

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Economic downturn engulfs
South Africa

— PAGE 9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Iowa parole board urged to release Curtis now

BY MIKE GALATI
AND JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — On November 17 Mark Curtis will appear before the Iowa State Board of Parole for the fourth time. Dozens of letters to the board have been received by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee here, urging that the board grant Curtis parole.

The delegation of Curtis supporters who will attend the parole hearing in Ft. Madison, Iowa, includes Piri Thomas, well-known Puerto Rican poet from San Francisco; Stuart Adams, of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Larry Ginter, member of the American Agricultural Movement in Iowa; Hazel Zimmermann, treasurer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; William Kutmus, Curtis's attorney; and Edna Griffin, a longtime civil rights fighter.

Curtis was the victim of a frame-up by Des Moines police in March 1988. He was involved in an important fight at the Swift/Monfort meat-packing plant where he worked. Federal immigration police, aided by Des Moines authorities and company officials, raided the plant March 1, seizing 17 workers from Mexico and El Salvador and threatening them with prison and deportation. Curtis and other workers in the plant participated in a series of public meetings and demonstrations that successfully won the release of the "Swift 17," as they became known.

Following one of the protest meetings, at which Curtis spoke in Spanish to urge that his union, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, take the lead in defending these workers, he was arrested and framed on charges of sexual abuse. Police later added a charge of burglary, more than doubling the time Curtis would serve if convicted on the sexual abuse charge.

After a trial in which Curtis was denied
Continued on Page 3

Novack Fund helps rebuild printshop

BY JOHN COX

NEW YORK — The reconstruction of a large section of the printshop that produces the *Militant* newspaper, books by Pathfinder Press, and other socialist and working-class publications was celebrated at a meeting here November 8. The meeting was held in the just-completed section of the first floor of the shop.

This effort has been financed in the last several months by the George Novack Reconstruction Fund. The fund was launched at a meeting in August at the International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, to commemorate the life and contributions of George Novack. Novack was a leader of the revolutionary socialist movement for over half a century in the United States, and the author of a number of books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder. He died on July 30 of this year.

The first speaker at the celebration, Ove Aspöy, the architect for the reconstruction
Continued on Page 4

Why United States rulers lost confidence in Bush

BY JOHN COX
AND STEVE CLARK

George Bush's defeat in the U.S. presidential elections is being widely attributed to a poor campaign strategy or some combination of errors by the Bush administration. Many commentators on TV, radio, and in the daily papers say that "the economy" turned out to be the decisive question in the election campaign.

None of this is true, said Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in a November 7 talk to an audience of some 400 people in New York City on "How the U.S. Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared Deepening Aggression by Washington." The election, Barnes said, was decided not over economic policy, but over foreign policy.

"The truth of the matter is that the U.S. ruling class broke its teeth on the Iraq War," Barnes asserted. "They didn't achieve any of the political goals they went to war over in the Gulf," he said. "Like their 'victory' in the Cold War, what was initially presented in the press as a great victory turned out to be the opposite." Washington is further than ever from achieving its objectives in the region — most importantly, establishing an imperialist-imposed stability in the Middle East, including the installation of an obedient regime in Iraq to help ensure that stability.

From the perspective of the U.S. capitalist rulers, the political debacle in the Gulf was the greatest liability of the Bush presidency. "History will remember Mr. Bush as the man who organized and won the victory in the Persian Gulf," wrote columnist A.M. Rosenthal in the *New York Times* just a few days before the election. "It will also re-

Continued on Page 7

Hundreds of thousands march in Berlin against racist attacks



A crowd estimated at over 350,000 marched in Berlin November 8 to protest the recent wave of racist violence against immigrants and asylum-seekers throughout Germany. The banner in the right foreground reads, "I am a foreigner—worldwide."

Trinity steps up attacks on strikers Union activist arrested on frame-up charges

BY BETSY FARLEY

BESSEMER, Alabama — Seven weeks into the strike by 800 Steelworkers against Trinity Industries here, the company, government officials, and the cops have stepped up their attacks against the union. A violence-baiting campaign has been launched in the media against the workers and a strike activist faces frame-up charges.

The *Birmingham News* ran a front page article November 6 headlined, "Mayor seeks end to strike violence at Bessemer plant." The article puts the onus on the union for supposed shootings, arson, and throwing rocks and bricks at vehicles.

Bessemer Mayor Quitman Mitchell denounced the strike as the most violent in decades. "This is not the wild, wild West. We're not in Vietnam," he said. "We're not going to stand for the violence raging like it is." The paper noted that no arrests had yet been made.

Trinity placed an ad in the *Birmingham News* the same day offering a \$5,000 reward for "information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for violence directed at the company, its employees, or applicants."

Union activist framed up

On November 7 Raúl Gonzalez, a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9226 at Trinity and a strike

activist, was arrested at his home, and booked on frame-up charges of discharging a firearm and reckless endangerment. These charges each carry up to six months in jail. Gonzalez is one of several strikers on the union outreach committee who have been

speaking to other union locals and winning support for the strike.

Gonzalez was released after USWA Local 9226 president James Allen posted a \$1,000 bond. "My arrest on these trumped-up
Continued on Page 4

Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

Hear: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Editor *New International*, just returned from Cuba.

MONTREAL * Saturday, Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m.
Celebrate the publication of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Carlos Tablada, in French.
6566 boul. St-Laurent. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

NEW YORK CITY * Sunday, Nov. 15, 4:00 p.m.
A report back from Waters's recent trip to Cuba.
191 7th Ave., 2nd floor. For more information call (212) 727-8421

MIAMI * Saturday, Nov. 21, 7:00 p.m.
Celebrate the publication of the new Pathfinder book *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*. Waters, who is the editor of this book, will speak during the Miami book fair.
First United Methodist Church of Miami, 400 Biscayne Blvd. For more information call (305) 756-1020.



Deportation hearing begins against Palestinians in Los Angeles

A U.S. Immigration Service judge in Los Angeles is now hearing the case of two Palestinians facing deportation on charges of engaging in "terrorist" activity by giving support to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

The PFLP, an affiliate of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is branded "terrorist" by Washington.

Khader Hamide and Michael Shehadeh were among eight Palestinian solidarity activists arrested in 1987 as "terrorists." The hearing was initiated against the two because they are legal U.S. residents. The remaining six faced deportations on charges of technical violations of visa regulations.

The hearing is being held in two stages. In the current one, the government is presenting "expert" testimony that the PFLP is in fact terrorist. In the second phase of the hearings, now slated for December, the government says it will present evidence that Shehadeh and Hamide "offered material support" to the PFLP.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Palestinian solidarity activists, known as the L.A. Eight, outside federal building in Los Angeles in 1987. Washington has framed up and is attempting to deport these fighters.

Russian troops sent to Caucasus

The Russian government sent more than 3,000 troops to the southern Caucasus region October 31 after an outbreak of fighting between Ingush and Ossetian forces began in North Ossetia, a territory along Russia's southern border with Georgia. The Itar-Tass press agency reported dozens of people had been killed or wounded in the fighting. Ingush fighters, who are demanding control over a part of Northern Ossetia, took nearly 80 Russian servicemen hostage in scattered villages and were battling local policemen.

U.S. nuclear submarine sent to Gulf

The *Topeka*, a U.S. nuclear-powered submarine, entered the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf November 3 and is expected to spend a month there. The *Topeka*, with anti-submarine warfare capability, is the first U.S. nuclear submarine to enter the Gulf, the route of most of the world's oil trade.

The U.S. submarine arrived a couple of weeks before the scheduled arrival in the area of the first of two diesel-powered sub-

marines Iran bought from Russia despite strong U.S. objections.

Malaysian tourists jailed in Boston

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Boston detained a group of 24 Malaysian tourists October 21. The tourists were not accused of committing any crimes. Most of the detained were still being held in jail after more than ten days.

The INS claims they are witnesses in a case involving the tour group's leader, who is charged by the U.S. government with violating U.S. immigration laws. Verne Jervis, an INS spokesperson, said authorities could legally detain material witnesses in an immigration case indefinitely.

Charles W. Rankin, a court-appointed lawyer for one of the tourists, said they had been "treated in a racist manner" by the immigration agents. Another lawyer, Michael Altman, commented, "If this happened to a group of 25 Americans in Malaysia, there would probably be a plan to send in

the Marines."

Lawyers for the tourists said their clients had not even had legal representation for eight days, until they were brought shackled with plastic handcuffs into court and lawyers were appointed for them. Although it was hot in the courtroom, the marshals refused to cut off the handcuffs so they could take off their overcoats.

By November 3, nine of the tourists were allowed to return to their country after being released from jail following a court hearing. Some defense lawyers said that their clients had made statements to immigration agents only after being threatened with continued imprisonment.

São Paulo cops kill hundreds

This year, São Paulo's military police, a state unit that patrols this Brazilian city of 15 million, killed 1,264 civilians through the end of September (not counting the killing of 111 prisoners on October 2).

Cláudio Barcellos, a Brazilian journalist, studied the cases of 4,170 people killed by the São Paulo police over the last 20 years. He reported that 57 percent of the victims had no criminal record. A 1991 survey showed that 71 percent of the victims of police shootings were poor men between the ages of 15 and 25.

A report this month by the São Paulo chapter of Brazil's bar association said military police and death squads paid by shantytown shopkeepers killed most of the nearly 1,000 street children slain there in 1990.

Irish abortion injunction violates right to information

The European Court of Human Rights ruled that Ireland had breached the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms when its supreme court ordered two counseling organizations in 1988 to stop giving

information about how to get abortions in Britain. Abortion is banned in Ireland and in 1988 the supreme court of Ireland ruled that abortion counseling was in violation of the ban.

It is expected that this ruling will have an impact on the referendum scheduled for December 3 in which Irish citizens will vote separately on the right to abortion and the right of information and travel.

Cuba, Russia sign new trade pact

Cuban vice-president Lionel Soto and Russian deputy prime minister for foreign economic affairs Aleksandr N. Shokhin, signed new trade accords that include provisions for a possible deal in which Cuba would trade sugar for Russian oil, reported the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina.

Soto was quoted by the news agency as saying the two sides were also seeking a third partner to help complete a nuclear power station originally being built in Cuba with aid from the former Soviet Union.

The Cuban government suspended work on the nuclear power plant September 5, since it could not afford the terms offered by the Russian government to finish it.

Under the new accords, priority would be given to developing new forms of economic relations like bartering, industrial cooperation, and joint ventures, stated a joint communique issued by the two governments.

The communique said future relations would be based on "universally accepted principles of international trade."

Shokhin was quoted by Prensa Latina saying the two sides still had to fix amounts of sugar and oil to be exchanged under the agreements. Cuba supplied one million tons of sugar to Russia in the first half of 1992 in exchange for 1.8 million tons of oil. The tradeoff was much smaller than the amounts formerly exchanged between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Social devastation in Argentina

At the beginning of October, three new names were added to the list of retirees who have recently committed suicide in Argentina. Family members and friends report their deaths were due to their inability to cope with desperate economic situations.

An article in the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diarillo* Prensa revealed that 15 million Argentines — 45 percent of the country's population — cannot meet minimal subsistence requirements. The polls cited show the only daily food intake for some 10,000 homeless in and around Buenos Aires, the capital city, is a bowl of soup served by charity institutions.

Argentina's average salary is about \$400 a month. It is estimated that it takes at least \$1,000 a month to feed a family of four. Most retired workers receive a \$150 pension a month. Every Wednesday pensioners and their supporters demonstrate in front of the parliament building to demand their monthly pensions be raised to \$450.

—SELVA NEBBIA

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The Militant

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Tariffs first step in U.S.-Europe trade war

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A trade war is brewing between the United States and the European Community (EC) with the breakdown of talks aimed at ending a six-year dispute over farm subsidies. On November 5 the U.S. government announced that in 30 days it will begin collecting a 200 percent import tax on \$270 million worth of white wines from the EC and \$30 million worth of cooking oil and pet food ingredients.

The U.S. government is demanding that European nations sharply reduce their production of oilseeds — which include soybeans, rapeseed, and sunflower seeds — used as animal feed supplements and for cooking oil. Washington also insists that the European Community's tonnage of subsidized grain exports be reduced by 24 percent within six or seven years. France is Europe's leading grain exporter and Germany is the leading producer of oilseeds.

Washington's recently announced tax import sanctions are the first step in plans to levy prohibitively high tariffs on as much as \$1 billion worth of European goods, which include agricultural products mainly exported by France and industrial products

US launches trade war on EC

THE FIRST shots of a trade war between the United States and the European Community were fired yesterday after their failure to resolve a dispute over European farm subsidies.

Punitive tariffs are to be imposed on £1bn of imports as both sides blame each other for failure of talks on farm subsidies

The US presented to the governing council of the General Agreement on

tariff reductions, the Commission should do

not foresee a very serious problem for

The EC is reluctant to be pushed around by Washington, particularly by a lame duck President. France wants to wait until a new administration is in place, and it also faces elections next March. Above all, there is uncertainty over the new administration's attitude to free



Headline from British daily, *The Independent*, shows how serious European capitalists consider Washington's sanctions to be.

from Germany.

"Likely battle plans if war breaks out," was the headline on an article in the October 23 London *Financial Times*, which explained, "The immediate response [to U.S. imposed tariffs] would be retaliation from the EC, which has already drawn up, but not made public, a 'hit-list' of US farm exports that would be targeted."

'Like World War I'

"It's kind of like World War I," said Harold Malmgren, who was a deputy U.S. trade representative in the Nixon and Ford administrations. "Everyone is digging in."

Pointing to the seriousness of this devel-

opment, the November 5 *Wall Street Journal* stated, "It's as if the year is 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand is set to get into his car in Sarajevo, and a terrorist has leveled his gun on the nobleman. This time, economic war, not military could be the result if the trigger of retaliation is pulled."

This escalating dispute threatens to torpedo the current round of General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) talks, which began in Uruguay in 1986. GATT was set up in 1948 by representatives from the most powerful capitalist ruling classes to negotiate multilateral agreements governing the conduct of international trade. Today more than 100 countries are part of its deliberations aimed at settling trade disputes.

"Many economists," according to the *Washington Post*, have been hoping that "a global trade deal" will "yank Western economies out of recession and create a new mood of optimism."

Washington feels emboldened in its retaliatory moves, pointing to the fact that two previous GATT panels had ruled against the EC's oilseed subsidies. However, the U.S. government failed to win support from GATT's governing council November 4 for its retaliatory tariff plans.

Stiffening competition

During the past decade the giant U.S. capitalist agricultural trading monopolies such as Cargill and Continental have faced stiffening competition from EC countries over access to European markets for their products. In the early 1980s, for example, the United States shipped roughly \$3.5 billion a year in oilseeds to Europe, but those exports had fallen to about \$1.8 billion in 1991. Until a decade ago, capitalist Europe was a net importer of grain. However, today it is a major net exporter.

An editorial in the French daily *Le Monde* entitled "U.S. declares agricultural war in Europe," points to this growing conflict. "The United States is rekindling the trade

war," *Le Monde* states. "Right after World War II, an exhausted Europe received Marshall Plan aid in the form, among other things, of cereals and tractors. Today, half a century later, Europe is a veritable agricultural exporting power that the United States still has difficulty in accepting."

