union members have been placed on government "subversive lists" and targeted for harassment.

The colonial rulers have gone on an intense "anticrime" campaign to justify stepped-up use of the police and restrictions on democratic rights.

Anti-immigrant campaign

In an attempt to divide working people, the government has also whipped up a chauvinist campaign against immigrant workers, particularly Dominicans. An estimated 50-100,000 Dominicans live in Puerto Rico. Every year thousands of workers and farmers from the Dominican Republic, fleeing devastating economic conditions in their country, attempt to cross the 90-mile Mona Channel to Puerto Rico in overcrowded, flimsy boats. Many of them drown in the rough waters.

The U.S. immigration police has detained hundreds of Dominican immigrants in recent weeks. In the first three days of February alone they arrested 320 arriving immigrants.

"The media tries to blame Dominicans for all the social problems in Puerto Rico — crime, drugs, anything," said Víctor, a young Puerto Rican worker who was attending the February 8 rally for striking airport workers. A typical headline in the daily *El Vocero*, for example, screamed: "Illegals reported bringing drugs."

In a recent newspaper column, one advocate of independence for Puerto Rico blamed unfavorable election results on "foreigners." Naturalized immigrants, he wrote, "should have never have been allowed to take part in Puerto Rican decisions."

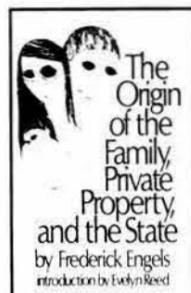
Víctor explained that Dominican workers are treated like pariahs. "They get the worst jobs, the lowest wages, and they are discriminated against everywhere."

In spite of the unrelenting employer and government offensive, working people have put up resistance. "The bosses want to divide us," explained striking airport worker Manuel Ortiz. "They're attacking the teachers, the electrical workers, they're attacking us. They're using anti-labor laws. But we have to show them we're united."

An example of that sentiment was seen two years ago when telephone workers staged a 24-hour strike to protest the proposed privatization of the state-owned phone company. That day 100,000 workers turned out for a rally at the capitol in support of the strikers.

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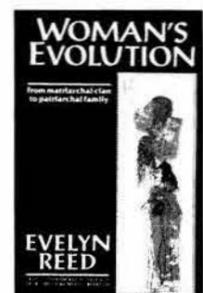
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How Far We Slaves Have Come!

How Far We Slaves Have Come! by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro. 83 pp. Pathfinder Press, 1991. \$7.95. In Spanish, \$9.95.

BY MARK CURTIS

When my copy of the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* arrived at the prison in Anamosa, Iowa, I showed it to some friends standing in line to pick up their mail. Several other prisoners asked to read the book when I finished it. When one saw

IN REVIEW

the cover — with a picture of Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro, whose speeches are featured in the book — he asked, "What are those two doing together?"

A good question. Not only are African National Congress president Mandela and Cuban president Castro the two best known revolutionaries alive today, but the revolutions they are leading are closely intertwined. Cuba's contribution to the freedom struggle in Africa, as Mandela said while in Cuba, "has made it possible for me to be here today."

Mandela and Castro spoke together for the first time at a rally in Matanzas, Cuba, this past July. Mandela thanked the Cuban people for their support in the fight against apartheid.

Cuban troops fighting in Angola against a South African invasion of that country dealt a historic blow to the apartheid regime. Combined with increased street actions against apartheid inside South Africa, Pretoria was forced to pull out of Angola and its colony of Namibia and then to grant enormous concessions, leading to the unbanning of the African National Congress, the freeing of Mandela and other political prisoners, and the negotiations that began last year.

"For the Cuban people internationalism is not merely a word but something that we have seen practiced to the benefit of large sections of humankind," Mandela explained. He also outlined the history of the ANC and explained in the speech what the goals of the revolutionary-democratic movement and the situation with the negotiations with the National Party, the ruling party in South Africa.

In his speech, Castro hailed the fight against apartheid and said, "There can be no greater cause in our era than the one headed by the ANC." Over the 15 years Cuba's volunteer troops were in Angola they came under great pressures to withdraw, but they resisted until South Africa finally pulled out. For its internationalism and refusal to bow to Washington, the Cuban people have paid a price. The U.S. government has cut off all trade with Cuba and puts enormous pressure on other countries to do the same.

"It was Cuba that had to be blockaded," said Castro, "Cuba, where the vestiges of apartheid — that is, racial discrimination — disappeared a long time ago. Cuba had to be blockaded as punishment for its revolution... but never apartheid."

In spite of all these pressures, Cuba stretched itself even more. To defeat the

South African invasion at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, Cuba sent all the forces the small country could muster. "We even ran the risk of weakening our defenses, and we did so," Castro stated.

What kind of country would take such risks, to sacrifice its own defense for people thousands of miles away? Cuba owns no property in Africa — no land, mines, factories, or oil. It has no "strategic economic interests." In their internationalist view, they believe that "the blood of the Angolans was our blood, the blood of the Namibians is our blood, and the blood of the South Africans is our blood! Humanity's blood is our blood!" Castro said.

Cuba tries to help other countries free themselves from poverty, unemployment, racial domination, and economic dependence and domination by imperialism just as they freed themselves in their 1959 revolution. Cuba was once a sugar colony of the United States, a playground of prostitution and gambling for the rich.

In the early years of the workers and farmers government, which came to power in 1959, the Cuban people took over the big landowners' property and the factories. With their new power they began to construct socialism where the wealth of their nation would be used to benefit working people rather than profit a few capitalists.

The Cuban people, Castro said, "are fighting for a much better world... for a world such as that desired by Marx and Engels, where men act as brothers to each other rather than preying on each other like wolves."

'We will never change back'

As the Stalinist dictatorships fall in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and new leaders there say they want to become a part of the capitalist world, many are demanding that Cuba give up its revolution and change. Castro's answer to them is, "What you want is not for us to change, but for us to change back; and that we will never do!"

In response to Washington and its allies, who try to tell the Cuban people that they should adopt economic measures now being implemented in the former Soviet Union, Castro responded in the speech, "What are they going to tell us about? About the past? About capitalism? About private property? About large landed estates? About corporations? About imperialism? About neocolonialism? Do we want to hear about all that garbage? What else can I call all that?"

Today, said Castro, there is a wave of "neoliberalism" running through Latin America, the idea that more capitalism can solve the problems of hunger, slums, and 20 million homeless children in the streets. To think that capitalism — which created these conditions in the first place — can solve these problems is "an incredible illusion," he said.

Not only in Latin America, but in the rich imperialist countries as well, capitalism's future is bleak. Castro explained that a reporter from the United States told him that the Soviet Union had been ruined by the arms race. "I told him, it's not just the USSR. The USSR may be the first to be ruined, but you will be the second, because you are also in

ruins. Don't sing victory songs, I told him."

He pointed to several factors that show the real condition of the world capitalist economy. After World War II the capitalists were getting a 24 percent rate of return on investment capital. Today it is 8 percent, he said. The U.S. debt is a whopping \$10 trillion, including both public and private debt. This is twice the Gross National Product.

In this situation, the competition between capitalist countries increases. "And every day there is more protectionism in Europe,

more protectionism in Japan and the United States," as the capitalists fight for markets and sources of raw material.

"Imperialism should not sing victory songs," Castro went on to say. "Economically it is weaker than ever."

Cuba offers an example to fighters everywhere. According to Mandela, "The most important lesson that you have for us is that no matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties, you have had to struggle."

Continued on page 11



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters
Fidel Castro presenting ANC president Nelson Mandela with José Martí award. Cuban internationalism has benefited humanity, Mandela said.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

PAT SMITH

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made contributions to the march of humanity against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Six new Pathfinder Readers Club members were signed up during Black History Month at the Ford auto plant in Atlanta, Georgia. Tom Leonard from the Houston, Texas, Pathfinder bookstore reports that three people there also took advantage of Readers Club specials during February and became club members.