"The United States continues to support its farmers with heavy subsidies," continues the editorial, "and justifies them on the grounds that the EC is allegedly subsidizing its farmers three times as heavily: a controversial assertion."

The White House contends that U.S. exports to Europe of soybean oil have been cut by \$1 billion a year because Europe subsidizes the production of oil from rapeseed plants. European officials, on the other hand, say U.S. soybean exports have been depressed partly because the EC decided to buy more soybeans from Poland.

In late October as part of the U.S.-EC trade talks, European representatives received one of their earlier demands. In exchange for a compromise limiting the tonnage of subsidized European grain exports, European officials announced that they planned to begin subsidized meat exports to East Asia and impose steep new tariffs on a broad range of U.S. animal feed exports. Australia and New Zealand joined the United States in condemning this move.

Meanwhile, Washington moved to adopt further protectionist measures against steel-exporting nations. Earlier this year U.S. steel companies filed 84 petitions — 38 directed against EC members — involving 21 countries charging them with dumping steel products in the United States, claiming that these companies were charging less for goods abroad than at home.

In September, the U.S. Commerce Department announced plans to impose import duties on certain steel bars from France, Germany, and Britain. Japan, Brazil, and Mexico joined the EC countries in complaining about this policy.

Board urged to release Curtis

Continued from front page

the right to present crucial evidence in his defense, he was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in state prison. He has appealed the conviction and his supporters organized the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to campaign internationally for his freedom.

Meets parole criteria

Curtis meets many of the requirements considered by the parole board when determining if a prisoner should be released for parole. He has a good work and behavior record in prison, and enjoys widespread community support. He has served more than the average term — three-and-a-half years — in Iowa by those convicted on the sexual abuse charge. The state has used the much larger sentence resulting from the burglary conviction to justify Curtis's continued imprisonment.

Although it has not presented any legal reason for doing so, the parole board added a new requirement for Curtis to meet before being considered for release: enrollment in the state Sexual Offenders' Treatment Program (SOTP), located at the Correctional Center in Mount Pleasant.

Prison officials claim Curtis has "refused" to enter the SOTP program and that his only alternative is to "serve out" his entire sentence. His current release date is projected to be June 30, 2000.

Curtis has not yet enrolled in the program because he has been told by officials of the prison system that he must "admit guilt" in order to successfully complete the program.

Over the past year Curtis and his attorneys have sought to clarify this question since Curtis has a federal appeal pending and maintains his innocence.

It is expected that the parole board will again demand Curtis enter the program, a requirement his supporters say should be dropped due to Curtis's prison record.

Letters urging parole for Curtis have arrived from supporters around the world, including a number from Canada and one from the Netherlands.

An important part of the current campaign is the effort to raise \$25,000. This money will be used to cover the ongoing expenses of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for the next several months. Thus far \$4,000 has been raised.

Prison files

Curtis recently requested and received the file maintained on him by prison officials over the last two years. The file points to Curtis's political work while behind bars and the impact of the international defense effort.

One entry, from May 14, 1990, explains, "Curtis belongs to a group known as the 'Socialist Workers Party' and is active in promoting minority causes and union activity. He likes to hold himself forth as a defender of the rights of the oppressed."

The entry derides Curtis's fight for freedom. "Despite the wealth of evidence against him, Curtis devised a bizarre de-

fense," the officials write. "He claims that the Des Moines police were after him with regard to Curtis's socialist and union activities in Des Moines."

"Despite the fantastic nature of this story, Curtis has been able to convince many people of his innocence and, indeed, has a truly worldwide following," states the prison report. "He has a highly developed 'Mark Curtis defense foundation' that operates out of Des Moines. They strongly preach his innocence and the injustice of his confinement."

Letters urging Curtis's release should be written to the Iowa State Board of Parole, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50319, and sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. The defense committee is organizing to deliver all the letters to the board before the hearing.

Mike Galati is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa. John Studer is a member of United Auto Workers Union Local 270 in Des Moines, Iowa.

Israel carries out bombardment of Lebanon

BY DEREK BRACEY

Israel's military began bombarding towns and villages in Lebanon on October 26. Shelling from Israeli aircraft and howitzers landed across southern Lebanon, just beyond the band of Lebanon occupied by Israel, which it calls its "security zone."

The bombing by Israel and the South Lebanon Army, which is trained and financed by Israel, has been intense in many areas. At one point on the first day, 200 shells had exploded in one hour around Nabatiye.

After two days, at least 13 people were killed and more than 1,000 villagers had fled their homes. In addition to bombing the south, the Israeli army reported at least one gunboat attack on a town in northern Lebanon, Nahr al Bared, which Israel claims is a training base for "Palestinian terrorists."

In response, Lebanese-based guerillas from Hezbollah, the Party of God, fired at least 30 rockets into Israel and Israeli-held Lebanon. One rocket hit the settlement of Qiryat Shemona in Israel, killing an Israeli teenager.

On October 27, Israeli tanks were brought to the Lebanese border, and Israeli television reported that tanks had moved into the Israeli zone in southern Lebanon.

Israel claimed that its latest attacks were in retaliation for five Israeli soldiers killed October 25. Hezbollah has claimed responsibility for exploding a bomb on the road that a Israeli military convoy was moving down.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin accused the governments of Syria and Lebanon of allowing arms from Iran to reach members of Hezbollah.

Rabin also insisted that the Mideast peace

negotiations should continue, even as Israeli troops pressed their attack. Another round in the negotiations began October 21. "I see no contradiction between the two," Rabin said, adding that "it is difficult to understand how, while sitting with us in negotiations, the Syrians can, on the other hand, allow this kind of activity to take place."

At the negotiations in Washington, D.C., the Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian delegations all said they remained committed to continue the talks. The Palestinian delega-

tion protested Israel's military assaults by sitting in silence for five minutes during the negotiations.

In Israel, 1,000 Jewish settlers protested in front of Rabin's home, demanding harsher measures in Lebanon. Rabin, who was elected in the spring, said during his campaign that he would better protect Jewish settlers. In the last few weeks, violence has risen inside Israel and southern Lebanon, with the deaths of 20 Palestinians, 10 Israelis, and at least a dozen Lebanese.

Chicago
November 15

San Francisco
November 21

HOW THE 1992 ELECTIONS HID THE REAL POLITICAL ISSUES AND PREPARED DEEPENING AGGRESSION BY WASHINGTON

Hear Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

- Why the "cultural war" and "political character" were the real issues in the 1992 elections.
- Why the October 1987 stock market crash and the October 1962 Cuban "missile crisis" are not historical anniversaries but portents of the future course of world politics.
- Why the White House and Congress will attempt to implement more of the social program of Ross Perot than those of the two major parties.
- Is the 75th anniversary of the October 1917 revolution a mirage? Did a revolution occur? Has it been defeated?

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Novack fund helps rebuild printshop

Continued from Front Page project, explained how the project evolved. The team, which was assembled in April 1991, began by deconstructing and completely rebuilding the fifth and sixth floors, where the editorial offices of the *Militant* and the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party are located. From there, they moved to the fourth floor, where they carried out a similar job. The editorial and sales offices of Pathfinder Press, as well as a library, are located on this floor.

Aspy said that at that point the reconstruction brigade pledged to rebuild the printshop, making it "just as beautiful and just as functional as the other floors." To the applause of the 250 people gathered to mark the occasion, Aspy added, "If you look around you, I think you'll agree that we lived up to that pledge." The new facility features a brand new concrete floor; new skylights; new heating, air conditioning, plumbing, and

wiring systems; and a powerful lighting system.

This entire stage of the reconstruction project will be concluded by mid-December. In the next month, the equipment that had been moved out to make room for the reconstruction work will be brought back in, and the printshop will begin functioning at full capacity — actually, at a higher capacity and with more efficiency than previously.

The Novack Fund has a goal of raising over \$150,000 by December 1, and \$166,846 has been pledged. As of November 8, just under \$70,000 had been collected. The money is needed to wrap up this phase of the project.

The evening before the special celebration, at a Militant Labor Forum featuring a presentation by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes, more than \$5,000 was pledged and/or collected. A number of other recent events, including a socialist edu-

cational weekend in Wellington, New Zealand, and events to commemorate Novack's life in several U.S. cities, have also raised funds.

The funds that have been sent in so far have been put to very efficient use, because of the "enthusiasm and determination" of the crew, explained Nell Wheeler in a talk at the celebration. Wheeler, an experienced carpenter, quit her airline job and moved from Washington, D.C., to answer an appeal for skilled workers last summer. She explained that the crew has been able to maintain professional standards, even while most of its members came to the crew with little or no skills.

An example of the efficiency of the reconstruction effort is the new concrete floor in the printshop. Professional contractors estimated that it would cost \$400 to \$500 per yard to pour and finish the floor. It was completed by the volunteer brigade at approximately one-fifth the cost.

An article in an upcoming issue will describe more fully the latest accomplishments of the reconstruction project.

The George Novack Reconstruction Fund was launched in August at the International Socialist Conference at Oberlin, Ohio. Novack, who died July 30 at the age of 86, was a leader of the socialist movement in the United States for over half a century.

\$150,000



\$69,816

	PLEGGED	PAID	% PAID
			Should be 77%
UNITED STATES			
NEW HAVEN	\$500	500	100
DETROIT	7,000	4,510	65
SAN FRANCISCO	12,530	7,325	58
SALT LAKE CITY	6,500	3,757	58
ST. LOUIS	6,500	3,618	56
BALTIMORE	4,500	2,320	52
BOSTON	6,000	2,908	48
LOS ANGELES	15,000	6,912	46
MORGANTOWN	3,000	1,290	43
CLEVELAND	4,200	1,780	42
HOUSTON	6,000	2,180	37
TWIN CITIES	9,865	3,580	37
GREENSBORO	3,000	1,105	37
WASHINGTON, D.C.	4,950	1,785	36
ATLANTA	5,500	1,900	35
CHICAGO	6,500	2,200	34
NEWARK	11,000	3,774	34
SEATTLE	6,000	1,965	33
PHILADELPHIA	4,000	1,176	29
NEW YORK CITY	15,000	4,208	28
PITTSBURGH	4,500	1,250	28
MIAMI	3,250	755	23
DES MOINES	3,500	512	15
BIRMINGHAM	3,000	305	10
CINCINNATI	1,000	100	10
PORTLAND	750	0	0
U.S. TOTAL	153,545	61,715	40
GERMANY	1,429	1,429	100
BELGIUM	1,100	1,100	100
FRANCE	1,030	1,030	100
PUERTO RICO	100	100	100
NEW ZEALAND	1,777	1,607	90
AUSTRALIA	650	388	60
SWEDEN	2,450	1,250	51
CANADA	2,905	897	31
BRITAIN	1,860	300	16
TOTAL	\$166,846	69,816	42

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Send to the George Novack Reconstruction Fund,
406 West Street, New York, NY 10014

Trinity steps up attacks on striking Steelworkers

Continued from Front Page charges is a serious attempt to shift the responsibility for the violence from the company to the union," Gonzalez explained. "Trinity will try to use this frame up to divide the union and turn around the public support for our fight."

Gonzalez was arrested two days before Trinity officials went back to court to get Jefferson County Circuit Judge Roger Halcomb to lift a court order barring the company from hiring outside security companies and to strengthen the injunction against mass picketing. One of the cops told Gonzalez that the warrant for his arrest was issued on October 29 for actions that supposedly took place October 26.

Halcomb issued an injunction earlier limiting pickets to 10 strikers per gate and 30 at the picket shack after the company charged that union members went onto company property to knock down two makeshift guard towers. The towers were knocked over after a company tear gas attack on a peaceful mass picket of strikers and their

supporters.

"We will defend all our union members," local 9226 president James Allen said. "We condemn violence and we put the responsibility on Trinity management. It was their hired security guards who threw tear gas at our picket line on October 12." Allen also told of several incidents of company organized provocations, including one where shots were fired into the picket line by a supposed "job applicant."

Coal miners join the picket line

The company's attacks on the union come as the fight is getting significant solidarity from unionists and working people in the area. Nearly 100 coal miners from four locals of the United Mineworkers of America in the area joined the picket line November 2. The expanded picketing was organized in response to company plans to start bringing in strike breakers.

The miners joined hundreds of Steelworkers and their supporters stationed 500 yards away from the plant in groups of 30-50 people at each road leading into the plant. They leafleted passing cars, stopping many to talk about the issues in the strike.

Production remains shut down at this rail car plant. Despite the company attempt to call back workers who were laid off prior to the strike, fewer than 20 workers have crossed and some of them have come back out.

James Allen was joined by other officials and union members at a news conference in front of the plant on Thursday, November 5, to answer the company's violence-baiting of the strike. Alabama AFL-CIO executive vice-president James Albright told the media, "these steelworkers have the full support and backing of the AFL-CIO and all organized labor in Alabama."

Jo Fowler, a member of Communications Workers of America Local 3902 and coor-

inator of Alabama Jobs With Justice, also spoke, comparing the company's lies to the slander campaign mounted against the United Mine Workers by Pittston Coal Company during the UMWA strike in 1989. "With the solidarity of the rest of labor, the miners were able to win that strike," she said.

Trinity has begun advertising in the newspaper for scabs. More than two hundred union members and their supporters lined the eight access roads leading to the Trinity plant on Monday November 9 to discourage anyone from putting in an application with Trinity.

"This will be a peaceful demonstration,"

explained James Allen, speaking for the striking local before the action. "We want people to respect our picket line and not go in to apply for our jobs."

The union is continuing to ask other unions, churches, and community organizations for support on the picket line, money, and food contributions.

Donations and messages of support can be sent to: Local Union 9226 Strike and Defense Fund c/o USWA District 36, P.O. Box 12445, Fairfield, AL 35205.

Betsy Farley is a member of USWA Local 2122 in Birmingham, Alabama.

Crisis at GM forces chairman to quit

BY GARY BOYERS

DETROIT—The resignation of General Motors chairman Robert Stempel October 26 was not a voluntary act. Faced with \$9 billion in losses since August 1990, GM's board of directors, representing the interests of the company's biggest stockholders, lost confidence in Stempel's ability to lead the restructuring they deem necessary to reverse the company's performance. Stempel was given the choice of either resigning or being fired by the board within a few weeks.

This palace coup (newspaper reports indicate that from 6 to 10 other high-ranking GM officials will be forced out) was led by John Smale, the chairman of the executive committee of the GM board of directors. Smale, the retired chairman of Procter & Gamble Co., who has never worked for GM, represents the interests of outside investors who are fed up with the policies of the "old boys network" at the auto giant. They fear that the measures announced by Stempel this year, chiefly the plans to shut down 21 plants and eliminate 74,000 jobs and the wholesale cutbacks in health care benefits to GM's white-collar workers (including eliminating any coverage for future retirees), will be insufficient to reverse GM's losses and declining market share.