The Pathfinder Readers Club recently celebrated its first anniversary. For \$10 a year, Readers Club members get a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder titles and even bigger discounts on specials throughout the year. For example, during Women's History Month in March, club members are offered a 25 percent discount on 9 books and 6 pamphlets on the origins of women's oppression and the road to emancipation. Pathfinder has produced an attractive flier listing the Readers Club specials for the month. Some Pathfinder bookstores are enlarging the Women's History Month flier to poster size for store and book table displays.

Five thousand Women's History Month leaflets were mailed to retail bookstores, libraries, and college faculties across the United States as part of a promotional effort.

Sales of *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro continue to build. Al Cappe from the Toronto Pathfinder bookstore reports 31 copies sold during December. In January, a further 69 were sold throughout Canada.

More than 40 Black community newspapers in the United States have written about this book since its publication. An earlier column reported that *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* sold very well during a recent Pathfinder sales trip to South

Africa. Bookstore managers there realize that many people want to read the truth about Cuba's role in Africa, and about the defeat of the apartheid army at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola by a combined force of Angolan and Cuban troops and Namibian freedom fighters.

This also made Pathfinder's *Cuba and Angola: Response to the South African Escalation*, a Cuban-made video of the battle of Cuito Cuanavale, a sought-after item in South Africa. An order for eight more copies of the video from Phambili Books in Johannesburg, South Africa, has just arrived. "We have already sold out!" they said. Phambili held a showing of the video at the store in January, which was attended by 100 people.

Pathfinder has reproduced this video in the PAL system, which is used in South Africa and Britain.

The Pathfinder bookstore in Auckland, New Zealand, opened up in a new central-city location with a celebration in early November. "The celebration was the culmination of three weeks of work by a team of volunteers," Terry Brydon reports. Since the opening, there has been a marked increase in the number of people visiting the shop and several old friends have rediscovered the bookshop, he said.

Supporters of the Twin Cities Pathfinder bookstore wrote that they are planning "an ambitious expansion and renovation project" in 1992 that includes an expanded book display area, glass doors, and a lighted sign above the door. Located in St. Paul, Minnesota, the Twin Cities bookstore sold almost \$10,000 worth of literature in 1991 — the most ever for the store in any one year.

A further note on Black History Month. The Detroit Public School system ordered 30 Pathfinder Black History Month posters for display in their schools. *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* and *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* have recently been approved by the administration, which means teachers who wish to use these books in classes can now do so.



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

Crowd at rally where Mandela and Castro spoke July 26, 1991, in Matanzas, Cuba.

'The fair trade fraud': A glimpse into Washington's protectionist policies

The Fair Trade Fraud, by James Bovard, 330 pp. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. \$24.95 hard cover.

BY AARON RUBY

James Bovard's book *The Fair Trade Fraud* goes a long way toward debunking claims that the U.S. government does not practice protectionism.

Bovard is a writer for the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Times* and is an analyst for the Cato Institute, a conservative advocacy group for "free enterprise" and deregulation.

Readers will find this book useful to get a glimpse of how U.S. trade policy, like that of other imperialist nations, is not designed to benefit working people anywhere. The abundance of facts, figures, and quotes are useful to explain the hypocrisy of the employers who denounce the trade practices of their competitors as they seek to draw workers into support for one or another of their trade policies.

Bovard does not break out of the framework set by the capitalist class. He advocates a "pure free-trade policy" and focuses his fire on protectionism. So while there is no working-class answer in his book, it does provide useful ammunition for those seeking to chart a course out of the deadly trap of free trade versus protectionism.

Washington maintains 8,000 different taxes on foreign goods with some as high as 458 percent, the book notes. Tariffs are a form of tax that is imposed on imported goods.

Since 1980 the U.S. government has negotiated more than 170 bilateral trade agreements to restrict imports. Quotas now affect up to half of world trade. The United States maintains 3,000 clothing and textile import quotas as well as quotas on autos, sugar, dairy products, peanuts, cotton, beef, and machine tools. All of these quotas bolster the profits of U.S. capitalists.

According to a study cited by Bovard, "The total U.S. government subsidies and liabilities for aid to business (including savings and loans) since 1980 exceeds \$500 billion. This is probably twenty times greater than the total foreign subsidies paid on products exported to the U.S." The U.S. government has imposed more penalties on subsidized imports than have all other governments in the world combined.

It is the semicolonial world that is most devastated by the protectionist policies of the imperialist nations.

In 1990, the U.S. Congress voted to ban all imports from Myanmar (formerly Burma), ostensibly out of concern for human rights violations. However, the government of Myanmar was still allowed to purchase weapons from the United States. The real aim of the ban was to keep Myanmar

'How Far We Slaves Have Come!' in review

Continued from page 10

There can be no surrender! It is a case of freedom or death!"

The book has a fine introduction by Mary-Alice Waters and many interesting photos. In the back are brief facts about both Mandela and Castro. It is interesting to compare these two men, both close to the same age, who both did their time as prisoners in the countries they would later help free. Both were "organization men" who joined and helped lead revolutionary groups of disciplined fighters.

Nelson Mandela did not speak in Cuba on just any day, but on July 26, the anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban revolution. The Cuban Council of State awarded him the Jose Martí award, its highest honor. The resolution giving him the award is reprinted in the book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* It says Mandela's presence in Cuba that day "constitutes eloquent testimony of the solidarity between our two peoples, sealed forever with the blood spilled in southern Africa in the common struggle for freedom."

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist serving a 25-year sentence in Iowa on frame-up charges.

textiles from competing in the U.S. market.

In 1986 the U.S. government spent \$947 million to flood international markets with rice, driving down the world price by 50 percent. The U.S. government spent \$200 million in "aid" to the Caribbean in the form of free food in the same period.

Such measures have had devastating consequences for rice farmers in Haiti and elsewhere. As a result of this "free trade" policy many of these formerly rice-producing nations are now dependent on U.S.-based grain monopolies for their rice supply.

There are more than 500 different tariffs on foreign food imports. Under U.S. restrictions, for example, Jamaica is allowed to sell only 970 gallons of ice cream a year to the United States.

Foreign peanuts, largely from Africa, are limited to 1.7 million pounds a year, adding up to two peanuts per person in the United States.

Last year, as a result of protectionist policies, sugar sold for 21 cents a pound in the United States while the world sugar price was less than 3 cents a pound as a result of an imperialist-dominated quota and price-fixing system. Between 1981 and 1988 Washington reduced the import quotas of sugar from Caribbean nations by 74 percent. The State Department estimated that the reduction in the sugar import quotas cost Third World nations \$800 million a year. A study cited by Bovard concluded that abolishing the existing textile and clothing trade barriers would boost the annual income of semicolonial nations by \$11 billion.

Trade between the U.S. and Japan

The 1991 trade deficit between Japan and the United States stood at \$41 billion, two-thirds of it in autos. Japanese automakers currently export 1.8 million cars to the United States, well below the 10-year-old "voluntary" limit of 2.3 million units.

The reasons why U.S. auto companies can't sell their cars in Japan go beyond the fact that the steering column is on the wrong side and that they're too big to get around the narrow streets of some Japanese cities. Bovard cites the 1990 *Consumer Reports* which found that 28 of the 31 best-rated models for quality were Japanese. Of the 33 worst-rated cars all but one were the products of the Big Three — Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford. In 1980, new Chrysler cars averaged 8 defects per car, GM cars averaged 7 defects, and Japanese cars averaged 2 defects. Today Big Three cars still have over 50 percent more defects than those made in Japan.

Officials in Washington denounce Japanese beef import quotas while imposing quotas against Australian and Argentine beef.

In 1990 Japan was forced by Washington to reduce its textile exports to the United States by 25 percent. The United States is the only country that imposes textile quotas on Japan.

Bovard repeatedly points out how each nation's protectionist measures result in retaliation and escalating trade wars between nations. His examples can also be used to underscore the trap for workers in any country of supporting "their" government, industry, or boss against those in other countries.

Protectionism offers neither a solution to nor any relief from the ravages of capitalism. Bovard cites a study that revealed how quotas to keep out foreign autos boosted employment in U.S. auto manufacturing by 22,000 in 1982, while the capitalist recession led to layoffs of more than 220,000 auto workers in the same period.