They had serious reservations about Stempel's ability to lead the attacks on United Auto Workers (UAW) members at GM that they believe are necessary to make

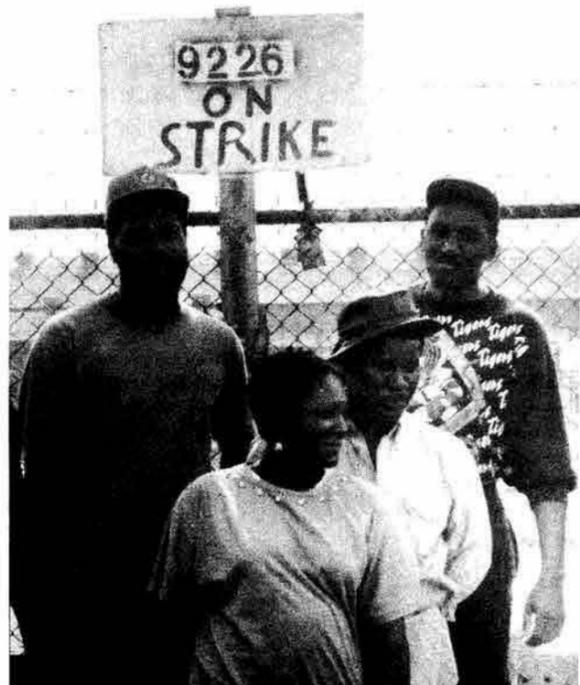
the company profitable, in light of his handling of the three single-plant GM strikes within the last two months, at Lordstown, Ohio; Lansing, Michigan; and Ingersoll, Ontario. From the point of view of these investors, a tougher policy is necessary.

On October 29, GM reported a loss of \$753 million in the third quarter of 1992. Trying to put this in the best possible light, Detroit newspapers pointed out that this loss was \$100 million less than they anticipated and an "improvement" from the \$1.1 billion loss over the same period in 1991. Ford Motor Co. posted a loss of \$159 million in the third quarter this year, while Chrysler Corp. reported a profit of \$202 million.

Stempel received praise following his announcement from a wide range of executives and union officials, including Ford Chairman Harold Poling, Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca, former GM board member Ross Perot, and UAW president Owen Bieber and vice-president Stephen Yokich.

The UAW national contract with the Big Three expires next September, although press reports speculate that the contract with GM might be reopened before that, in part because sections of the "income protection fund" for laid-off workers are about to run out.

Gary Boyers is a member of UAW Local 417 in Troy, Michigan.



Militant/Denise McInerney

Strikers at Trinity Industries

Lessons of a fight to defend union certification

BY GERARDO SÁNCHEZ
AND TONY LANE

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Workers at Long Prairie Packing, after voting for the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in a union certification election 14 months before, overturned that decision by a vote of 97-68 in a new election held on September 17.

UNION TALK

Rosen's Diversified bought this plant three years ago and operates it along with plants in Long Prairie, Minnesota, and Yankton, South Dakota. The Long Prairie plant has been unionized for nearly two decades. The union at the South St. Paul plant was broken in a strike against the former owner a decade ago.

Since the election defeat there has been a wide-ranging discussion on why it occurred, particularly among union supporters. Was the defeat brought about by the company hiring new workers? Were coworkers just too gullible with what the company had told them? Was it because of the Mexicans, or was it because of the white workers?

The biggest obstacle that union supporters came up against was a company that was determined to drive the union out and was prepared to devote a lot of money and resources to that end. They brought in a union-busting law firm to stifle contract negotiations with the union. A year of these tactics brought them the opportunity for a new election.

Then we saw the determination of the company. A lawyer from the firm spent the major part of the five weeks prior to the election in the plant holding several rounds of captive audience meetings with workers. He also met with workers at a local bar where the company picked up the tab.

A top company manager spent the two weeks before the decertification election in the plant. Pressure was put on workers by what they called the "management team." Promises were made for wage increases and restoration of senior-

ity. So many meetings took place that it cut into production.

Company claims union ineffective

At the center of the company's propaganda campaign against the union was their claim that the union wasn't effective, that it couldn't get anything done for the workers.

Although workers had voted in the union a year before, they saw little happen as a result of this. As the company took the offensive by just going through the motions of negotiating, the union officials protested. But no campaign was laid out to counter the company's strategy. Whether through a strike or by other methods, some means had to be found to bring pressure to bear against the company.

Workers saw the contract talks petering out; the company seemed to be gaining in strength; and the numbers turning up to union meetings declined over the months.

But in the face of the company offensive going into the elections, the situation began to be turned around. In the captive audience meetings the company lawyer would bring out charts showing the drop in union membership; charts on the finances of the local and the salaries of the union business representatives; figures on concessionary contracts and the results of certification elections; and tell workers that "you've given the union a chance, try the option of the company."

Workers challenge company

In meeting after meeting, workers began to ask questions. Hadn't the company deliberately stalled the negotiations with the union? What are the wages and conditions under the union contract at the north plant? If you say you want to be fair, let workers make up their minds, why don't you have a union representative here also so workers can hear both sides? You say trust the company, but they've had three years to get it straight, they can't just blame it on some supervisors now. You tell us figures about the union — but how much are you making, how much is the company making? Worker after worker brought up their complaints against the way the company had treated them.

The company lawyer in his attacks on the union por-

trayed it as just a service that members bought, and said they weren't getting value for their money. By challenging the lawyer, workers who stepped forward and spoke up for the union began to change the character of the union, to turn it into a tool that workers could use.

In one of the discussions a coworker asked one of us, "the union never did anything for you last year, why do you want it?" In response we explained that we supported the union because we can use the union as a tool, a way in which we as workers can defend ourselves and our conditions, a means of being able to fight. That was the important thing about having a union.

Despite the setback the union suffered in the election, we are going to be driven to search out that tool again. As the economic crisis deepens, it will drive employers — including ours — to harsher attacks on wages, working conditions, health and other benefits. These attacks are inevitable. As they come, workers will seek to create and fight for a union that can be effective.

The cause of the defeat didn't lie in the divisions that do exist. The company sought to use those divisions — new hires versus older workers, Mexican versus white worker, and so on. But those who stood up for the union helped lessen these divisions and draw workers more together. Their actions also gave confidence to other workers to question the company propaganda.

The most difficult hurdle we faced was gaining confidence that as workers we could fight and win — gain a union and a contract. By beginning to stand up for ourselves, by beginning to reach out for support from working people beyond the plant, our actions were pointing in the direction that the union had to go to win a victory.

The ground that we took in this battle will help us in the future. We gained confidence in standing up, speaking out and organizing ourselves and our union, and we saw that we had to rely on ourselves and began to make progress in creating a union.

Gerardo Sánchez and Tony Lane work at the Long Prairie Packing plant in South St. Paul.

1962: Cuba demands that U.S. aggression end

The *Militant* is currently running a series of articles and reprints on the so-called "Cuban Missile Crisis" of 30 years ago. The following article, under the heading "Cuba Repeats Demand: Leave Guantánamo," appeared in the *Militant*, November 19, 1962.

BY FRED HALSTEAD

NOV. 14 — In the face of continued military, economic, and diplomatic pressure from Washington, Cuba's revolutionary government is maintaining its demand for withdrawal of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo and the rest of Premier Fidel Castro's "five points" for ending U.S. aggression against Cuba.

U.S. newspapers, amazed at the spectacle of tiny Cuba remaining firm on its own demands, characterize its stands as "truculent," "boorish," and "incredibly foolish."

It isn't bravado on the Cubans' part. It's just that as they have repeatedly stated — they don't trust Kennedy's alleged promise

not to invade Cuba and they know that U.S. policy still aims at crushing the Cuban Revolution. The Cubans don't intend to make Kennedy's task easier by disarming themselves or allowing "inspectors" to survey Cuba's defenses.

Khrushchev acted unilaterally when he agreed in his October 27 letter to Kennedy to withdraw strategic missiles from Cuba under UN inspection. At that time Khrushchev explained his action with the statement to Kennedy: "I regard with respect and trust the statement you made in your message on Oct. 27, 1962, that there would be no attack, no invasion of Cuba. . . . Then the motives which induced us to render assistance of such kind to Cuba disappear."

This is Khrushchev's position, but the Cubans don't believe that the U.S. has abandoned its intention of attacking Cuba and destroying the Cuban Revolution. As Premier Castro said in his "five points" statement: "The guarantees, of which President Kennedy speaks, against invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade . . . and adoption, among others, of the following measures . . ." 1) The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically. 2) The end of espionage, sabotage and counterrevolutionary activity organized by the U.S. 3) The end of pirate attacks encouraged by the U.S. 4) The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters. 5) Withdrawal of the U.S. base from Cuban soil at Guantánamo Bay.

Each of these points merely asks that the U.S. cease its violations of international law and Cuban sovereignty. There is nothing truculent about them. Indeed the Cubans have repeatedly given assurance that they favor negotiations, a peaceful settlement and even disarmament. On October 8 before the United Nations, Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós declared:

"Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then, we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons would be unnecessary and our army redundant. We believe ourselves able to create peace."

The Kremlin's policy has been to create the impression that Kennedy's October 27 statement that under certain conditions he would enter into an agreement "to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba," can be taken as an iron-clad promise. But Kennedy maintains that no commitment has yet been made, that it



Militant/Dan Fein

October 23 rally in Miami against the Torricelli bill, which tightens the 33-year-old blockade against Cuba carried out by Washington. The rally of 250 outside the hotel where President George Bush signed the bill was organized by the Alliance of Workers in the Community (ATC) and the Antonio Maceo Brigade, two organizations of Miami Cubans who oppose the blockade.

Miner in Britain gains support after assault

BY JOHN SMITH

SHEFFIELD, England — Paul Galloway, a miner at Thoresby colliery in Nottinghamshire, has received 80 messages of support from workers around the world for his stand against the violent attack he suffered at the hands of eight other miners August 6. Galloway was singled out for his union and political activity. The messages came from six countries and were signed by several hundred workers.

A similar number of messages have been sent to Thoresby branch officials of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM), demanding that the unions call to order those who carried out the assault. Galloway, an NUM member, was interviewed October 27 by BBC television as he attended a demonstration in the Yorkshire mining village of Grimthorpe protesting the government's decision to axe 30,000 miner's jobs. After stating that he was from Nottinghamshire, a UDM stronghold, Galloway was asked what he thought of recent developments within that union.

To several million viewers of BBC's "Look North" program he stated, "Today's decision by Roy Lynk to stand down from

Continued on Page 6

won't be made until all "weapons systems" he deems "offensive" are removed under UN inspection on a "continuation" basis.

Kennedy brushes aside Cuban demands that aggressive acts being committed against Cuba be halted. In addition, he extends his definition of "offensive weapons." Now this includes medium bombers with a turn-about range of 700 miles, the length of Cuba. At the same time administration officials reiterate the position that the revolution must be crushed, even if the administration should pledge no invasion now.

Under these conditions, for the Cubans to submit to UN inspection would not only be an abrogation of part of their sovereignty but would be militarily foolish.

Khrushchev's unilateral action in accepting Kennedy's demand for UN inspection of Cuban defenses was made in the knowledge that the Cubans had already rejected that demand. On October 23, before Kennedy and Khrushchev began exchanging letters, Fidel Castro made a speech saying:

"We refuse to give permission to anyone to examine, to investigate our country — no matter who it is. Cuba is not the Congo. Under the UN flag they went to the Congo and killed its leader and the spirit of independence of that people. Anyone who comes to inspect anything in Cuba had better come prepared for battle. We don't ask to investigate others' territory."

It is not the Cubans who are acting arrogantly in this situation. Their position has been consistent, strictly legal, reasonable and pointed toward a negotiated solution from the beginning and throughout. Kennedy, on the other hand, has violated international law, flaunted other nations' sovereignty, and based his demands, not on justice, law or negotiation, but on brute force.

Is it so "foolish" for a small country to stand on its sovereign rights in the face of such threats and such unilateral maneuverings? The Cubans don't think so, and neither should honest people throughout the world.

China deepens course of 'market reforms'

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The Communist Party of China (CPC) voted at its 14th Congress, held in October, to continue and deepen the course of opening China to capitalist investment and expansion that has been developing over the past decade. "A socialist market economy" is what Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC, called for in his opening speech at the congress. "We must continue to intensify the market forces," he declared.

The CPC charter was revised to include reference to building "socialism with Chinese characteristics," a euphemism for putting the economy more at the mercy of the world capitalist market. This course has been put forward most vocally by Deng Xiaoping, who, at 88, continues to be the central leader of the CPC, despite the fact that he holds no official post. Nearly half of those on the Central Committee elected at the meeting are on it for the first time. Nevertheless, the average age of the new committee, 56.3 years, was higher than the 55.2 year average of the one chosen at the 13th Congress in 1987.

Among the aims of the Chinese rulers spelled out by Jiang were to push unprofitable state-run enterprises into the market, open more areas to foreign trade and investment, and establish a system where most prices would be determined by market forces. Jiang acknowledged that this will create major inequalities and unemployment, saying that China must allow and encourage some areas and individuals to grow rich in advance of others.

The congress also made it clear that the Chinese rulers do not intend to allow any expansion of democratic rights. Jiang referred to the 1989 student protests in Tiananmen Square as a "political disturbance" and praised the army, which was called in to massacre at least 800 of those demonstrators. On October 24, the Chinese government deported democratic rights activist Shen Tong to the United States. Shen, 24, was one of the leaders of the 1989 demonstrations and had just returned to China from exile from the United States in July.

The economic measures discussed at the 14th Congress continue a process that has been unfolding for the past 13 years. Deng and other Chinese officials have put forward the goal of becoming Asia's "fifth dragon." The "four dragons" are Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, all of which experienced rapid capitalist expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, based on low wages and repressive regimes.



Migrant workers rest on a sidewalk in Guangzhou between jobs. Sixty million Chinese have left rural areas to work under sweatshop conditions in cities, and are denied social benefits from the state.

Since market-oriented "reforms" were started in 1978, China's gross national product has grown at a very high average annual rate of 8.7 percent. Its current growth rate is 12 percent.

Foreign investment has also soared. In the first five months of 1992, the Chinese government approved \$10.5 billion in foreign investment projects, three times the amount for the same period in 1991. Investors range from capitalists in other Asian countries to General Motors, which in May began a joint venture with a Chinese company to build pickup trucks. The *New York Times* explained that China is attractive to foreign capitalists due to "an enormous supply of literate and healthy laborers who are willing to work for \$50 a month or less."

There are now two stock markets in China, one in Shenzhen, with 18 companies listed on it, and a smaller one in Shanghai. With high demand for the handful of shares issued prices so far have gone way up, giving shareholders large profits. One result of this was seen in August, when tens of thousands waiting to buy applications, which simply give the holder a one-in-ten chance to purchase stocks, rioted in Shenzhen, when the applications ran out.

Shenzhen is located in Guangdong, a province with a population of 63 million, in southern China. This is one of several "special economic zones," where foreign invest-

ment and other capitalist development are less restricted than in the rest of China. Shenzhen has swollen from a city of 70,000 in 1978 to more than 2 million today. Eighty percent of the 1.3 million workers in Shenzhen are "temporary workers," who are granted permission to live and work in the area for only two years at a time. They typically work long hours, seven days a week, and are denied many social benefits. Those who have children are forced to pay penalties, such as higher school fees than permanent residents. Many have worked a full 10 years in Shenzhen without any improvement in their conditions.