The thrust of Bovard's book is his call for a regime of "pure free trade." "A proper understanding of the morality of fair competition would lead to the abolition of all business subsidies offered by state and federal governments," Bovard writes. He promises abundance and proclaims that liberty itself is at stake. However, Bovard can offer no examples of such a regime ever existing in the history of the United States or any other capitalist country. In fact, "fair" capitalism is a utopian pipe dream. It is an attempt to uphold capitalism by making it "better" and blaming all its inherent ills on deviations from "true" capitalism.

Bovard is no advocate for the interests of working people. He blames workers' "high salaries" and farmers for high prices and the declining ability of some products made in

the United States to compete on the international market. He refuses to point out that the economic crisis and resulting trade wars are caused by the market system, not cured by it.

The heightened trade disputes today simply represent one national capitalist class trying to position itself to defend or increase profits. This is an indication of the decline of the capitalist system and in particular of the United States relative to its rivals. In this context, "free trade" or protectionist trade wars will increasingly tend to grow over into shooting wars.

Support for either of these aggressive trade policies leads away from fighting for real solutions for the economic crisis working people face.

Frederick Engels, a socialist and working-

class leader of the last century, explained: "The question of Free Trade or Protection moves entirely within the bounds of the present system of capitalist production, and has therefore no direct interest for us as Socialists who want to do away with that system."

Working people need to develop our own proposals. The fight to cancel the debt of the semicolonial nations is a good place to start. The fight for jobs will not be advanced through a "Buy American" campaign but through the international fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. Affirmative action to overcome inequalities in the working class must be defended and extended.

Aaron Ruby is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 400 at Bay State Beef Company in Washington, D.C.

The fight of farmers for a living income goes beyond boundaries



New York dairy farmers demand an adequate income. Competition for agricultural markets among capitalist monopolies squeezes farmers further.

Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s by Doug Jenness, 35 pp. Pathfinder Press, 1992. \$3.

BY DEREK BRACEY

The fight of farmers for an adequate income for their produce is now more than ever going beyond the boundaries of any particular country. The price of farm products is set in a system where an ever greater amount of agricultural products from many countries is shipped all over the world.

Competition between capitalist countries is sharpening with the economic downturn. The fight for markets for agricultural produce is playing a major role in current clashes between the rulers of North America, Europe, and Asia.

The new Pathfinder pamphlet, *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*, takes up the questions raised by capitalist politicians in these squabbles. Arguments put forward to protect home markets from an "invasion of outside goods," and to "break open the barriers of other countries to trade" are common political themes in many countries. Doug Jenness, author of the 35-page pamphlet, explains how these types of proposals do not bring farmers closer to securing a price for their goods that can guarantee their livelihoods or their access to the land.

The agricultural trade policies of the government are designed to benefit the largest capitalists involved in agriculture — chiefly the international produce traders and distributors. This could be seen during the trip that U.S. president George Bush made to Asia at the beginning of 1992.

Many workers and working farmers are debating these questions today. The gap between the cost of production and the price they receive for their goods is widening for many farmers. This is opening them up to greater victimization by the banks and other capitalists involved in supplying or providing services to farmers or in buying what farmers produce.

In four very readable articles Jenness examines the roots of the farm crisis, discusses various solutions advanced by farm leaders and big-business politicians, and explains how a fighting alliance of all exploited producers — urban and rural is the only road forward in resolving today's economic and social problems in the interests of working people.

"Rather than seeking solutions from this or that wing of the capitalist exploiters and their political parties," Jenness writes, "working farmers need their own program of action that can unite exploited farmers internationally and build toward an alliance with wageworkers at the same time."

Everyone who is interested in understanding the situation facing farmers, and desires a working-class solution to the problems they face, should read this pamphlet.

New from Pathfinder

FARMERS
FACE THE
CRISIS OF
THE 1990s



Farmers Face
the Crisis
of the 1990s
by Doug Jenness

Pamphlet 35 pp., \$3

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 for shipping, \$.50 for each additional copy.

FLORIDA

Miami

Stop Police Brutality. Speakers: Juan Abalante, North Miami High School student; Rosa Garmendia, Socialist Workers Party; Wanda Gonzalez, Puerto Rican Positive Task Force; Billy Hardemon, community activist. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Sat. March 7, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

Celebrate International Women's Day: Defend Abortion Rights! Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Socialist Program to Fight Against the Current Economic Depression. An Answer to the Proposals of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Speaker: Glen Swanson. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Depression, the Crisis of Capitalism and Prospects for Revolutionary Change. Speaker: Norton Sandler, National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$5. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Jobs, Affirmative Action, and International Solidarity: A Working-Class Program to Confront the Current Depression. Speaker: Tony Prince, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Guilford County School Board. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Pathfinder Mural Bookstore Celebration. Speakers: Jenny Kahn, Pathfinder Mural artist; Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party. Sat.,

March 14, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

TEXAS

Houston

Abortion Rights Under Attack: Defend a Woman's Right to Choose. Speakers: Patti Iiyama, Socialist Workers Party, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Bill Lambert, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Sat., March 7. FORUM: **Origins of the Myth of Race.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. 7:30 p.m.

CLASS: **Farmers Face the Crisis of the '90s.** Speaker: Doug Jenness. 10 a.m.

Sun., March 8. CLASS: **The Roots of Women's Oppression.** Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party. 1 p.m.

147 E 900 South. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

JFK: Myth vs. Reality. The Truth About the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights Movement. Speaker: Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JFK: Movie vs. Reality. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

BRITAIN

Sheffield

The Fight for the Right to Abortion: The Stakes for Working People. Speaker: Representative of Communist League. Sat., March 7, 6

p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Vancouver

No to Japan-Bashing. Speaker: Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party in Seattle, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

Women's Right to Abortion. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 7, 12 noon. Klapparstíg 26, 2nd floor. Donation \$3. Tel: (91) 17513.

Threats rise against North Korea

Continued from front page

South Korean president Roh Tae Woo announced that all of these nuclear weapons had been removed from the south, but this has not been verified by independent inspection.

In January North Korea signed a nuclear safeguards accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency and submitted a list of its facilities to be opened for inspection.

At a meeting with the South Korean prime minister February 20 North Korean president Kim Il Sung demanded that U.S. forces be withdrawn from South Korea. "We cannot know whether there are any nuclear weapons in the South, or if they have been removed. This means that our serious worries, based on 30 years of nuclear threats against us, have not been resolved."

In the December 31 accord South Korea agreed to mutual inspections of sites in both

The Myth of Race. Sat., March 14, 12 noon. Klapparstíg 26, 2nd floor. Donation \$3. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Police Brutality — Why It Happens and How It Can Be Fought. Speakers: Syd Jackson, unionist and Maori activist recently harassed by police; representative of Communist League. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$2. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Wellington

The Fight for Women's Equality Today. Speaker: Janet Roth, Communist League, member United Food and Chemical Workers. Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., near Courtenay Pl. Donation \$2. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

North and South. But Washington was not part of this agreement and continues to campaign for immediate inspections in the North. Seoul has added its voice to Washington's campaign, and said it would suspend the South Korean Daewoo Group's plan to invest in North Korea unless Pyongyang scheduled an inspection by March 31.

The *New York Times* warned, "Hold the Fire on Pyongyang's Nukes" in a February 24 editorial. The editorial noted that despite the moves made by the North, "sources in Seoul, opposed to accommodation with the North, are voicing suspicions. So are some in the U.S. intelligence community. And these voices are being amplified by chest-pounding Democrats eager to show how tough they can be on arms proliferators." The *Times* urged Washington to "keep cool for now" but added, "If Pyongyang's progress should slow, tough measures could be justified."

Strike shuts West Coast ports

Continued from Page 16

Greed," "No Scabs," "Solidarity," and "Union Workers Fight Back."

Nineteen tractor-trailer rigs honked their horns continuously from a lot across the street to cheer the marchers on their way. Rank-and-file ILWU members had come in busloads from northern California and plane-loads from the Northwest. Some had come from as far away as Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii. Members of other unions marched in solidarity.