Workers who leave the rural areas for the cities without official permission are in an even worse situation. Called "muddy legs," they do not receive grain rations, housing, or medical care. There are more than 60 million Chinese in this position, who take

the most difficult and dangerous jobs. Throughout all of China, working people are faced with rising rents and food prices, and the prospect of unemployment.

Social problems such as prostitution are mushrooming in the zones where the market is being opened up. Even the Chinese Women's Federation, an official organization that is supposed to protect women, got in on the money-making act; a hotel run by the group turned out to be a brothel.

As these changes accelerate, China will see more of the same kinds of contradictions and problems facing Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union today. There are reports of some strikes and sabotage, and workers in several cities have attacked factory directors who tried to introduce capitalist reforms.

Some foreign investors are already facing problems. Last year, about 200 workers went on strike at two wholly owned Japanese companies in China, demanding higher wages. At one factory, workers went back when the company agreed to a raise, putting them on the same level as other workers in the area. Members of the official Chinese trade union were sent to "persuade and educate" the workers at the other plant, where wages were reported to be above the local average.

Regional divisions and tensions are increasing as well. There is already strong competition between the highly developed coastal areas and much poorer inland regions, and for two years the central government in Beijing has been fighting with provincial authorities over how tax money is to be divided.

A journalist from the former Yugoslavia, quoted in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, said that Chinese diplomats are looking carefully at the events unfolding in the Balkans: "Our example worries them. If economic development can inoculate a socialist country against disintegration, then what happened to us? We were the richest, the most advanced, and the most 'reformed and open' state in the socialist world. And now look."

British miner wins new support

Continued from Page 5

the presidency of the UDM gives us the best chance to reunify miners. More Notts [Nottinghamshire] miners are signing back with the NUM than at any time since 1985. If this trend continues, it will put us in a much stronger position to fight the pit closures." The UDM was originally set up as a rival to the NUM by union officials who opposed the miner's historic 1984-85 strike. Lynk recently staged an underground sit-in against the planned pit closure.

Many miners at Paul's own pit saw the interview. One UDM miner said, "Paul, for the first time I agree with everything you said." Around 30 UDM miners at Thoresby traveled on NUM coaches to the giant October 21 NUM demonstration in London against pit closures, as did many miners from other Nottinghamshire pits.

The fight for solidarity and unity among miners has been at the heart of Galloway's campaign to isolate his attackers. Twenty-seven workers at a Toyota assembly plant in New Zealand recently wrote, "The use of violence to settle differences of opinion amongst union members weakens our unions when they need to be strong. Galloway has refused to tell management or the police who was involved. He is right."

Many coworkers, and other workers writing from different countries, have commented how much they appreciate Galloway's decision not to turn to management, but to support the union and to his class for support.

Galloway's defense campaign has helped to isolate his attackers and has contributed to a more serious climate at the pit, where a much wider discussion is taking place on what can be done to stop the pit closures.

Galloway's union branch is scheduled to discuss the violent attack on him at its November 8 meeting.

Messages of support can be sent to Paul Galloway c/o Pathfinder Bookshop, 1 Gower Street, Sheffield, S4 7HA, England.

Messages of protest against the attack should be sent to: UDM Office, British Coal, Thoresby Colliery, Ollerton Road, Edwinstowe, Nottinghamshire, England, NG21 9PS (tel: 0623-822238) and to

NUM Thoresby Branch, c/o Keith Stanley, 24 Samson Street, Kirby in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, England, NG17 9HT. Please send copies to Paul Galloway at the above address.

— CALENDAR —

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Welcome Pastors for Peace U.S.-Cuba Friendship. Speaker: Rev. Emory Searcy, Jr., Executive Director of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Potluck dinner. Sat., Nov. 14, 6:30 p.m. Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church, 137 Boulevard NE (one block north of the King Center). For more information: (404) 621-5073.

Parole Now for Mark Curtis!

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Speakers: Broek Carlsen, Amnesty International, North Atlanta High School; Rev. Joseph Fahy, works with Hispanic immigrants; Marla Puziss, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Committee, member AFSCME Local 1644; Robin Singer, Atlanta Committee on Latin America, works with Pastors for Peace. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

OHIO

Cleveland

Panel Discussion. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Sun., Nov. 15, 4 p.m. 1863 W. 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

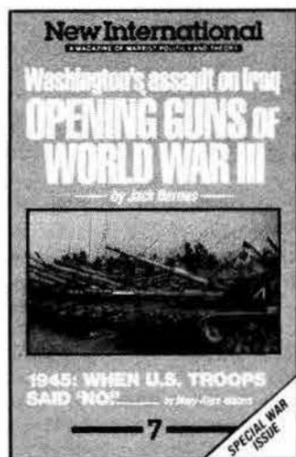
CANADA

Toronto

Speakers: Representative of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, panel of fighters for democratic rights including Dudley Laws, Cherie MacDonald, Brigitte Brunner. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. St. Pauls Center at Trinity Chapel, 427 Bloor St. West. (near Spadina) Donation: \$5. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

New International

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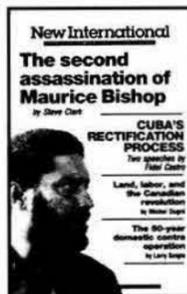
No. 7 Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq
by Jack Barnes

Washington's devastation of Iraq did not mark the opening of a new world order. It held a mirror to the declining world order of capitalism and to its accelerating conflicts and contradictions. 333 pages, \$12



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the Road to Socialism
204 pages, \$10

Available at your local Pathfinder bookstore (see page 12) or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, add \$3 handling and postage for the first book and \$.50 for each additional title.

All out for the Nov. 14-21 subscription target week!



Militant/Dan Fein

Militant on sale at University of West Indies, in Bridgetown, Barbados, in October.

BY SARA LOBMAN

The second "target week" of the international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* will run from November 14 through November 21.

This target week will be crucial to successfully completing the seven-week subscription drive. At the end of the fourth week, the drive stands at only 37 percent, or 463 *Militant* subscriptions behind schedule. It is likely that the drive will enter the target week with almost 1,200 subscriptions to sell in the last two weeks. Supporters will have to organize to make the most of every day of the target week. The efforts of every single supporter will make a difference.

It is possible to meet the goals of this campaign — in full and on time. In the pages of this week's *Militant*, readers can learn about the strike of Steelworkers in Alabama against Trinity Industries and the fight for justice against the Westray coal bosses in Nova Scotia, Canada. Twenty-six miners were killed at the Westray coal mine in May.

This issue of the *Militant* also reprints an article from the paper's pages in 1962, which explains the truth about the Cuban missile crisis. Other articles take up the moves toward a trade war between the United States and its European rivals, and the opportunities and challenges facing the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa in the midst of a deep economic crisis in that country.

Youth and working-class fighters more and more discover that it is only in the *Militant* that they can get factual information about the battles to resist the employers' offensive. In Britain, 350 workers at St. Helens in Merseyside demonstrated for jobs.

Many of the protesters were miners protesting pit closures. At the protest, one subscription to the *Militant* was sold, in addition to 11 single copies of the paper, and one copy of *New International*.

Special teams being organized

Supporters around the world have begun to let the *Militant* know their plans for the target week. Supporters in the Appalachian coal fields are planning a several-day team to Tennessee. As reported last week, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union are organizing a week-long team to packinghouses in the Midwest.

In Sweden, supporters in Stockholm will be heading to Uppsala to team up with a young reader there for a day of activities.

Previous teams here have been quite successful. A sales and reporting team in western Canada sold 11 *Militant* subscriptions, one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and one copy of *New International*. The team got a good response from striking steelworkers at Fording Coal and locked-out miners at the Balmer mine. Workers were impressed with the weekly reports written by unionists and fighters from around the world.

Jesús, a striker at Fording Coal, bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* because of its coverage of the Cuban revolution. Lorne, a miner who bought a *Militant* subscription, said he thought it was important for working people to stand together and build solidarity. "If we cooperate too much with management, they'll end up owning us," he said.

Many areas report plans to send all-day teams to nearby colleges and universities. Where possible, these teams will want to spend enough

time on each campus to set up a table, do some door-to-door sales in the community, and attend any political events that may be happening.

A team to Indiana University of Pennsylvania sold two subscriptions this week. An earlier team had begun work with several students organizing a protest around a scheduled talk by former Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates. Gates is also scheduled to speak at the University of Pittsburgh, and the *Militant* will be at that protest as well.

Supporters in several areas have decided to try to stay out on the streets a little longer on each sale. In Morgantown, West Virginia, teams will be organized to go out every Saturday from 9:00 a.m. until 4:00 p.m.

The last two days of the target week will offer a special opportunity. On November 20, Spike Lee's film on Malcolm X will open across the United States. Supporters will want to organize teams to sell the paper at theaters where it is showing. Special programs on Malcolm X will also be organized on many campuses and in the Black community. Wherever possible, tables should be organized that can display the *Militant*, along with the impressive collection of Malcolm's speeches, published by Pathfinder.

Supporters should send in reports on results from the first week-end of the target week to arrive at the *Militant* by Sunday afternoon.

The following people contributed to this article: Debbie Delange from Manchester, England; Arnold Weissburg from Pittsburgh; Ned Dmytryshyn and Dan Grant from Vancouver, Canada; and Chris Rayson from Morgantown, West Virginia.

Why rulers lost confidence in Bush

Continued from Front Page member him as the man who threw the victory away."

Rulers lost confidence in Bush

Thus, Barnes said, "Bush didn't 'lose' this election, he was defeated" — defeated by big sections of his own class. They lost confidence in Bush's capacity to effectively defend U.S. business interests in the face of a deepening crisis of the capitalist economy, looming trade wars, and the shooting wars

this crisis and instability will continue to breed.

Significant ruling-class institutions and their spokespersons did their bit during the final months of the election campaign to damage Bush's chances. It was widely recognized in the late summer and early fall, for example, that Bush was considering the one move that could salvage his campaign — launching an "October surprise," a new military assault on Iraq, or perhaps in the former Yugoslavia. That

way, Bush hoped, he could walk into the voting booth November 3 wrapped in the flag.

Unlike two years ago, however, Bush couldn't build consensus in the U.S. ruling class on serious preparations for military action.

At the end of September Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, expressed sharp misgivings over sending U.S. planes into combat in Bosnia in a widely publicized *New York Times*

Continued on Page 11

SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New International Single Issues	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES							
Houston	44	65	68%	6	13	3	30
Salt Lake City	39	65	60%	7	13	2	20
Chicago	44	75	59%	3	19	14	35
Los Angeles	62	125	50%	35	75	47	70
Twin Cities, MN	45	100	45%	1	13	7	30
Philadelphia	32	75	43%	7	13	4	35
Cleveland	25	60	42%	0	6	0	40
Washington DC	28	70	40%	6	20	3	35
Birmingham, AL	26	65	40%	0	3	0	35
Seattle	29	75	39%	4	23	5	35
Greensboro, NC	24	65	37%	1	5	4	30
Morgantown, WV	18	50	36%	0	2	5	30
Miami	24	75	32%	4	20	21	40
Newark, NJ	39	125	31%	15	35	9	65
Detroit	23	75	31%	2	6	5	35
Baltimore	23	75	31%	0	6	1	25
Pittsburgh	20	70	29%	0	3	4	35
San Francisco	27	95	28%	4	35	4	60
New York	46	175	26%	7	50	45	90
St. Louis	21	80	26%	1	3	6	35
Boston	23	90	26%	13	25	18	45
Portland	3	12	25%	0	1	1	10
New Haven, CT	3	15	20%	1	1	1	6
Fl. Madison, IA	1	5	20%	0	0	0	0
Des Moines, IA	15	80	19%	3	16	1	40
Atlanta	11	65	17%	0	5	1	30
Cincinnati	4	25	16%	1	5	6	5
U.S. TOTAL	699	1,952	36%	121	416	217	946
AUSTRALIA	1	25	4%	0	6	10	15
BARBADOS	0	6	0%	0	0	0	5
BELGIUM	1	6	17%	0	4	3	10
BRITAIN							
London	21	45	47%	1	5	11	40
Manchester	8	35	23%	0	2	7	30
Sheffield	7	35	20%	1	3	0	20
BRITAIN TOTAL	36	115	31%	2	10	18	90
CANADA							
Toronto	28	60	47%	7	15	19	40
Montreal	18	50	36%	5	20	9	50
Vancouver	20	60	33%	4	10	6	20
Quebec City	0	3	0%	0	0	0	2
CANADA TOTAL	66	173	38%	16	45	34	112
FRANCE	2	3	67%	11	2	6	10
ICELAND	6	15	40%	0	1	0	5
MEXICO	0	1	0%	0	5	0	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Christchurch	12	25	48%	0	1	4	8
Wellington	16	35	46%	1	1	3	10
Auckland	15	40	38%	0	3	3	8
N.Z. TOTAL	43	100	43%	1	5	10	26
PUERTO RICO	0	2	0%	1	5	2	4
SWEDEN	24	40	60%	11	15	15	20
TOTAL	877	2,426	37%	163	514	315	1,241
SHOULD BE		1,340	57%		257		684
DRIVE GOALS		2,350			450		1,200

IN THE UNIONS

Union	Militant/PM			NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES					
UTU	30	45	67%	0	15
UFCW	22	40	55%	6	15
IAM	53	110	48%	3	42
UMWA	7	18	39%	0	6
ACTWU	18	48	38%	1	26
OCAW	17	50	34%	2	20
USWA	29	90	32%	0	30
ILGWU	9	32	28%	4	9
UAW	19	80	24%	8	35
U.S. TOTAL	204	513	40%	24	198
SHOULD BE	293		57%		
CANADA					
USWA	1	7	14%	0	3
ACTWU	1	10	10%	0	4
CAW	1	15	7%	0	8
IAM	0	6	0%	0	4
CANADA TOTAL	3	38	8%	0	19
SHOULD BE	22		57%		
NEW ZEALAND					
MWU	2	2	100%	0	1
UFCW	2	5	40%	0	1
EU	0	5	0%	0	1
N.Z. TOTAL	4	12	33%	0	3
SHOULD BE	7		57%		
SWEDEN					
Food Workers	2	3	67%	1	1
Metal Workers	2	7	29%	3	2
SWEDEN TOTAL	4	10	40%	4	3
SHOULD BE	6		57%		

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFCW (U.S.) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UFCW (New Zealand) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

Cuba is 'target of imperialist wrath,' said Che Guevara at UN

Determined to destroy the example set by the Cuban revolution, the government of the United States has for more than 30 years maintained an economic, commercial, and financial embargo aimed at crippling Cuba's economy. Not content with cutting off U.S. trade to the island, Washington has sought to enforce retaliatory measures against firms around the world that failed to fall in line and do the same.

In the most recent instance, President Bush signed the so-called Cuban Democracy Act into law October 23. The House of Representatives had previously voted by a margin of more than 2-1 to approve this Act, which was sponsored by Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli.

The law, which is supported by Democratic presidential candidate William Clinton, seeks to tighten a loophole in the embargo that has allowed U.S. subsidiaries abroad to trade with Cuba as long as they obtain permission from Washington.

To campaign against the embargo over the years, Cuban revolutionaries have used all forums available to them to explain to the world's workers and farmers the criminal measures Washington has employed and why they would ultimately fail.

In the excerpt we are publishing below, Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution, explains some of the history behind Washington's economic aggression. It is taken from an address by Guevara to the United Nations General Assembly on December 11, 1964, and is reprinted from *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*.

This new book by Pathfinder, published in late October, contains speeches by Guevara and Fidel Castro to the United Nations from 1960 to 1979. The excerpt below is copyright © 1992 by Pathfinder Press.

* * *

We announced at the beginning of this statement that Cuba would speak here also as a country under attack. The latest developments, which have made our country the target of imperialist wrath and the object of every conceivable kind of repression and violation of international law, from before Playa Girón until now, are known to all.¹ It was no accident that Cuba was the main scene of one

1. On April 17, 1961, 1,500 Cuban-born mercenaries invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs on the

of the acts that has most seriously endangered world peace, as a result of a legitimate action taken by Cuba in exercise of its right to adopt its own principles for its people's development.²

Acts of aggression by the United States against Cuba began virtually as soon as the revolution triumphed. In the first stage, they took the form of direct attacks on Cuban centers of production.

Later, these acts took the form of measures aimed at paralyzing the Cuban economy. About the middle of 1960 an attempt was made to deprive Cuba of the fuel needed to operate its industries, transport, and power stations. Under pressure from the State Department, the independent United States oil companies refused to sell petroleum to Cuba or to provide Cuba with tankers to ship it in. Shortly afterward, efforts were made to deprive Cuba of the foreign exchange needed for its foreign trade. A cut of 700,000 tons in the Cuban sugar quota in the United States was made by then President Eisenhower on July 6, 1960, and the quota was abolished altogether on March 31, 1961, a few days after the announcement of the Alliance for Progress³ and a few days before Playa Girón. In an effort to paralyze Cuban industry by cutting off its supplies of raw materials and spare machine parts, the United States

southern coast. The action, organized by Washington, aimed to establish a "provisional government" to appeal for direct U.S. intervention. However, the invaders were defeated within seventy-two hours by the militia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces. On April 19, the last invaders surrendered at Playa Girón (Girón Beach), which is the name Cubans use to designate the battle.

2. This is a reference to the 1962 October crisis. It is known in the United States as the "Cuban missile crisis," the term used by the Kennedy administration and popularized since then by the daily press. The crisis began when President John F. Kennedy ordered a total blockade of Cuba, threatened an invasion of the island, and placed U.S. forces throughout the world on nuclear alert. Washington demanded the removal of Soviet nuclear missiles, which had been installed in Cuba by mutual agreement of the two sovereign powers. Cuban workers and farmers responded by mobilizing massively in defense of the revolution. Following an exchange of communications between Moscow and Washington, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev decided to remove the missiles — without consulting the Cuban government.

3. The Alliance for Progress was a U.S.-sponsored program established in 1961 as a response to the Cuban revolution and its example. It allo-

Commerce Department issued an order on October 19, 1960, prohibiting the shipment of a large number of products to our island. This ban on trade with Cuba was progressively intensified until on February 3, 1962, the late President Kennedy placed an embargo on all United States trade with Cuba.

After all these acts of aggression had failed, the United States went on to subject our country to an economic blockade whose purpose was to stop trade between other countries and our own. First, on January 24, 1962, the United States Treasury Department announced a ban on the importation into the United States of any article made in whole or in part from products of Cuban origin, even if it was manufactured in another country. A further step, equivalent to setting up a virtual economic blockade, was taken on February 6, 1963, when the White House issued a statement announcing that after January 1 of that year goods bought with U.S. government funds would not be shipped in vessels flying the flag of foreign countries that had traded with Cuba. This was the beginning of the blacklist, which now includes more than 150 ships belonging to countries that have not yielded to the illegal Yankee blockade. A further measure to obstruct Cuba's trade was taken on July 8, 1963, when the United States Treasury Department froze all Cuban property in the United States and prohibited the transfer of dollars to or from Cuba, together with any other kind of dollar transaction carried out through third countries.

Obsessed with the desire to attack us, the United States specifically excluded our country from the supposed benefits of the Trade Expansion Act.

Acts of aggression have continued this year. On February 18, 1964, the United States announced the suspension of its aid to Great Britain, France, and Yugoslavia because these countries were still trading with Cuba. Dean Rusk, the secretary of state, said, according to the text that appeared in the U.S. newspapers: "At the same time there can be no improvement

cated \$20 billion in economic aid to Latin American governments over a ten-year period in the form of credits, given in exchange for their compliance in lining up against Cuba.



Ernesto Che Guevara

in relations with Communist China as long as that country incites and supports acts of aggression in Southeast Asia, or in those with Cuba as long as it represents a threat to the Western Hemisphere. That threat can be ended to Washington's satisfaction only with the overthrow of the Castro regime by the Cuban people. We regard that regime as temporary."

Cuba calls on the delegation of the United States government to say whether the actions foreshadowed by this statement and others like it, and the incidents we have described, are or are not at odds with coexistence in the world today, and whether, in the opinion of that delegation, the series of acts of economic aggression committed against our island and against other countries that trade with us are legitimate. I ask whether that attitude is or is not at odds with the principle of the organization that brings us together — that of practicing tolerance among states — and with the obligation imposed by that organization on countries that have ratified its charter to settle their disputes by peaceful means. I ask whether that attitude is or is not at odds with the spirit of this meeting in favor of abandoning all forms of discrimination and removing the barriers between countries with different social systems and at different stages of development. And we ask this conference to pass judgment on any explanation the United States delegation ventures to make. We, for our part, maintain the only position we have ever taken in the matter: we are ready to join in discussions provided that no prior conditions are imposed.

Cuban Communist Party issues statement on removal of leader

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba acted on September 21 to remove Carlos Aldana Escalante from his position as head of the Ideological and International Relations Department of the party's Central Committee. A statement from the Political Bureau printed in *Granma*, the party's newspaper, said that "this measure was motivated by deficiencies in his work and serious errors of a personal nature in the fulfillment of his duties."

The statement said that the decision to remove Aldana from the posts followed an investigation of his ties with Eberto López Morales, the general manager of Caribbean Audiovisuals, S.A. López, a Cuban citizen, was arrested for "violations linked to non-payment of taxes and customs duties, and trafficking in foreign currency, among other crimes." It went on to say, "his ties with Carlos Aldana and other collaborators... benefited the arrested party. López Morales moved in certain circles, flaunting and bragging about these ties."

The investigation found that López Morales had "been to a foreign bank to include Carlos Aldana Escalante's name among those with access to the capital that had been accumulated and held abroad via unscrupulous and corrupt dealings."

Aldana would have been aware of the deceptive character of López's operation when López gave him two credit cards to access these funds, one with his real name and one with a false name, noted the investigators.

"If, instead of first accepting and then destroying one of the credit cards — the one with his name on it, precisely, he admitted so

that he could not be connected with using the funds — Aldana had at that moment acted in the only way that would have been expected of him, and immediately reported the situation he was involved in, his attitude would have been taken into account and the measures taken against him would have been less drastic, painful, and harmful," continued the article.

Not reporting the situation "greatly contributed to unleashing a wave of rumors — the majority of which are unfounded and unjust — which the enemy took advantage of in its untruthful foreign propaganda," the article said.

"The [investigation] commission came to the conclusion that Comrade Aldana's ties with the firm in question at no time led to personal gain for himself or his family, who were totally unaware of this situation.

"The political damage done to the Party, given Comrade Aldana's high responsibility and position and the errors he has committed, are in principle the conditions that led to his exclusion from the Political Bureau and the Central Committee."

In an interview published in the September 28 *El Sol de Mexico*, Aldana stated that he was "fully convinced of the justice of this decision," describing it as "exemplary, in the sense that there is no impunity in our society, and when someone makes mistakes, independently of his position in the power structure and the responsibilities he has had, he must make full amends for his errors."

On October 26, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party expelled Aldana from the Party.

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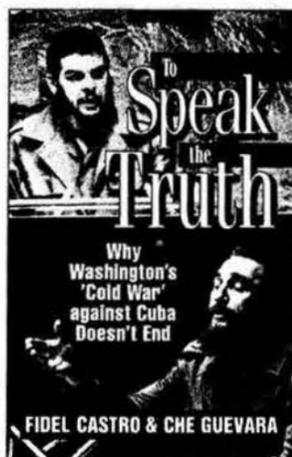
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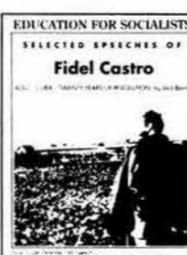
TO SPEAK THE TRUTH

Why Washington's
'Cold War' against
Cuba Doesn't End
BY FIDEL CASTRO
AND CHE GUEVARA

Using the forum of the United Nations, the two central leaders of the Cuban revolution explain to the world why the U.S. government is determined to destroy the example set by that revolution, and why this effort will continue and ultimately fail. With an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. \$16.95 (special offer \$12.95)



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Economic downturn engulfs South Africa

Constituent assembly needed to help 'save the country from disaster'

BY GREG McCARTAN

Continuing violence and the effects of a steep downturn in South Africa's capitalist economy have added a special urgency to the African National Congress's call for the formation of a constituent assembly, a conquest that would open the door to the establishment of a democratic republic.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC's president, announced at the end of October that negotiations with the white minority regime are expected to begin in late November.

"Top among the issues that we'll discuss is the setting of a date for the installation of an interim government of national unity," he said during a speech in Oviedo, Spain. The ANC has fought for the interim government as a means to supervise elections to a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote. Blacks are still denied the right to vote in South Africa.

Mandela said that seeing the latest economic figures was one factor that led him to call for measures to "save the country from disaster" and press the government to grant ANC demands and return to the negotiating table.

"We want to break the deadlock, because if we don't, I fear that the economy is going to be so destroyed that when a democratic government comes into power it will not be able to solve it. The longer it takes for democracy to be introduced," Mandela told the *Johannesburg Star* in mid-September, "the more difficult it will be to repair the economy."

Downward economic spiral

South Africa's economy is in its worst downturn in eight decades. The impact on the country's working people is especially harsh, with 40 percent unemployed — or seven million out of work. Mandela described the situation as "a time bomb."

The layoffs and rising unemployment have throttled the growth of the union movement and slowed the incorporation of women into the industrial work force. A whole new generation of youth is being kept out of the labor force. Millions pouring into the cities from the desolate isolation of rural areas are unable to find work. Some 17 million of 28 million Blacks live in rural areas, most in apartheid's 10 Black "homelands," the Bantustans.

The revolutionary struggle, which involves the vast majority of the population, represents the class interests of working people in town and countryside, who are at the forefront of this battle. Thus, the worsening economic conditions cut across the ability of the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to broaden the organization and political mobilization of millions in struggle.

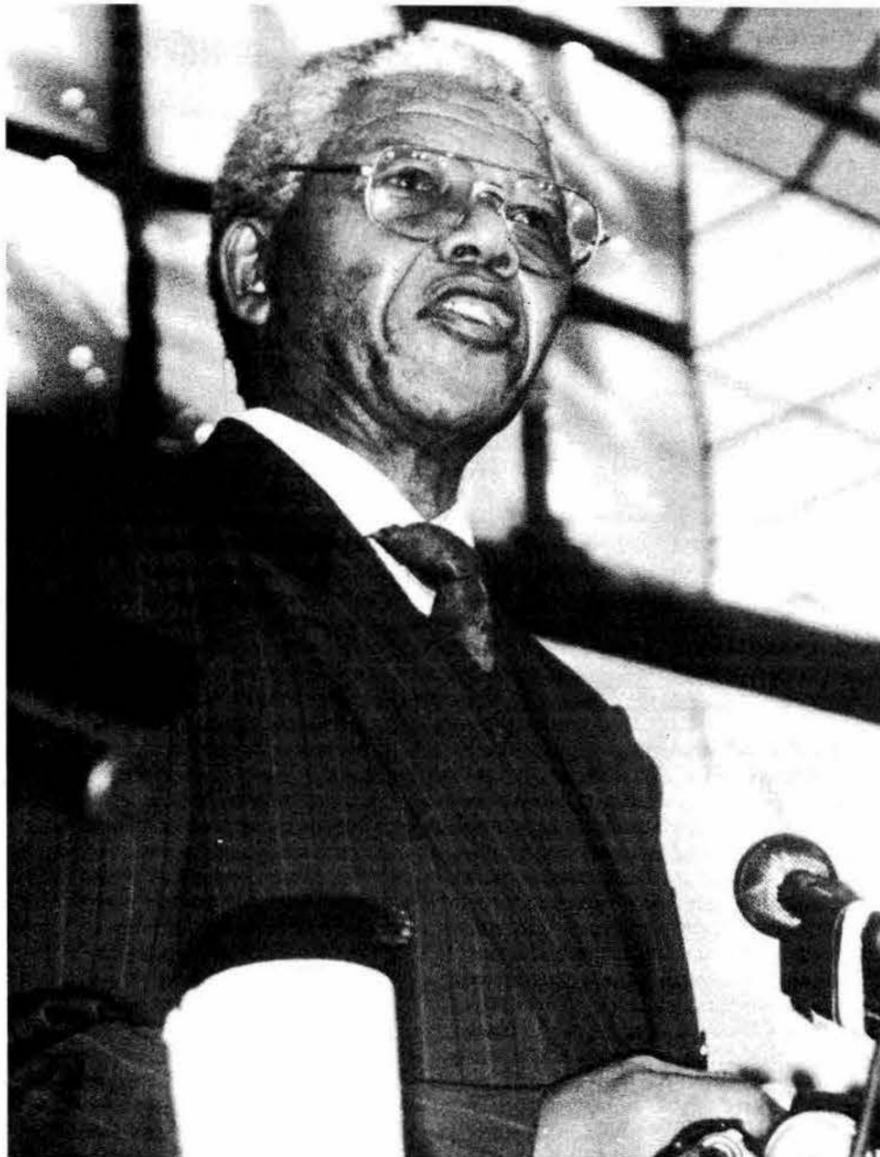
This has an impact, for example, on the fight for women's rights. The ANC advances a program for the equality of women, and explains the importance of fighting for this. But progress toward a qualitatively larger number of women shouldering broader leadership responsibilities in the ANC and trade unions is blunted somewhat by the fact that more women are not being integrated into the labor force, especially in industry.

Employers and the regime are taking advantage of the heightened competition between working people in the now three-year economic decline, trying to raise frictions on the basis of ethnic background, age, sex, skin color, and language.

Sounding a warning signal from a different class perspective, a Standard Bank report on South Africa's economy at mid-year is entitled, "The downward spiral must be stopped."

"Real spending on nondurable goods was almost 2 percent below the comparable period in 1991" and there was a 9 percent decline in spending on durable goods. Manufacturing employment fell by 2 percent and mining by 7.5 in 1991, according to the bank's figures. Unemployment has risen by 1 million over the past three years. Industrial production stands at 1985 levels, having fallen by 6.1 percent this year.