The shutdown of West Coast shipping was called February 2 by ILWU president David Arian. He also urged all shipping companies to quit using the ICTF yard until SP agreed to keep the ILWU workers.

At the request of the Pacific Maritime Authority (PMA), a consortium of shipping companies, U.S. district court judge Robert Takasugi issued a temporary restraining order February 14 to block the shutdown.

Leading up to this attack by the PMA, ILWU literature argued that the PMA and the ILWU had a common interest in stopping the SP firings. At a luncheon address to the International Trade Club, a PMA industry group, Arian described SP as "an instability within our industry for both the ILWU and the PMA."

In his president's report in the January *Dispatcher* Arian said, "the days when we could win some measure of justice by simply establishing a picket line around a giant corporation like Southern Pacific are long gone. The courts, the Congress and the National Labor Relations Board have seen to that. We've learned during the '80s that we have to be much more creative to take on a dispute like this."

"We'll enlist the support of the shippers and their customers who, in their own interest, need the ICTF to continue to operate without the disruption involved in bringing in an entirely new work force. We'll work with the ports and the City of Los Angeles, which also have millions invested in the ICTF."

When push came to shove, the PMA refused to go along with an ILWU work stoppage — something they had repeatedly done in the past — and obtained the court injunction. The ILWU officially called off the job action.

Southern Pacific claims that, under federal law, its employees must be represented by a rail union, and has picked the Transpor-

tation and Communications Union for the new ICTF workers. The ICTF yard was built in 1986 and its employees voted for ILWU representation in 1987. ILWU contracts raised basic wages from \$10.50 to \$16 an hour and provided seniority protection and benefits.

The ICTF work force has now been slashed to 200. Eddie Greenwood, Local 13, Allied Division publicity committee cochair, says SP pays \$12 an hour for clerks at the gate and \$16 an hour for drivers in the yard. ILWU members had been getting \$16.50 per hour for both.

Joel Britton is an oil refinery worker and member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional*, and *L'internationaliste*.

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CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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NEBRASKA: Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

MEXICO

Mexico City: Nevin Siders, Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico DF.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

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

PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

A socialist monthly in Spanish published in the interests of working people

The March issue includes:

- Coverage of the recent victory won by Mark Curtis in his suit against the Des Moines police for brutally beating him four years ago;
- The preface to the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*;
- Patrick Buchanan's presidential campaign;
- The April 5 national demonstration to defend abortion rights.

Available at Pathfinder Bookstores (directory on page 12) or from *Perspectiva Mundial*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014

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Racist dog of the week — "I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest-wage country is impeccable... I've always thought that



Harry Ring

under-populated countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted." — Lawrence Summers, World Bank chief economist in a memo to colleagues.

How about brain pollution? — Mr. Summers explains that when measured in economic terms, the cost of illness and death from pollution is obviously less in low-wage countries. Also, he adds, the cancers caused by pollution take time to develop, and in Africa, people die young.

Maybe a bit of both? — An Environmental Protection Agency study found "clear cause for concern" that U.S. nonwhites are disproportionately affected by environmental pollution. The agency suggested that poverty, not bias, may be a key factor in the situation.

Just hang loose — "No matter how devastating plant cutbacks and mass layoffs are for the communities and individuals affected, new research shows that surprisingly large job losses amount to business-as-usual for the flexible American economy even in the best of times." — *New York Times*.

And don't get paranoid — "The gravest danger the corporate cutbacks pose is psychological. Lay-off headlines could frighten those with jobs into thinking they might be next and cause them to stop spending." — *Same Times* article.

They do know who they work for — A London paper quizzed 30

members of Parliament to get a sense of their grasp of current reality. Eight of them knew the cost of a bus ride. A third of them had a pretty good idea of the price of a pack of condoms but only a few had even a murky idea of the cost of milk, eggs, or bread.

Lean and mean — In Oregon, a probe confirmed that Saif Corp., a state-owned outfit that provides disability insurance to companies, has rejected 29 percent of disability claims by injured workers. (Annual bonuses to Saif employees are tied to their denial rate.) The state insurance commissioner said Saif's philosophy seems to be "when in

doubt, any doubt, deny the claim."

Progress report — The World Health Organization no longer asserts that homosexuality is a disease and it will be deleted from their new listing, to be issued January 1993.

Situation normal — In Prague, members of the old Czech aristocracy held their first black-tie Opera Ball since the 1948 social overturn. Count Josef Kinsky said the ball signalled that "normal life is beginning again." He said he hopes to regain his family's "rather modest" 27-room castle. Outside, several hundred demonstrators protested the glitzy bash at a time of mass unemployment.

Canada debate deepens on Native, Quebec rights

BY COLLEEN LEVIS

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — "No to the Corporate Constitution; Solidarity with First Nations and Québec" was the title of a conference organized here February 7-8 by the Labour-Left Committee. The conference, attended by over 200 people, was sponsored by the Vancouver and District Labour Council and the Action Canada Network (ACN).

Over the past two months, the Canadian government has orchestrated a series of regional conferences. "Representatives of ordinary Canadians" attending these have been supposedly chosen by lottery, but are, in fact, largely hand-picked by the government. The conferences aim to provide political support for the government's proposed constitutional amendments, which continue the oppression of Native peoples and Quebecois.

During recent conferences and hearings on the constitution, remarks by Ovide Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, set off a sharp controversy. Mercredi said it would be "most ill-advised to try and proceed with a referendum on Quebec independence... without first resolving first nations' [indigenous peoples] issues."

Ron George, president of the Native Council of Canada, disagreed. "We are not going to get dragged into a phony war with French Canada or with Quebec," he said.

Both the federal government and capitalist politicians in Quebec have used Mercredi's comments as a pretext to attack rights of Native people.

Contradictory pressures reflected

The contradictory pressures of Canada's rulers and of those fighting back were reflected in the Labour-Left conference.

John Foster spoke for the Action Canada Network, formerly the Pro-Canada Network, which includes the major industrial unions in Canada, the Assembly of First Nations, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, and the National Farmer's Union.

"Canada is founded on three nations," said Foster, "the first nations, Quebec, and the rest of Canada."

Monique Simard of the Quebec-based trade union federation — la Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) — told the conference, "Québec will be separating and it is for the best, so you had better get used to it."

Simard explained that not a single person

who was prosovereignty in Quebec participated in the federal constitutional conferences.

"However," Simard stated, "I understand your concern here for the rest of Canada. National symbols like CBC [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] are being torn apart."

"You have to answer the question 'What will Canada do if Quebec separates?'" she said.

Joe Mathias, of the Assembly of First Nations and chief of the Squamish band, said, "Native people do not have any power in this country."

Mathias said, "If Québec separates, there will be a restructuring, a redefinition of the first nations in Quebec. Will Canada abandon the first nations in Quebec?"

Action Canada Network spokesperson Peter Cameron told the conference, "The main task for the rest of Canada is to get together and speak of ourselves as a nation. We need national self-determination too."

In one of the workshops, Ernie Crey, a leader of the United Native Nations, stated his personal opinion that "our task is not to persuade Quebec not to leave Canada, but to understand where they are coming from."

Nationalist and protectionist calls

Pam Bush of ACN said, "We want a strong, united Canada." Many conference participants proposed to step up the campaign against "Free Trade" with the United States and Mexico.

One participant asked, "How will we prevent another Oka if Quebec becomes independent?" (Oka (Kanesatake) was one of the sites near Montreal of Mohawk protests that were confronted in August 1990 by the Canadian army.)

A document was circulated at the conference entitled "Our New Home," written by the National Union of Provincial Government Employees and the Public Service Alliance of Canada.

The document states: "The people of Quebec and aboriginal Canadians are well on their way to developing their own vision of their place and role in a reconstituted Canada. English-speaking Canadians, however, as of yet have not reached a consensus on their future vision of Canada. We believe that an appropriate mechanism for arriving at such an agreement would be a constituent assembly."

Paul Kouri, a steelworker and member of the Communist League, spoke during the discussion period. "There is no contradiction between self-determination of Quebecois and of Native peoples," he said. "Quebecois, like Natives, are overwhelmingly working people who have no stake in the oppression of others."