The employers and the government are not sparing white workers either; unemployment among whites has grown to 10 percent. Operation Hunger, a private charity organization, reports that tens of thousands of



Militant/Greg McCartan
Nelson Mandela speaking at ANC conference in Durban, South Africa, in 1991. "The longer it takes for democracy to be introduced," said Mandela in a recent interview, "the more difficult it will be to repair the economy."

white families now stop at soup kitchens.

Given the country's growing population, some 1,000 jobs a day must be created to employ those leaving school. Last year, employers eliminated that number of jobs each day.

An article in the *Star* reported on figures released by ANC leader Trevor Manuel showing that both state and private sector companies were carrying out a "scorched earth" policy, robbing some \$138.5 billion from privately held corporations alone.

The ANC is leading a revolutionary battle of workers and peasants to establish a government that can open up the land to all who want to farm, secure political and democratic rights for all, and harness the country's wealth to begin reversing the devastating social and economic consequences of decades of apartheid.

By pressing to secure a constituent assembly at the earliest possible date — without overreaching the current strength of the democratic movement — the ANC will be in the best position to involve tens of millions in economic and social life, many for the first time. This, in turn, will strengthen the revolutionary alliance of workers and rural toilers and provide the basis for further steps forward in the struggle.

Political violence instigated by the government and various opponents of the ANC's course is one of the key obstacles to the freedom struggle today and continues to exact a high price. It is aimed at weakening the revolutionary democratic movement, shutting down space for political activity, and chipping away at the self-confidence and organization of ANC members.

ANC leader assassinated

ANC leader Reggie Hadebe was assassinated October 27, when the car he was riding in was ambushed following an attempted meeting with local leaders of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Hadebe was deputy chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region and a Zulu. The IFP, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, claims to represent South Africa's Zulu-speaking people.

The meeting between Hadebe and the IFP

was arranged after some 30 people were killed in the region during the last weekend of October, bringing the toll to some 50 for the week. Among those dead are members of both the ANC and Inkatha. Inkatha leaders did not show up for the talks with Hadebe.

Mandela has been seeking a meeting with Buthelezi, who agreed on October 27 to sit down with the ANC leader "without any conditions," only to reverse himself later the same day.

Rising violence in Natal province comes following the IFP leadership's decision to withdraw from multiparty negotiations.

Accusing South African president F.W. de Klerk of a "flagrant" breach of trust for acceding to ANC demands during the talks, Buthelezi led two marches of supporters through downtown Johannesburg in October, one of 15,000 October 17 and a second of 10,000 October 31. On both occasions marchers flouted a recent ban on "cultural weapons" by carrying spears, clubs, and sticks.

ANC officials in the Johannesburg region denounced the marches, saying "heavily armed supporters" of the IFP were "in open defiance of the law." Recognizing the "IFP's right to march or organize peaceful forms of protest, we are alarmed that a person of Dr. Buthelezi's stature can participate in such activity, [and] aid and abet actions aimed at flagrantly undermining the National Peace Accord and creating a climate of violence."

The statement called on Inkatha to "stop hiding behind Zulu-speaking people and face the fact that the IFP is not synonymous with Zulu-speaking people. Such an equation is an affront not only to the Zulu-speaking people but to almost all our people" in the region. The display of weapons "only serves to exacerbate the situation."

Growing divisions have emerged in the ruling National Party over whether or not to pursue de Klerk's previous course of cultivating closer political ties with Buthelezi and officials of several Bantustans who depend on Pretoria for financial support and military backing.

The regime had hoped such an alliance would be enough to offset an overwhelming ANC-majority government. All these forces advocate a "federal" dispensation in any new constitution as a means of protecting their social position and economic power and privileges; their aim is to establish strong regional regimes with wide powers and a weak central government.

Because the ANC leadership has drawn millions into the revolutionary struggle and reached out to all those who are part of the revolutionary democratic movement, however, Inkatha and those Bantustan officials still clinging to the regime in Pretoria stand increasingly isolated. This isolation has led these forces to lash out as well, as they did at Bisho, in the Ciskei, when 29 protesters were killed September 7 by troops of the Bantustan government. The discrediting of the "homeland" officials is forcing the regime to deal more and more openly with the ANC as the representative of the country's majority.

Inkatha links with Renamo

New "leaks" from top-level Inkatha sources shed light on how Buthelezi's bourgeois nationalist course has led him to collaborate with the regime and rightist terror bands such as Renamo of Mozambique.

According to London's *Independent*, former Inkatha leader Bruce Anderson detailed the organization's links to the regime's security forces in a recent interview with the South African press. Anderson, born in Britain and deported from South Africa for undisclosed reasons earlier this year, was one of Inkatha's chief negotiators in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks last spring.

"Our hands are full of blood, no doubt about it," he said. "Inkatha would have lost out" in the 1980s had it not been for Military Intelligence (MI) and police covert assistance.

Anderson described how top Inkatha officials embarked on a course of "revolutionary terror" several years ago when it became clear that the ANC would be unbanned. A document in his possession lays out a strategy to "Destroy the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance's credibility to control the townships and protect both its members and supporters through special operations. Ensure that it is not possible for one-man-one-vote election for between three to five years. We must redefine our overall strategy to ensure that the ANC-SACP alliance does not at some stage take power in South Africa." Anderson drew up the plan in 1988 with a military intelligence officer.

Inkatha officials have been on police payrolls, had regular liaison with top-ranking military officers, and received supplies of weapons from government stores. This is part of how the regime used the organization to disrupt ANC activity, attack communities, and plan assassinations.

Anderson said that when weapons were no longer available from intelligence units of the South African armed forces, he coordinated with another IFP leader to arrange shipment of arms from Renamo, a murder squad backed by Pretoria that is fighting the government of Mozambique.

The ANC has sought to politically organize its members to refrain from violent attacks on opponents, and it has pressed the regime to take responsibility for the carnage. As part of the campaign of mass action initiated by the ANC and Congress of South African Trade Unions last June, the ANC put forward demands aimed at curbing the violence, including banning the carrying of cultural weapons.

Following Hadebe's recent assassination, ANC leaders also urged members to "exercise restraint and discipline at this time of extreme provocation." One of the measures taken by the ANC to curb the violence is the formation of self-defense units in Black townships across the country. These have proven effective in a number of cases in discouraging raids on communities. Still, thousands across Natal are homeless as a result of the fighting; 3,000 have died this year alone.

After the recent events in Natal, Mandela
Continued on page 10

Pathfinder makes Marxist volumes available

Special sale on 20,000 volumes of Marx, Engels, and Lenin rescued from shredder in Moscow

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Pathfinder has announced a major addition to its line of Marxist classics, and a special sale to promote them.

From now until the end of the year, the New York publisher is offering a big discount on the collected works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, and of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, central leaders of the Russian revolution.

The New York publisher has long been a principal source of the writings and speeches of revolutionary and working-class leaders, ranging from Marx to Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, and Farrell Dobbs.

Recently Pathfinder purchased more than 20,000 volumes of the collected works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that had been dumped in a Moscow paper mill and were slated to be shredded.

To bureaucrats who had dropped any pretense of adherence to "socialism," the books were worth no more than their value as scrap.

To working class fighters, they are works of incalculable political value, both to present and future generations.

To make these political weapons accessible to working people and youth who need them, Pathfinder has set a special discount offer, available to members of the Pathfinder Readers Club until the end of the year.

The *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, of which 41 volumes have been printed, is being offered for \$11 a volume or \$450 for the set. After January 1, the price will rise to \$25 a volume.

The *Collected Works* of V.I. Lenin, in 45 volumes plus a two-volume index, is available for a special price of \$350. After January 1, the price will be \$500.

The 14-volume set, *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, is also part of the special offer. Normally \$350, it is being sold for \$250 until the end of the year.

The books, along with membership in the Pathfinder Readers Club, are available through Pathfinder bookstores around the world (see page 12 for addresses) or from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Write for information on shipping and handling.



Militant/Doug Hord



Militant/Eric Simpson

(Left) Thousands of volumes of Marxist books about to be pulped at a Moscow paper mill. (Right) Volunteers came to New York November 7 to help Pathfinder make more than 20,000 rescued volumes available for working people and youth.

Big volunteer effort to pack, ship Marxist books

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS AND MARGARET TROWE

NEW YORK — On Saturday, November 7, nearly 100 volunteers gathered here from cities throughout the East Coast of the United States — including Baltimore; Boston; Cleveland; Philadelphia; Pittsburgh; Washington, D.C.; Greensboro, North Carolina; Morgantown, West Virginia; and Newark, New Jersey — as well as supporters from Canada and Iceland, to help sort and pack thousands of books comprising the collected works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and the collected works of V.I. Lenin, recently purchased from Russia.

Volunteers worked all day in an unheated Manhattan warehouse on Pier 63 on the Hudson River to prepare the books to be shipped to Pathfinder's fulfillment house in Pennsylvania for international distribution.

This volunteer project was begun by some 50 supporters from the New York and New Jersey area the previous weekend.

"These books are the place where the ideas of scientific socialism are best explained — by Marx, Engels, and Lenin in their own words," stated Pathfinder promotions representative Rich Stuart to the meeting held November 7 prior to the start of the day's work.

"Today is the 75th anniversary of the Russian Revolution," Stuart continued. "The volunteer army assembled here today will be helping to place these invaluable books before the working people of the world."

The books were pulled out of a paper pulp factory in Moscow by Pathfinder representatives who had traveled to Russia. The volumes were then taken to a cooperative in Moscow hired to package the books into small bundles and shipped through the Russian postal service to New York.

By the end of the project, thousands of

small parcels of books purchased in Russia over the past year had been unwrapped, inventoried, sorted, packed, labeled, stacked, and shipped on skids. More than 22,000 books — filling two truck trailers — were processed.

Days of planning and preparation went into the volunteer mobilization, with hundreds of cartons, dozens of pallets, tape, pens, tables, and a laptop computer and printer arriving at the warehouse in advance.

The work was done in teams. Each team had a captain who trained volunteers to make sure the work was done professionally and efficiently. One team unpacked, another sorted, another packed and labeled the cartons, and the final team stacked the cartons on skids. There was also a team that checked quality and typed up packing lists.

This volunteer effort achieved the double goal of making the books available to the public and saving Pathfinder thousands of dollars in storage and packing charges.

Economic downturn engulfs S. Africa

Continued from Page 9
discussed the practice of burning in effigy deKlerk and Buthelezi at some ANC rallies in Natal.

According to the *Washington Post*,

Mandela told a meeting of 10 anti-apartheid organizations that "we must surely look at our own conduct going beyond narrow partisan considerations. We must reexamine many questions including... whether the very culture of our people allows for the burning of coffins in public and whether the burning of effigies is not too evocative of earlier scenes of people killed by burning."

Worries in National Party

Given the success of the ANC mass action campaign and the relative weakening of the National Party's allies, members of deKlerk's party are openly grumbling about a seeming lack of leadership. Indeed, the crisis of leadership of the country's capitalist class is one of the biggest threats to quick resumption of negotiations and is a spur to the continuation of the violence, as the state president veers from accepting ANC demands to accommodating right-wing pressure — especially from within the state security apparatus.

The October 25 edition of the *Sunday Star* commented on the early-October session of Parliament, which was a disaster for deKlerk.

DeKlerk suffered two rare defeats in Parliament — dominated by the whites-only chambers — over bills opposed by the ANC. One would have granted a blanket amnesty to any official for crimes in support of apartheid; the other would have allowed the appointment of Black cabinet ministers for the first time.

National Party (NP) members of parliament returning home increasingly see deKlerk "as a lame duck president losing the will to govern," said the *Sunday Star*.

Reacting to these divisions, the National Party-loyal daily, *The Citizen*, editorialized: "We do not think Mr. deKlerk is in danger of being ousted. He is the reformer and the NP is committed to reform. Besides," the paper added, "There is nobody in the NP to take his place. Indeed, he is saddled with a Cabinet that is possibly the weakest for decades, with two of his senior ministers

quitting after they found the strain too much for them and the negotiations having to be led by a virtually junior minister who isn't tough enough, or astute enough, to take on the ANC heavy-weights."

Tony Leon, a member of Parliament of the minority, and formerly whites-only Democratic Party, said what worried him about deKlerk "is that he is paying the cost of any reformist of a profoundly authoritarian structure. He is trying to change the state in mid-course. History is littered with examples of men like him — Kerensky and Gorbachev in Russia, and now deKlerk."

In his speech deKlerk also gave his first, although tentative, "apology" for apartheid.

"For too long we clung to a dream of separated nation states," he said in Cape Town, where Parliament meets, "when it was already clear that it could not succeed sufficiently. For that we are sorry. That is why we are working for a new dispensation."

He also criticized "powers that are trying to manipulate our country's history by trying to portray it as dark, suppressive, and unfair."

An ANC statement responded that, "Any adequate apology for apartheid will have to recognize that it is based on the concept of racial superiority, and this must be rejected in principle."

"Apartheid is dark, suppressive, and unfair," the statement said. "The millions of South Africans who have suffered under apartheid know this; the resettlement camps and many people who died in those camps are enough testimony."

Such a statement by deKlerk, the ANC said, does the "Afrikaner people, and the white community in general, a terrible disservice. In order for them to make the fundamental changes that are necessary to become whole people again and fully part of a new and democratic South Africa they need to acknowledge the harsh realities of the apartheid system."

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Karl Marx



V.I. Lenin



Leon Trotsky

Why U.S. rulers lost confidence in Bush

Continued from Page 7

interview. Then, throughout the final weeks of the campaign, more and more information was "leaked" — by sources in the Pentagon, CIA, and Congress — that Bush, despite his denials, had been intimately involved with Washington's largely secret policy of supplying arms and financial support to the Saddam Hussein regime prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

At the same time, president-elect William Clinton throughout his campaign condemned Bush for not being quick enough to use U.S. military power. "Which candidate a) criticizes his opponent for being too cozy with Communist leaders; b) has argued for using military power in the world's hottest military conflict; and c) was the first to endorse legislation expanding the embargo on Fidel Castro's Cuba?" asked an article in the October 22 *Wall Street Journal*. The answer: "Democrat Bill Clinton."

Barnes said he agreed with the assessment of Clinton presented by SWP presidential candidate James Warren during Warren's press conference televised nationwide by C-SPAN the week before the election. "When Clinton says he'll be tougher on Cuba than George Bush," Warren said, "I believe him on that. That's what he's pledged."

In fact, Barnes added, the Clinton administration is being groomed by the U.S. rulers in the image of John F. Kennedy's Democratic administration some three decades ago. During Kennedy's three years in office, he sponsored repeated aggression against Cuba (helping to bring the world to the brink of nuclear war in 1962), began the escalation of the U.S. war against Vietnam, and began a massive new build-up of U.S. military power.

No difference on economic policy

As to domestic economic and social policy, Barnes said, there was no perceptible difference between Bush and Clinton.

Bush was the incumbent during a long and sharp economic downturn, and that, as always in bourgeois electoral politics, was a liability. But Clinton offered no alternative solutions to world capitalism's slide into a depression, to the continued decline in the living and job conditions of working people, or to racist discrimination and cop brutality.