"It is totally wrong for unionists to propose a Constituent Assembly, or developing national aspirations of the rest of Canada or of 'English Canada.' Canada already is sovereign — one of the world's seven most powerful capitalist countries. Quebecois and Natives suffer national op-



Group of Haida people protest logging on their land, Lyell Island, British Columbia, in 1985. Native people across Canada have been waging a broad-based struggle for their rights in recent years.

pression but so-called English-Canadians do not.

"Instead we need to unite with working people in the United States, Canada, and the rest of the world to fight the bosses and their system, which is dragging us into a cata-

strophic economic depression."

The conference voted to recognize the right to self-determination of Quebecois and to self-government by Native people.

Most participants also voted for a motion for a Constituent Assembly.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the interest of the Working People
March 13, 1967 Price 10¢

Over 4,500 black people jammed into Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church today to protest the ouster of Adam Clayton Powell from congress. Powell is pastor of the church.

The mood of the crowd was indicated when they were asked to sing the "Star Spangled Banner." A roar of "no, no, no!" went up, and only the chairman's reminder that they were in a church, and the quick response by the organist who began playing, quieted down the outburst.

Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, lashed out at dual standards in the United States, and brought the applauding crowd to its feet time and time again. "They bred our women like animals," he said. "They beat us with chains and the same system is now going on and they talk to us of morality." The Rev. David N. Licorish, associate minister of the church, said, "We want to serve notice upon all reactionary bigots in American life that it is 'high noon,' and much later than they think."

Eddie Davis raised the question of Vietnam, and the high rate of casualties among black soldiers. Then he turned his fire on "whitey's Democrats" and "whitey's Republicans." He said that Powell should run as an independent. The crowd responded enthusiastically, and more than one platform guest squirmed.

Percy Sutton, a Democrat, spoke next, but ignored Mr. Davis' remarks. Hulan Jack, who once held Sutton's job, took Davis to task and defended the Democratic Party. The audience reminded him that Powell's trouble

was caused by that party. When Jack persisted, the audience grew more clamorous. Jack insisted that to be independent was to give up your vote, and the uproar that followed silenced Jack, who was escorted to his seat by the chairman.

THE MILITANT
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March 14, 1942

The Stalinist GPU through its various national sections and sympathetic agencies has launched a new campaign of slander and violence against its opponents within the labor movement. In Mexico the Communist press has singled out for attack Grandizo Muniz, Marceau Pivert, Victor Serge, Julian Gorkin and Gustav Regler, and demanded their "suppression" as "fifth columnists," "agents of Hitler," "gangsters," "spies" and "saboteurs." A group of deputies has introduced a resolution into the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, demanding the expulsion or imprisonment of these refugees.

This campaign of provocations is identical with that preceding the May 24, 1940 machine-gun raid on Trotsky's house by a Vigilante gang led by the Mexican Communist, David Siqueiros, which resulted in the murder of Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's bodyguard, and afterwards in the assassination of Trotsky himself by an agent of the GPU.

In England the Communist Party has ordered its members "to treat the Trotskyists as you would a Nazi." They have used physical violence against salesmen of the Trotskyist and other labor papers. Opponents of Stalinist policies in the labor movement whose ideas differ from ours are designated by the Stalinist press as "Trotskyists."



1991 Quebec demonstration in defense of French-language rights.

U.S. hands off North Korea!

Behind the smokescreen of opposing nuclear weapons proliferation, Washington is stepping up its warlike threats against North Korea and Iraq.

The February 25 testimony of CIA director Robert Gates to a House Foreign Affairs Committee marks another escalation of Washington's anti-North Korea campaign.

Using similar arguments in his testimony to a Senate subcommittee last month, Gates accused the government of Iraq of developing a nuclear weapons program, claiming it was within a few years of producing such weapons. Led by Washington, the United Nations Security Council threatened Iraq on February 28 with "serious consequences" if it did not submit to its orders to allow inspection of its arms facilities and to destroy all its "weapons of mass destruction."

Washington's efforts to isolate North Korea were dealt serious blows by the North-South meetings last December. These talks produced agreements to begin to re-establish ties between North and South Korea and to denuclearize the entire Korean peninsula, with mutual inspection of sites on both sides.

Following this, South Korea announced in January that it would not participate in the annual U.S.-South Korea "Team Spirit" war games scheduled for February. These huge war exercises demonstrate who has been threatening whom: this year's plans involved 200,000 troops armed with nuclear and chemical weapons, practicing mock invasions

of North Korea.

North Korea also signed an agreement January 30 with the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna allowing for inspection of its facilities.

Now Washington has turned up the volume on its demand for immediate inspections in the North, claiming nuclear weapons production could take place there within a few months.

While Washington points to the possibility of nuclear weapons in the North, the U.S. government itself stations nuclear weapons and 40,000 troops in the South. Washington remains the only government on earth ever to use nuclear weapons against people, having killed hundreds of thousands in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

South Korean president Roh Tae Woo announced in December that all U.S. nuclear weapons had been removed from Seoul's territory. But Washington refuses to agree to simultaneous inspections of all nuclear facilities, North and South. North Korea is accused of stalling when it raises the demand for simultaneous inspection throughout Korea. But it is Washington that is stalling while it escalates its propaganda and threats.

Working people should reject the U.S. campaign against North Korea and call for Washington to withdraw all its troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea.

GM cuts call for labor response

General Motors's callous disregard for the lives of working people captured headlines once again as the auto giant named the 12 plants that will close as the first stage of its overall plan to shut 21 plants and eliminate 74,000 jobs by 1995.

Speaking on closed-circuit television to the giant corporation's 780,000 employees worldwide, GM chairman Robert Stempel blamed these shutdowns on "extraordinary events" that affect "the way in which we do business."

Far from being "extraordinary," this decision, like many others over the past year that have eliminated hundreds of thousands of working people's jobs, results from the capitalist economic crisis. Corporate giants like General Motors are determined to make workers pay for the profit crisis plaguing U.S. companies today.

One of GM's aims has been to weaken and divide the union by obtaining new contract concessions.

However, granting concessions only emboldens the bosses to demand more and weakens the union's ability to resist future attacks.

The only solution to the crisis promoted by both the auto bosses and the United Auto Workers union officialdom is greater protectionism for the U.S. auto industry. But this is a dead-end trap for working people. Blaming Japanese auto producers for U.S. autoworkers' woes is no different from Michigan workers lining up to demand that GM keep "their" plant open instead of another one in Arlington, Texas. In fact many Michigan workers joined protest actions and

meetings to demand precisely that. This narrow perspective results in working people fighting among themselves — and going down to defeat — at a time when solidarity and unity is needed more than ever.

Campaigning for protectionism weakens the fight for jobs because it leads workers to subordinate their own interests to the demands and needs of the very bosses who are laying them off, and to the government in Washington that solidly backs the employers' antiworker offensive.

Only a nationwide — and international — fight by the labor movement can provide a response adequate to the scale of the onslaught by companies like GM against the unions. The labor movement needs to mount a national campaign to fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay — 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. Work should be equitably spread rather than having massive layoffs side by side with fewer workers working harder and longer than ever. Together with such demands, it should also fight for a government-financed public works program to build and repair the dilapidated housing, roads, bridges, and mass transit — an effort that would create millions of additional jobs.

Labor can only counter multinational corporate giants like GM by reaching out for international working-class solidarity. Auto workers in the United States must link up with their fellow workers in countries like Japan, South Korea, and Mexico. These are the allies of workers in the United States not the bosses who are leading the attacks against workers' rights worldwide.

World crisis of market system

The accelerated introduction of capitalist market methods in the bureaucratically ruled economies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has turned into a disaster for working people.

Government officials in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Eastern European countries have attempted to take steps toward capitalism by getting rid of centralized planning, lifting price controls, and ending restrictions on foreign investment. While this has wreaked devastation on the daily lives of workers and farmers, capitalism as it operates in the rest of the world still does not exist there.

Plans by the proimperialist bureaucrats to sell off big portions of the state-owned industries have run into huge obstacles.

Capitalist investors are not tripping over themselves to buy up these factories, mines, and mills as workers put up resistance to the measures the would-be owners propose.

The argument that the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union would provide a boost to capitalism in the imperialist world is in shreds. The chaotic economies in these countries have proved more of a liability than an asset for world capitalism.

Germany after reunification is a case in point. Western Germany has slid into a recession while the government sinks huge sums of money in an attempt to incorporate the former workers' state into the German capitalist economy. Meanwhile, unemployment in the eastern part has topped 16 percent.

At the same time, depression conditions have spread in the United States, Canada, and other imperialist countries. Pictures of growing homelessness in the streets of Moscow and New York reflect the common problem facing workers — the world crisis of the market system.

The governments that replaced the previous Stalinist rulers, largely made up of bureaucrats that ran those regimes, have ceased pretending they have any ideas at all on how to solve the downward spiral.

What these officials are doing has nothing to do with calculated "reforms." It is a blind and desperate adventure that has brought the catastrophe of the market system on working people in these countries. Unemployment is on the rise, inflation runs up to 300 percent in countries like Russia, production is plummeting, and shortages of basic goods and key industrial components increase.

A deep-seated bitterness is growing up in Eastern Europe and the now-defunct Soviet Union in reaction to the promises from imperialist governments that a widespread introduction of the capitalist market was the way forward.

As the economic catastrophe worsens, resentment will continue to increase among workers there. This can help get rid of illusions in capitalism and capitalist governments but also open workers to nationalist demagoguery and rightist solutions as well.

The challenge before working people there is the same as the challenge before workers in the United States, Germany, or Japan. The greatest problem of the working class is our underestimation of ourselves and our capacity to run society. Through struggles to resist the capitalist offensive, workers and farmers will come to realize the need to replace those who block progress by ruling only in their own narrow interests, whether it be the bureaucratic bands of robbers who now preside in Eastern Europe or the capitalist rulers in the imperialist countries. They must be replaced with a government of the workers and farmers — the only social force capable of advancing the interests of society as a whole by doing away with capitalist exploitation, chaos, and wars.

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.

A letter from Ellen Haywood in the January 17 issue requested that the *Militant* cover a number of questions relating to U.S. trade and foreign aid policies. The book review by Aaron Ruby on page 11 addresses one aspect of this — the protectionist policies that Washington implements, despite its official stance of favoring free trade.

One reader sent in a news clipping from the Baltimore *Sun* on U.S. trade barriers after reading Haywood's letter.

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

The article notes that the differences in the levels of protectionism between the major imperialist powers are not substantial: "According to the World Bank . . . Japan has high trade barriers covering a quarter of its imports. The United States and the European Community have such barriers for a sixth of their imports."

* * *

An article in the last issue, "Volunteer crew will rebuild printshop in Pathfinder Building," explained the role of the International Expansion Fund in the reconstruction of the Pathfinder Building in New York, noting that monies from the fund would go toward building and fitting out the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore. The bookstore is being worked on in conjunction with other reconstruction projects in the Pathfinder Building.

Funding for the bookstore and the displays associated with it will come from a range of sources.

The International Expansion Fund will cover part of the costs of upgrading the long-term structure and appearance of the area in which the bookstore is housed. Money for the book, shelves, and other furnishings is being raised by supporters of the existing New York Pathfinder bookstore that is located at 191 7th Avenue in Manhattan.

Displays for the mural visitors center inside the bookstore, including a key that details what is portrayed on the mural, will be provided by the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, which is also raising funds for this purpose. The center is dedicated to South African artist and antiapartheid activist Dumile Feni, who died October 16.

* * *

Deadlines for the *Militant*: The closing news date listed on page two is the date the paper goes to press. This is the last date when urgent or especially important items can be inserted. As a weekly, the paper is produced over the course of the whole preceding week, which means that the issue is planned out as the week begins. Most of the pages are laid out prior to the weekend. This framework means it is not always possible to include articles received toward the closing date. Correspondents should bear this in mind when preparing copy. The earlier it is received, the better the chance it will be used for the following issue.

Miami Cuba meeting

Continued from Page 3

— he's playing on those insecurities." The insistence by those who staffed the Pathfinder booth that Buchanan would get a big vote in the New Hampshire primary and beyond was met with not only interest but surprise.

At the same time, Waters noted in her report to the Miami gathering, the deep crisis of the market system on a world scale — and the spread of its effects to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union — also brings new forces into play, puts new struggles on the agenda, and brings new allies into battle.

"It means that the people of Cuba will not be alone," she said. "It means that the determination that they will never go back to the slave barracks of imperialism is not bravado. It's based on a real perspective to go forward, together with others who will come to the same conclusions."

That's the message African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela laid out during his visit to Cuba last July, Waters noted. What Cuba has taught us above all else, Mandela said, is the example of struggle, the lesson "that no matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties, you have to fight, you have had to struggle. There can be no surrender! It is a case of freedom or death!"

That is what the people of Cuba understood, Waters added, when Fidel Castro said at the opening session of the congress of the Communist Party of Cuba last October, "Ours is the only socialist country in the West. . . . What hatred some people bear us because of our people's and our homeland's ability to take up that challenge and hold high our banners, once again expressing our readiness to defend those banners — the ones standing for the most justice and humanity that have existed in the history of all mankind."

"We are struggling not only for ourselves and our ideas, but for the ideas of all the exploited, subjugated, pillaged, and hungry people in the world; therefore our responsibility is much greater."

That must be our perspective too, concluded Waters, "as we prepare for the fights and struggles that are on the agenda for us here in this country as well."

Oil workers discuss 'Buy American' campaign

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 safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback de-

schemes in recent weeks.

Although Tosco's offer was promoted by local auto dealers and the news media, workers in the refinery greeted it with skepticism. "If they want it to give us a thousand dollars, fine, but what right do they have to tell us how to spend it?" said one worker.

No one seemed to think that Tosco's "Buy American" campaign

not as high in 1991 as they were in 1990, Tosco announced January 31 that it did make \$55 million last year.

Miners in Spain strike over plan to chop jobs

On January 30 government and mining unions signed an agreement that ended an industrial conflict in the coal mines of Asturias in northern Spain. The unions accepted the loss of 6,000 jobs over the next three years, with various sweeteners such as the hiring of 800 young people and the training of 2,000 workers.

General Union of Workers (UGT) leader Fernández Villa proclaimed a victory because the immediate closure of the state-owned coal mining company, HUNOSA, had been avoided.

During large parts of December and January, workers in HUNOSA were on strike against government plans to chop 6,000 jobs over the following three years. This struggle has been the high point so far of defensive struggles in many parts of the Spanish state against deindustrialization, which is occurring mainly in areas that are already depressed.

In Asturias, a million people, including shopkeepers and some priests, participated in a general strike October 23. They demanded the creation of new jobs, maintaining the old ones, and improving the infrastructure. Mountainous Asturias is physically isolated with poor roads. The population is older and unemployment — officially at 18 percent — is higher than in the rest of Spain.

The Basque country, Cantabria, and Cartagena have also seen strike action demanding government investment in jobs, which were promised after previous closures throughout the 1980s.

The 25,000 HUNOSA miners in

Asturias have engaged in the most militant struggles. Union leaders went on an 11-day strike starting December 23 during which they stayed down in the mine. Meanwhile miners went out to seek support. In each of the 21 HUNOSA pits in the area, workers would meet at the start of the morning shift to discuss the course of the strike and decide on the day's activities. On several occasions, local motorways and railways were blocked, and the center of Asturias's capital — Oviedo — was brought to a standstill by demonstrations. Police frequently attacked the mobile solidarity pickets using clubs, smokebombs, and tear gas.

Engineering workers end seven-week strike in Britain

Four hundred striking engineering workers at GEC Alstom in Manchester, England, voted by a 2-1 margin to return to work February 19. The seven-week strike involved all five unions at the worksite who opposed the layoff of 12 workers. GEC Alstom, a major manufacturer with plants in Britain and other parts of Europe, had already secured 83 voluntary redundancies (layoffs) in December 1991. During the strike the bosses announced a further 157 compulsory job cuts.