In fact, Barnes said, the big business dailies in the United States all agreed on one thing: whether Bush or Clinton won in November, the economic policy the new administration would carry out would have more in common with the one presented by H. Ross Perot than with anything being promised by the two major parties. Perot said there would have to be big cuts in social security, new taxes on gasoline and other consumer goods, and other "painful" austerity moves. And that's just what the U.S. capitalists, their government, and their twin political parties have in store for working people.

The Clinton campaign, Barnes said, was further confirmation that capitalist domestic policy is more bipartisan today than at any time since the "New Deal" of Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic administration in the mid-1930s. Far from presenting himself as a "New Deal" Democrat, Clinton ran TV advertisements calling for "an end to the welfare system as we know it."

The economic basis for expanding social programs, pledged by Democratic politicians during the first three decades following World War II, has been undermined since the late 1970s by the deepening capitalist crisis. Moreover, unlike the mid-1930s, struggles by the labor movement and its allies have not yet reached the point where substantial wings of the bourgeois

parties feel compelled to take their distance from a bipartisan domestic course.

Break-up of bourgeois two-party system

The strong showing of H. Ross Perot in the 1992 election results registered the beginning of the break-up of the two-party system under the strains of the capitalist crisis and rising class tensions. Perot received 18.8 percent of the popular vote.

Not only was this the highest vote total for a "third-party" candidate since 1912 (when Theodore Roosevelt got 27.8 percent on a bombastic platform against government corruption and for a more aggressive assertion of U.S. imperialism's military power); Perot's vote was also several percentage points above where opinion polls had been putting him. The pollsters' rule of thumb in normal times, Barnes pointed out, is that "third party" candidates receive about half as many actual votes as the polls indicate, since many supporters end up pulling the lever for the mainstream Democrat or Republican whom they are more confident will actually win.

What made the 1992 elections different, Barnes said, is the depth of the economic and social crisis and the evident lack of any solutions on the part of Washington and the two major parties. The irrationality of the capitalist system wreaks havoc on the lives of tens of millions, not only workers but growing sections of the middle class as well.

In the absence of any generalized upsurge of the labor movement or of any prominent anticapitalist voice speaking in the interests of working people, however, radical attitudes begin to take hold first among sections of the middle classes and better-off layers of the working class; they fear the loss of their loosening finger-grip on a livelihood and some semblance of security.

Many bourgeois press commentators made fun of Perot's conspiracy-mongering, Barnes said — his stories about Republican plots to disrupt his daughter's wedding, alleged assaults on his home organized by the Black Panthers and Vietnamese government, and others. But Perot's demagogic attacks on the corruption of professional politicians, and on the dismal ineffectiveness of institutions such as Congress and the courts, struck a chord with disenchanted and resentful layers of the population.

The Texas billionaire won sizable support for his offer to take these problems head on ("it's simple," is one of his stock phrases), using the unchecked power of the presidency and what he presents as the clean and incorruptible armed forces. That was his radical appeal — and it will be presented by other bourgeois demagogues as the crisis deepens, whether by Perot himself or others.

It was these same mounting social tensions and political instability that won a hearing during the 1992 elections — from the spring primaries, to the Republican convention in Houston that nominated Bush — for the ultrarightist talk of "cultural wars" and "family values" mouthed by Patrick Buchanan, Pat Robertson, and others.

Contrary to many columnists and so-called experts, Barnes said, the reactionary, anti-woman, anti-gay, religion-baiting, censorship-promoting character of the Republican convention was not a tactical mistake by the Bush campaign. It was an inevitable registration of the polarization in bourgeois politics today.

Opportunities for revolutionists

At the same, Barnes said, the continued weakening and decline of the world capitalist system is creating new opportunities for resistance by working people and growing openness to revolutionary and communist

perspectives among fighters around the world.

The struggle by South African workers, peasants, and youth for a democratic, non-racial republic — led by the African National Congress — continues to make advances. Revolutionary-minded working people in Cuba are refusing to back down from their commitment to international solidarity and a socialist course, despite the big economic pressures bearing down on them.

Neither in the United States nor any other industrially advanced capitalist country has the working class been defeated by the rulers. Their basic organizations of defense, the unions, have been seriously weakened by the class-collaborationist course of the officialdom, but these organizations have nowhere been broken. And resistance by working people to attacks on their living and working conditions continues. As the response to the 1992 SWP presidential ticket of James Warren and Estelle DeBates showed, Barnes said, workers and students continue to be open to considering and discussing revolutionary and communist points of view.

The working class, both in the United States and worldwide, enters the current crisis of capitalism in a stronger position than at previous points in this century, Barnes said.

The working class is larger, both absolutely and relatively, in every country in the world.

Women are more integrated than ever before in the work force, and thus in social and political life and struggle.

The borders that divide working people are being broken down by immigration, as the working classes of the United States,

countries throughout Europe, and increasingly Japan and Australia as well become increasingly multinational.

Workers who are Black in the United States, having battered down Jim Crow segregation through battles in the 1960s, remain in a better position today to be a decisive part of the vanguard of a revitalized and fighting labor movement.

The opportunities for the development and mutual influence of outstanding modern revolutionary and communist leaders — from Malcolm X, to Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and other Cuban revolutionists, to Maurice Bishop of Grenada, to Nelson Mandela and the "young lions" of the African National Congress, to communist workers in the United States and elsewhere — are greater than ever before.

And world Stalinism — the biggest obstacle to this collaboration and mutual experience among fighters and revolutionists — has taken historic blows.

The capitalists and those who do their bidding act pragmatically, Barnes said. They have no "ideas," no long-term plans. They act to maximize their profits and power and have no illusion that time is on their side.

"But time is on our side," Barnes told the participants in the New York meeting. And the job of thinking workers and youth is to use that time well to build parties and an international revolutionary movement that can organize the working class — the bearer of human culture produced over centuries by the toiling majority of humanity — to put an end to the capitalist system that promises only more economic devastation, social misery, and bloody wars.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

DEAN ATHANS

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

The Philadelphia Pathfinder bookstore reports an excellent response at a recent table set up for "Parents' Evening" at a local school. A sixth-grade teacher there had assigned Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle Is My Life* and invited the local Pathfinder Bookstore to set up a table to sell copies to students' parents.

Forty-one copies of the Mandela book were sold and some 60 Pathfinder catalogs distributed with a special mail order form enclosed, as well as bookmarks listing Pathfinder's authors and advertising the store. Two people prepaid orders on the spot, receiving a 10 percent discount. After looking through the catalog, teachers organizing the literature course said they planned to assign *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* as the next book for study.

Marcella Fitzgerald of Pathfinder Distribution London reports good sales from a recent visit to Manchester and Liverpool, England, where shops bought nearly 200 books. "Many bookshops have [U.S. Gen. Norman] Schwarzkopf's book on display," she reports, and several managers placed orders for *Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq* (*New International* no. 7) as the "alternative view."

Since its publication a year ago, more than 900 sets of Pathfinder's two-volume proceedings of the 1920 Second Congress of the Communist International, *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!*, have been sold. Orders continue to come in, especially from libraries and library wholesalers, including one in Japan. This set forms the fourth part of the series *The Communist International in*

Lenin's Time.

Seven Waldenbooks stores in southern Florida — including in Miami, Hialeah, West Palm Beach, and Coral Gables — have ordered *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba* (*Socialism and Man in Cuba*) by Ernesto Che Guevara, Pathfinder's newest Spanish-language title.

Available for \$14.95, the book includes, in addition to the title article, Fidel Castro's speech "Che's Ideas Are Absolutely Relevant Today," given on the twentieth anniversary of Guevara's murder in Bolivia. It also includes "Planning and Consciousness in the Transition to Socialism" and the speech "Voluntary Work Is a School for Communist Consciousness," which have long been difficult to find in Spanish.

More than 500 teachers and graduate students involved in grade school, high school, and college programs attended the Iowa Conference of Teachers of English/Language Arts at the Marriott Hotel in Des Moines October 30-31. Many conference-goers were pleasantly surprised to stop by a Pathfinder book table and find books by Malcolm X and titles on women's liberation among the displays of children's books and standard reference texts.

Most of the teachers, including many who teach in small, rural communities throughout Iowa were not familiar with Pathfinder. But many were quite interested in the international scope of ideas that Pathfinder's titles represented. Sixty dollars in books and \$12 in Pathfinder Mural promotional materials were sold, while 45 Pathfinder Catalogs were distributed at the conference.

Approximately 900 copies have been distributed of *Oser inventer l'avenir*, the French-language collection of the works of Thomas Sankara from Pathfinder and L'Harmattan of Paris. Nearly 100 of those have been sold in North America in the year since its release here.

U.S. to resume Korea maneuvers

BY SELVA NEBBIA

In a statement released October 12, the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (North Korea) denounced Washington's moves to restage joint military maneuvers with South Korea.

"At a time when there is no ground to doubt the Government of our Republic's will for denuclearization, the United States and the south Korean authorities raised the question of resuming the 'Team Spirit', unjustifiably crying over the 'suspicion of nuclear development' against the north," the statement says. "Team Spirit" is the military

codename for the joint maneuvers.

In an interview November 5, the DPRK's Ambassador to the United Nations, Kim Chung Nam, stressed the seriousness of the military threat. "These exercises pose a real danger of war. Our government is calling on all political parties and organizations around the world that support justice to denounce this act of aggression," he said. "Many U.S. nuclear weapons will be involved in these maneuvers," Kim said.

The excuse given by Washington for the resumption of Team Spirit, said Kim, "is

Continued on Page 12

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

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

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Trinity Strike and Labor's Fightback Today. Panel discussion featuring Trinity strikers. Sat., Nov. 14, 7 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

The 75th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution: Its Significance Today. Speaker: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St. (between Elm and Chapel). Tel: (203) 772-3375

FLORIDA

Miami

How the 1992 Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared Deepening Aggression by Washington. Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Parole Now for Mark Curtis! Speakers: Broek Carlsten, Amnesty International, North Atlanta High School; Rev. Joseph Fahy, works with Hispanic immigrants; Marla Puziss, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Committee, member, AFSCME Local 1644; Robin Singer, Atlanta

Committee on Latin America, works with Pastors for Peace. Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

The Fight Against Discrimination in Housing. Speakers: Brad Parks, plaintiff in discrimination suit against Goldsboro Apartments in Atlanta; Joe Shifalo, director, Metro Fair Housing; spokesperson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

"Northern Lights." Film and discussion on the crisis facing working farmers. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today. Speaker: Martin Koppel, Pathfinder Press editor, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

OHIO

Cleveland

Parole Now for Mark Curtis! Panel discussion. Sun., Nov. 22, 4 p.m. 1863 W. 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Fight for Jobs! Participants report back from British coal miners' protests against mine closures. Speakers: Clay Dennison, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Mine Workers of America Local 1949; Joanne Kuniansky, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-74, others to be announced. Sun., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

South Africa: Revolutionary Strategy in Action. Speaker: Urmilla Bob, member, African National Congress, the South African Democratic Teachers Union. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

War in the Territories: Report back from the Royal Oak Miners Strike, Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada. Speakers: John Wilson, member, International Association of Machinists Local 2202 at Alaska Airlines; Kathleen Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Transportation Union Local 845 at Burlington Northern Railroad; both recently visited Yellowknife. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$5. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Translation to Spanish.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

The Fight for Jobs: Eyewitness report from Britain on the miners' fight against mine closings. Speaker: Clay Dennison, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Mine Workers of America Local 1949, recently visited Britain. Sat., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

How the U.S. Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared New Wars by Washington. Speaker: Mike Tucker, Communist League, New Zealand. Tues., Nov. 17, 7 p.m. 66 Alion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

Victorian State Anti-Labor Campaign: An Attack on All Workers. Sat., Nov. 21, 6 p.m. 66 Alion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

CANADA

Vancouver

Labor Resistance Today: Royal Oak, Forging Coal, Alaska Airlines. Speakers: Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party, just back from visit with strikers at Royal Oak gold mine in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, member, United Transportation Union Local 845 in Seattle; John Wilson, Alaska Airlines worker, member, International

Association of Machinists Local 2202 in Seattle; member of *Militant* reporting team recently returned from visit with striking coal miners in British Columbia's Elk Valley. Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

World Politics Today. Speaker: Gylfi Pall Hersir. Sat., Nov. 14, 2 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

Open House. Meet Andile Yawa, African National Congress Youth League, president, World Federation of Democratic Youth. Sat., Nov. 21. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Child Abuse and Democratic Rights. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Tel: (3) 656-055.

The Sealords Deal and the Fight for Maori Rights. Sat., Nov. 28, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington

Solidarity With British Miners, Working People around the World. Speaker: Felicity Coggan, Communist League candidate in Wellington Central by-election. Sat., Nov. 14, 4:30 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$5 (includes supper). Tel: (4) 384-4205.

Tokyo Book Fair. Pathfinder representative reports back. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

Anti-Semitism on March Again! Panel discussion with activists from Organization Stop Racism, Swedish Committee Against Anti-Semitism, Communist League. Sat., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

United States resumes Korea maneuvers

Continued from Page 11

their suspicions of our nuclear development." This disregards the results of the recent International Atomic Commission's inspection of the DPRK's nuclear facilities, which found "that our nuclear production is for peaceful purposes only," the ambassador noted.

Belgium: workers face attacks in recession

Continued from Page 16

with the workers.

The Forges de Clabecq steel mill in Tubize, which employs 2,100 workers, has faced a large decline in sales and production over the last months. In September, management started asking for concessions from the workers, including a wage cut of at least 10 percent. They also demanded the elimination of 290 jobs, 83 of them through layoffs. Union leaders in the mill are convinced that the company is planning to close, if not the whole complex, then at least part of the mill.

On September 30, a solidarity march of 5,000 was organized by the steelworkers in the local community. On October 28, the plant unions struck the mill. After another round of negotiations, management agreed to lower the early retirement age and to organize rotating employment as an alternative to the layoffs. The company refused, however, to back down on the wage cut.

At in-plant meetings on November 2 and 3, the workers decided to hold a referendum to decide if they agreed with the wage cuts and the closing of part of the plant. Several workers leaving the plant on November 3 said they were angry at the wage-cut proposal. "If they want to close the mill, let them do it," said one worker, "but I won't take the cut." Another worker explained that he hoped for a 75 percent rejection of the company proposal, to send a strong message to the boss.

The vote count the next morning showed that more than 89 percent of the workers had voted against management's offer. In response, the company has threatened to unilaterally impose the wage cut beginning with the next paycheck.

Ludo De Witte works at Volkswagen and is a member of the General Federation of Labor (FGTB/ABVV)

Washington's main purpose for these war maneuvers, Kim stated, "is to prevent any moves toward reunification at a time when strong feelings prevail among the Korean people to reunify." These moves are also directed at diverting attention from the political crisis being faced in South Korea on the eve of the presidential elections there, he added.

The South Korean regime had offered to end the annual joint exercises after signing a pact December 13 with the DPRK on "reconciliation, nonaggression and cooperation and exchange between the North and South."

Since signing the agreement, Pyongyang has submitted to three inspections by the Atomic Commission team. No inspections have taken place in South Korea nor in the U.S. bases in that country.