The strikers returned to work with no concessions from management. This followed a threat from company chairman Lord Weinstock to close the factory if the strike continued. On February 17 all strikers received a letter threatening the loss of their job if they did not go back.

On the day they returned hundreds of strikers rallied outside the factory before marching inside behind the union strike banner. Some were angry and disappointed. They feared that management would carry

out further attacks. "This is really a big blow to the work force, the union, and the labor movement," said one of the "dirty dozen" as the laid-off 12 were called.

A solid 24-hour picket was maintained throughout the strike. After seven weeks on strike, no more workers joined the three scabs who crossed the line on the first day. Strikers visited factories and union committees to collect solidarity funds. Messages of support were received from the CGT and GEC Alstom plants in France. At a sister GEC Alstom plant in Trafford Park, Manchester, union stewards organized weekly collections.

Andrew Buchanan, Communist League candidate for Manchester Central, was a regular visitor to the picket line. Buchanan is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union at a British aerospace plant also facing layoffs. In a statement in solidarity with the GEC strike, Buchanan explained, "The bosses have pushed thousands of workers out of work for the sake of their 'competitiveness' and their 'productivity' — code words for their profits. As part of this they set out to weaken our unions. Trade unionists at GEC are taking a stand against this offensive. We have nothing but our solidarity and our unity, but these are potentially the most powerful weapons in the world."

The following people contributed to this week's column: Jim Altenberg, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local 1-5 at Tosco Refining in Martinez, California; Mike EAUDE in Barcelona, Spain; Debbie Delange, member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union, and Celia Pugh, member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Manchester, England.

ON THE PICKET LINE

mands, 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.

"Dear Fellow Employee," began a letter from James Cleary to workers at Tosco Refining Co. in Martinez, California. "In hopes of generating some enthusiasm for economic recovery," Tosco will contribute \$1,000 toward the purchase of any U.S.-made car or truck by Tosco refinery and office employees.

Cleary is chief executive officer of the company, a subsidiary of Connecticut-based Tosco Corp., a large oil company. Employees can be reimbursed if they buy any of 74 models of cars or trucks that allegedly contain at least 90 percent U.S.-made parts and labor. Other companies have announced similar

would ease the recession. "You might take them up on it if you were looking for a car anyway," said one, "but you'd still look for the best car you could get for your money."

Especially since George Bush's recent trip to Asia, questions about trade, protectionism, and the recession are debated almost daily among workers at the refinery. Many workers repeat the Japan-bashing myths promoted in the capitalist press, such as the lie that the Japanese are buying up all of this country's land and factories; or that "we" are competing against a "Japanese culture" that leads workers there to work enthusiastically for companies that take care of them for life.

Most believe that buying U.S. products helps the U.S. economy and employes U.S. workers. But they also know that every brand of consumer goods is produced everywhere in the world. And the idea that bosses in the United States behave any differently from Japanese or any other bosses is not very convincing.

Meanwhile, Thomas O'Malley, chairman of the parent Tosco Corp., explained the viewpoint of an oilman whose industry is thoroughly international. "I'm no believer in protectionism; I think it's absolute utter nonsense," he told the *New York Times*. Although profits were

LETTERS

Abortion rights

On January 22, I attended the nineteenth anniversary celebration of *Roe v. Wade* presented by the St. Louis Pro-Choice movement.

Many fine speakers presented glowing accounts of the history of our fight to win abortion rights. Much to my dismay, each speaker predicted the defeat of *Roe v. Wade* in the near future! The reason for their pessimism soon became clear.

Instead of presenting a fighting strategy to defend and broaden abortion rights, the Pro-Choice organizations solicited our votes for "Pro-Choice" candidates in the coming elections. All of the candidates in the audience were asked to stand and take a bow.

The rally chairperson announced the National Organization for Women's Pro-Choice demonstration in April but said it would be better if we concentrated our efforts in Missouri.

The speakers were right about one thing. If we follow their lead, we will lose *Roe v. Wade*. I have a much more optimistic view of the future. Abortion rights supporters — the majority — will not lay down dead while abortion is defeated.

We'll find new leaders and put up a fierce battle to keep abortion safe and legal.

Diane Roling
St. Louis, Missouri

Myth of race

In "Origins of the myth of race," Doug Jenness explained that there is no scientific basis for the concept of race. This was the theme of a recent lecture by Dr. Steve Jones, reader in genetics at University College London, which was broadcast on Britain's Radio 4 on December 11, 1991. He said:

"Around 85 percent of human di-

versity comes from the differences between individuals from the same country; two randomly chosen Englishmen, say, or two Nigerians. Another 5 to 10 percent is due to the differences between nations, for example, the people of England and Spain, or Nigeria and Kenya. The overall genetic differences between "races" — Africans and Europeans, say — is no greater than that between different countries within Europe or within Africa. Individuals — not nations and not races — are the main repositories of human variation . . .

"If, after a global disaster, only one group — the Albanians, the Papuans or the Senegalese — survived, most of the world's genetic diversity for functional genes would be preserved. Humans are a remarkably homogeneous species . . .

"One of the most potent [myths] is the ancient and disreputable claim that there are inborn differences in ability between human races. This fantasy has been comprehensively sunk by modern genetics . . . Much of the story of the genetics of race — a field promoted by some eminent scientists — turns out to have been prejudice dressed up as science."

John Smith
Sheffield, England

Striking Teamsters

In "Striking Seattle Teamsters say 'no' to concessions" ("On the Picket Line," *Militant* no. 5), I mistakenly reported that Alaskan Copper and Brass Company is demanding that workers pay \$200 per month for dependent medical coverage. In fact, the company wants to eliminate the union health plan and impose one requiring monthly premiums of \$96. The current offer would impose an annual deductible of \$200 on



each member of a family of four.

Also, the company's five truck drivers, whose own contract expired December 31, 1991, are not officially on strike but continue a sympathy strike they began in October.

As this strike by 38 Seattle warehouse workers (and 10 in Portland, Oregon) enters its sixth month, no one in Seattle has returned to work. The three who have found employment elsewhere continue to support the picket line.

In mid-January, having refused to negotiate since November, Alaskan Copper resumed talks and made a new offer. Strikers said that in a February 4 vote, they elected to continue the strike. Though the company offered a wage hike, it also demanded the right to "lay off" 10 workers of its own choosing. Strikers angrily call this a "hit list."

One said, "We have a right to

medical care and pensions, but they want everything. It's a plantation mentality: leave some chips for the slaves. We're out here till they come through with a contract we can live with."

Bob Cantrick
Seattle, Washington.

Wage variations

I'm writing to make a suggestion for an improvement in the way some of the articles on U.S. labor news are presented.

My comment is a result of talking to some people at work about the fight at Caterpillar. The biggest union at my job is the I.A.M. and most of the workers in my building are machinists, aircraft mechanics, and material handlers.

We recently had a big layoff and more are expected. Workers have been shocked by the low wages and

poor benefits that the few former coworkers who actually found jobs are getting.

I found people very interested in what people are actually paid in different places and why there are such big differences, in particular comparing machinist to machinist or fork truck driver to fork truck driver. In general I find it helpful to compare actual wages. My suggestion is that articles on union contracts or takeback demands include that information.

Jim Burfeind
Berkeley, California

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.

GM plant closings to leave 16,000 jobless

BY ELIZABETH KEALY

DETROIT — General Motors chairman Robert Stempel announced the company's plans to close and consolidate several production plants February 24. Sixteen thousand production and salaried employees will be jobless as a result.

The plants affected by the decision are located in Detroit, Ypsilanti, Flint, and Saginaw, Michigan; Tarrytown, New York; Moraine, Lordstown, and Dayton, Ohio; Anderson, Indiana; and two in St. Catharines, Ontario. The announcement follows GM's statement last December that it will shut down 21 plants and cut 74,000 jobs by 1995.

For months the company had played workers at the Ypsilanti and Arlington, Texas, auto plants against each other for their jobs. The February 24 statement codified GM's decision to shut the Willow Run assembly factory in Ypsilanti by the summer of 1993.

Four thousand hourly and salaried employees at Willow Run will lose their jobs. The announcement came after two months of competition between the two plants that resulted in the voting of major concessions

by the United Auto Workers union local in Arlington.

The plant closings are attempts to thwart what Stempel called a "Kamikaze that was going down like a rock." He was referring to GM's losses of \$4.4 billion, the largest yearly deficit in U.S. corporate history.

The concessions voted on by the Arlington local would further undermine the 1990-93 national contract agreement that exists between the UAW and all of GM's auto assembly and parts plants. Both the Arlington and Willow Run locals offered GM concessions, but the offer to combine job classifications by the Willow Run local was not sweeping enough for GM executives.

According to the February 25 Detroit *Free Press*, the Arlington workers agreed to work on three crews, rotating on two 10-hour shifts for four days a week. The arrangement would allow GM to run the plant seven days a week with a minimum of overtime pay. Stempel stated at his February 24 press conference, "What we did was go back into the plants and say, can you improve the productivity of your

operation? Can you improve the cost? . . . We decided the outcome for higher productivity and everything was in the plant we finally decided on."

GM also decided to keep open a plant organized by the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) in Moraine, Ohio. The union there agreed to the creation of a two-tier wage system. Newly hired workers would start at 55 percent of the current pay rate and would reach full pay only after ten years.

The IUE members also agreed to pay 20 percent of their health-care premiums and be assigned to three work crews on staggered shifts of four 10-hour days. The local agreed to a reduction in job classifications and accepted mandatory vacations during a two-week nationwide shutdown in July. GM is trying to impose the mandatory July vacations on its UAW-organized workers as well.

As GM continues to encourage competition between union locals for jobs, the nationwide approach to contract negotiations begins to be seriously undermined. Such

competition greatly weakens the potential united power of UAW workers organized under common contracts with a common expiration date. This has become a central question for the 16,000 UAW members at Caterpillar who are fighting the company's attempt to break the precedent of patterning agreements after the UAW's contracts at Deere and Co., as well as its demand to impose eight separate contracts at the different Caterpillar plants.

Many workers at the Willow Run plant were stunned by the announcement that the plant was to be closed. Kelly Arter, a 15-year veteran of the plant said she didn't stop crying for a whole day. "I feel betrayed and very angry," she said. "I'm too old to start from scratch, to start all over again."

Bob Harlow, president of the Willow Run UAW Local 1776, blamed Michigan governor John Engler for failing to provide adequate support for the plant.

Supporters of the *Militant* introduced the paper to Willow Run workers and their relatives, and quickly sold 17 copies.

Hundreds of thousands protest racism in Sweden

BY DAG TIRSEN
AND ERIK DAHLROT

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — February 21 was a day of protest here. Several hundred thousand people in workplaces, schools, streets, and meeting halls showed their anger over the brutal shootings of immigrants that have taken place through the fall and winter.

Incidents of racist violence have increased sharply in the past year, with attacks on refugee camps, beatings of immigrants, deportations of refugees, and the jailing of large numbers of refugee children.

In August 1991 a series of shootings of immigrants began. An Iranian-born student was killed in November and ten other immigrants have been wounded, some of them seriously. No one has been arrested, although the police believe the same gunman could be involved in all cases.

The racist violence has been met with broader and broader demonstrations. After a week of almost daily shootings at the end of January, 14 national immigrant organizations called a one-hour work stoppage for February 21.

The initiative was halfheartedly supported by parliamentarians and union officials. But they did nothing to organize the action. The central union body of the blue-collar workers instead sent out a circular stating that the action had been canceled.

But people all over the country began preparing for the action. Local union leaders were asked about their plans for the day. Schools prepared special programs.

At 10 a.m. February 21 mass transportation in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, and several other cities and towns was stopped for a few minutes. Many big workplaces stopped from five minutes to an hour. Meetings on racism took place.

Samhall, a state-owned company with 30,000 workers in 600 plants, stopped work for one hour.

At Konsum Chark, a meat-packing plant in downtown Stockholm, the packing department stopped work for one hour. This department of the plant is made up predominantly of newly arrived young immigrants from all over the world. Workers gathered in groups to discuss, raising questions about racism on the job and the role of the union in the struggle against racism. Immigrant workers were promised no pay deduction for the hour, while others could join in but with a deduction in pay.

Scania, a big truck plant south of Stockholm, is one of the ten biggest industrial workplaces in the country. Immigrant workers on the assembly line voiced disappointment when they heard about the agreement

between the company and union officials for a silent minute instead of a one-hour strike.

The company was obliged to instruct foremen that no workers would be forced back to the assembly line after the minute of silence, and that the line would not start up until all employees were at their work stations, which did not happen until the hour of protest was finished. The line did not move during that hour.

On the assembly line a big proportion of the workers are among the more recently arrived immigrants from the Middle East, Turkey, Iran, and Africa. They gathered in groups, and in particular around a group of journalists who had obtained a permit to enter the plant. Some of the workers said the action was not directed against the company, that it was against racism and racist violence. But

a worker from Turkey pointed out, "Of course we get the worst jobs, as usual."

Many schools stopped their regular classes for an hour or more and organized meetings about racism.

At Hwitfeldska school in Gothenburg, the school caretaker, Emilio Fernández, who is from Chile, activated the fire alarm. He used a bullhorn to address the evacuated students and teachers: "For me racism is dangerous not only for immigrants but for all of society. Everybody is hurt by it."

Students at Tensta Gymnasium [high school] in Stockholm demonstrated at a nearby shopping center.

In many places students from different schools held common demonstrations or meetings. In the area of Angered in Gothenburg 3,000 students gathered. In Sundsvall

students had a meeting in the city center.

In the evening rallies, demonstrations, and torchlight marches were organized all over the country. Acting prime minister Bengt Westerberg spoke at a rally of 300 in Stockholm. In Gothenburg a demonstration of 7,000 people, mainly youth, took place.

The day of actions showed dramatically the political implications of the changing composition of the working class in Sweden. Of 8 million inhabitants, 1 million are immigrants or children of immigrants. Most of these are workers. The actions showed that when large numbers of immigrants stopped work for an hour it had a big impact.

It was plain to see that attempts to make immigrants into scapegoats for the economic depression will run into difficulties.

Dock strike closes West Coast shipping

BY TIM ELLIOT
AND JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — Despite a federal court injunction, longshore workers shut down virtually all West Coast shipping February 17. Ships sat idle in ports from California to Alaska as 4,000 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) rallied and demonstrated here in support of 351 brothers and sisters fired by the Southern Pacific railroad from the Intermodal Container Transfer Facility (ICTF) that serves the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach.

The firings are widely seen as a sharp attack on what many workers consider the strongest union on the West Coast.

On December 16 Southern Pacific (SP) gave a 60-day cancellation notice to Pacific Rail Services, which managed the ICTF. This meant that ILWU Local 13, Allied Division, would be terminated at the facility.

"That same day, SP set up a command post outside the facility with over 40 SP police officers equipped with sniper rifles, automatic weapons, heavy-duty four-wheel drive vehicles and other hardware," reports ILWU's monthly paper, the *Dispatcher*. The paramilitary force, in bullet-proof vests and camouflage, now operates inside the yard.

On February 11 the 351 workers were locked out without warning and SP brought in a new work force.

The Los Angeles-Long Beach ICTF is the largest intermodal facility in the coun-



4,000 rally to back longshore workers fired by Southern Pacific railroad.

try and the major gateway for U.S. trade with Pacific rim countries. Its function is to move containerized cargo off and on railcars.

Longshore workers suspended the loading of a freighter at 3 a.m. February 17. By 10 a.m. nearly 2,000 people had crowded into the ILWU Memorial Hall for a rally. An equal number stood outside the hall, which is dedicated to the longshoremen killed during the 1934 general strike.

After talks by community leaders, politicians, and union officials, the crowd marched three miles along the waterfront to the Los Angeles Harbor Department Headquarters. Plans for a demonstration at the ICTF yard were scrapped due to the presence of a large force of cops in full riot gear.

Marchers carried banners and signs reading, "ILWU Workers Bleed from SP
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