U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and South Korean Defense Minister Choi Sae Chang issued a joint communiqué October 8 announcing Seoul's agreement to increase its financial support for the U.S. troops stationed in its territory to \$220 million next year from \$150 million last year and \$70 million in 1990.

The communiqué claimed that North Korea "is continuing efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction."

A reduction of U.S. troops stationed in South Korea was begun in February 1991. In November 1991, Washington ended the withdrawal of troops. Some 37,000 U.S. troops remain permanently stationed in the Korean Peninsula.

"While we think the dialogue between political parties and other organizations from the north and the south should con-

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Celebrate the Life of Pearl Chertov: 56 Years in the Struggle for Socialism. Pearl Chertov, a founding member and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, died October 15. Come and participate in this celebration of her life. Speakers: Elizabeth Stone, Joel Britton, Don White, Robin Maisel, Thabo Ntweng. Sat., Nov. 14, reception 7 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

tinue," Kim said, "if South Korea goes through with the exercises we will have to suspend all dialogue between our two governments."

The DPRK also denounced the war moves by U.S. forces and Japanese "Self-Defense Forces," which plan to stage joint military maneuvers on November 7 in the Japanese islands of Hokkaido and Honshu.

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Plain talk — "Puerto Rico is the second country in the world with the highest concentration of Fortune 500 corporations. Progressive companies prefer En-



Harry Ring

glish." — An employment agency manager offering free advice on how to write a job-hunting resume in a country where Spanish is the principal language and, legally, the official one.

Nuke 'em? — With food shipments permitted on a case-by-case basis under the U.S./UN embargo against Iraq, a U.S. company wants the OK to ship up to 25,000 tons of irradiated chicken there. It will be the first batch zapped with cobalt-60 since the feds approved irradiation as a means of coping with poultry contamination.

Trick no treat — "SAN DIEGO — A Halloween haunted house staged by a fundamentalist Christian church featured graphic skits showing aborted fetuses, angering parents who said their children were terrified by the images. The church gave no warning about the pictures or the antiabortion theme, parents said." — News item.

Catching up with capitalism — A Greek firm has invested \$20 million in establishing a lottery in Russia with a weekly prize of a million rubles. That won't make the winner an instant millionaire. As of last week, a million rubles was worth \$2,717.

Sensitive rump? — Brian Bock and Sharmin Eshraghia, a well-heeled San Francisco pair, had a classy wedding — 15-piece orchestra, bronze embossed menus, etc. But the caterer blanched when the bride's mom stipulated silk cloths for 35 banquet tables, plus padded silk chair covers. He assured her no one would know the difference between polyester and silk, to which

she responded, "I would."

A walking advertisement — In response to coworkers' protests, the public relations man for the Kansas Bureau of Investigation has been asked to stop tucking a pair of panties, instead of a handkerchief, in his breast pocket. The media hustler for the state snoopers said he preferred panties because they matched up better with his ties.

Theoretical point — When Monopoly first became popular, rumor had it that the game was designed by a disciple of Henry George to illustrate George's thesis that society was ruled by owners of property and not, as Marx explained, by capitalists who owned the means of

production. We were reminded of this on seeing the ad for a luxury Monopoly set, trimmed in gold and silver, for \$495.

COLA? — Last year, the two top dogs at Time Warner together pocketed \$99.6 million. A professor calculates that on the basis of the company's size and performance, they should have been paid but \$2.8 million and were, therefore, overpaid some 3,500 percent.

A riddle for the prof — Assuming that, by definition, all corporate chieftains are less than worthless, by what percentage were those two jokers at Time Warner overpaid?

Combat role for women: a setback for equality

BY SARA LOBMAN

On November 3 a presidential commission advised that women in the military should be barred from flying combat planes and from ground combat, but should be allowed to serve on most warships. Last year Congress repealed the final laws that barred women from combat, leaving the decision up to each of the services. But the Pentagon has delayed changing its policy, which prohibits women from combat assignments, pending the report of the commission.

Working people have a stake in the outcome of this discussion. The thousands of

lanyard on a howitzer as it does to start up a washing machine," said a retired Marine Corps artillery officer.

But the question is not the ability of women to participate in combat. That has been incontestably proven by millions of women in scores of countries. For example, women were combatants in the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979. During World War II, one million Russian women served with combat units as machine gunners, snipers, and tank and artillery crew members. Many Vietnamese women fought with great bravery against the overwhelming technical superiority of the U.S. and allied forces there.

The issue is whether the fight for women's rights is going to be identified with the U.S. ruling class and its drive towards more and more wars against the toilers of the world.

Wars fought in bosses' interest

The fact is that every war waged this century in the name of the United States has been fought only in the interests of big business. The two world wars were aimed at advancing the position of the U.S. capitalists in relation to their counterparts in Europe and Asia. Wars against Vietnam, North Korea, Nicaragua, Panama, and others were aimed at crushing struggles for national liberation of workers and peasants. Literally tens of millions of working people have died as a result of these wars. More than 58,000 U.S. soldiers died in Vietnam, alongside two million Vietnamese. As the worldwide economic crisis intensifies, the rulers will find wars like these even more necessary as they try and find ways to defend their profits. To equate, in any way, shape, or form, the fight for women's rights with these wars, is to pit the fight against the oppression of women against working people from Iraq to Yugoslavia, and from Central America to Africa.

It is true that more than 40,000 women participated in "Desert Storm." Did this make this a more progressive war? On the contrary, it was a murderous assault that left more than a hundred thousand Iraqi workers and farmers dead.

Were women excluded from most combat? Yes. Were women's rights set back because women were not given the "opportunity" to participate in the slaughter? Of course not. In fact, the rights of all working people would have been greatly advanced had men been excluded as well. At heart, this is a question of the class interests at stake. The U.S. army, and the wars it fights, exist to defend the interests of the capitalist class against working people, in the United States and around the world. While many working people end up in the military — often for economic reasons — the working class has no interest in fighting for anyone's right to be a part of this repressive machine.

Weakens fight

Tying the fight for women's equality with the "right" of women to be in combat seriously compromises the former. While reassuring opponents that they are fighting for "equal liability and responsibility" in addition to equal rights, advocates of having women in combat positions often give away rights that all working people need.

For example, during the Persian Gulf War, many working-class families with children suddenly found themselves in a situation where both parents were called up to serve in war zones in the Gulf. Many so-

called feminists in Congress opposed legislation that would have prevented this, claiming that it would be a setback for women's rights.

Many working people will find this argument familiar. Women workers are also told



Marine drill instructor. Some 40,000 women participated in the war in Iraq.

that equality on the job means sharing in unsafe jobs, backbreaking labor, and inhuman hours.

In 1980 when then-president Carter reinstated registration for a military draft, many who claimed to be defenders of women's rights argued that women should be drafted as well as men. Equating the draft with the fight for women's rights contributed to the final defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would have made women legally equal under the U.S. constitution. It helped fuel the right-wing line that the ERA would simply enable the rulers to use women as cannon fodder, along with men.

Defenders of women's rights need to explain that the struggle for equality is a struggle for better conditions and a richer quality of life that will improve the living standards and strengthen the rights of all working people.

It is true that women in the military face discrimination, and working people should defend our sisters who face this, just as we fight for the democratic rights of all working people, in and out of uniform. But the road to the liberation of women from oppression does not run through women finding jobs in the murder machine of U.S. capitalism — the armed forces. Rather, it runs through the struggles of working people around the world against the impact of the accelerating crisis of capitalism and against the wars that crisis will bring.

-25 AND 50 YEARS AGO-



Although Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, spoke at the University of Oklahoma nearly a month ago, the storm of controversy he stirred up has not yet subsided.

Boutelle's first appearance on the OU campus on Oct. 17 was at a Vietnam teach-in sponsored by the OU Committee to End the War in Vietnam. On the next evening he spoke to an audience of nearly 600. The meeting was sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society.

Two days after the meeting, the *Oklahoma City Times*, one of Oklahoma's largest newspapers, carried a front-page article entitled, "FBI Links Communists, SDS."

Perhaps Boutelle's most prominent attacker was U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.). The day after Boutelle spoke, Senator Thurmond was the featured speaker at a prowar rally sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom. In an article entitled "Boutelle Attacked by Strom Thurmond," the *Oklahoma Journal* (Oct. 20) quoted Thurmond as saying "if men like Boutelle didn't appreciate America they should live elsewhere." Perhaps he thinks Boutelle should go back to Harlem.

These racist and witch-hunting attacks did not occur, however, without some resistance.

On Oct. 30, OU's chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) passed a statement declaring that it

"wishes to go on record as approving the right of both student and faculty groups to invite such controversial speakers as Paul Boutelle."



November 21, 1942

The Post Office authorities have refused to permit the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of the *Militant* to go through the mails.

They made this arbitrary decision without any notice or explanation of their action to the *Militant* office. The business office had no knowledge of the interference with the delivery of these issues until letters and telegrams began to pour in from many cities complaining about the failure to receive the above-mentioned issues of the *Militant*.

Only after our direct inquiry were we informed that the paper had been withheld from the mails. Even then we were given no official reason, but were told that we must apply to the Washington authorities for an explanation.

It is clear that the suppression of these two issues of the *Militant* is a direct attack by the Roosevelt government on the democratic right of a working class newspaper to write and criticize from a working class viewpoint.

This blow by the government strikes directly at the democratic rights of all sections of the working class. There is only a short step between holding up the mailing of the socialist *Militant* and suppressing a CIO or AFL paper. Only last week the newspapers reported a plan by the Washington authorities to curtail the quantity of newsprint for labor papers.

Mark Curtis should be paroled

Mark Curtis, together with a delegation of supporters, will be appealing to the Iowa State Board of Parole on November 17, urging them to release Curtis from prison. This will be Curtis's fourth parole hearing of his incarceration. All those who stand for social justice have a stake in supporting this important fight for parole.

Curtis is a union and political activist who has already served more than four years out of a 25-year prison sentence after being convicted on frame-up charges of sexual abuse and burglary. His real "crime" was speaking out and seeking union support for the rights of Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers who were themselves victimized by a government immigration raid.

Mark Curtis fully meets all the criteria necessary for obtaining parole. His conduct and work record have been excellent according to prison authorities. He has letters from potential employers stating that they would gladly hire him upon release. And Curtis has won broad national and international support for his defense effort.

Curtis is part of a growing layer of workers who are not willing to buckle under the pressure of the employer-government antilabor offensive. Though behind bars, Curtis remains a consistent fighter for the rights of workers worldwide. He has fought alongside other workers in the Iowa state prison system for the right to receive political literature and books and engage in political activity while behind bars. Last August he received a visit from Andile Yawa, a leader of the African National Congress Youth League and the president of the World Federation of Dem-

ocratic Youth, who extended his support to Curtis's fight for justice.

Earlier this year Curtis won an important victory in his civil rights suit against the Des Moines police when Federal Judge Charles Wolle ordered the cops to pay Curtis more than \$60,000 in legal fees and damages. This decision exposed the fact that the cops lied about the brutal beating they inflicted on Curtis the night of his arrest.

It was the false testimony of another cop, Joseph Gonzalez, who was a key witness at the trial, that played a big role in convincing the jury to convict Curtis more than four years ago.

Each day that Curtis remains behind bars, the injustice dealt to this fighting worker grows. The stakes in this case are high for all working people, farmers, and youth, many of whom will find themselves drawn into political activity in defense of their own rights.

The fight for Curtis's parole requires answering the lies and slanders put forward by a well-organized group that defends the frame-up and promotes the cops' version of the events that led to Curtis's arrest. Their aim is to justify the frame-up in the hope of intimidating any potential supporters of the Iowa unionist's fight.

The *Militant* joins with all those who have written letters to the parole board urging them to release Curtis now. And we encourage all our readers throughout the world to step up the campaign to win new support for Mark Curtis's fight for justice.

End war threats against N. Korea

The recent joint announcement by Washington and Seoul that they intend to restart joint military maneuvers in the Korean Peninsula and to shelve their plan to reduce the number of U.S. troops stationed in South Korea underlines the serious threat these forces pose to the people of North Korea and to the region as a whole.

Washington's excuse, its allegation that the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK—North Korea) is developing nuclear weapons of "mass destruction," turns reality completely on its head. The real threat to the people of the region lies in the continued presence of thousands of U.S. troops permanently stationed in the South and the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons there, both in South Korea and on submarines around the Korean peninsula. The joint military maneuvers by Washington and Japan pose a similar threat.

Forty years ago Washington fought a war to prevent the forging of a unified and independent Korea. During this war, waged by the Pentagon under the cover of the United Nations flag, some 2 million Koreans were killed, and another 3 million were wounded or maimed.

The main driving force toward a nuclear-free Peninsula and the reunification of Korea has been the working people of Korea, particularly those who have participated in massive protests, along with students, in the south. Working

people throughout the Peninsula have also demanded that the U.S. troops get out of South Korea. The North Korean government has backed this position. Furthermore, the DPRK has allowed the International Atomic Commission to inspect its nuclear installations on several occasions and is cooperating with its efforts.

It is precisely the growing sentiment for a reunified Korea that Washington is so afraid of. As the reunification of Germany proves more and more to be a disaster and less a model to be emulated, Washington and Seoul are scrambling to put the brake on any moves in that direction in the Korean Peninsula. Contrary to their claims that the economy of South Korea is a miracle of growth and prosperity, Washington's southern client does not escape the deepening economic crisis being faced by the rest of the capitalist world, and is facing an increasing social and political crisis.

Unionists, farmers, students, and other youth in the United States and in the rest of the world have no interest in supporting Washington's hostile military exercises in Korea. These war games and the continued presence of U.S. troops in South Korea demonstrate the real possibility of war, nuclear or "conventional," that hangs over the heads of the people in the Korean Peninsula. They should be denounced the world over.

All out to make the sub drive!

Supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* need to begin organizing immediately to make the most of the second target week of the international circulation campaign. This is the last chance to put the drive in position to go over the top. The target week, which will run from November 14 through November 21, is key to winning 2,350 new readers of the *Militant*, and to meeting the other goals of the drive.

The fact is that there is more interest today, among youth and working people, in the ideas presented in the *Militant* than there has been in many decades. This was registered in the response, throughout the world, to the Socialist Workers election campaign. Thousands of young people came to hear presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Estelle DeBates speak. The campaign was covered extensively by the media. And dozens of young people adopted the campaign as their own, organizing meetings, and distributing literature.

The response to the books on revolutionary struggles published by Pathfinder Press, and the successful sales of the *Militant* to industrial workers in the early weeks of the drive, are also evidence that it is possible to complete this campaign successfully. A recent Pathfinder team to an international book fair in Tokyo found themselves seriously understocked as participants rapidly bought books on the U.S. labor movement, speeches by Malcolm X and Che Guevara, and copies of *New International* on "The

Opening Guns of World War III."

The *Militant* covers the struggles that workers and youth are involved in — from British miners fighting pit closures to striking Steelworkers in Alabama fighting company and cop attacks. The *Militant* covers the fight to defend abortion rights from Ireland to the United States, and the fight against police brutality.

The growing resistance among workers and youth to the rulers' attempts to make them pay for the capitalist crisis makes it increasingly important for these fighters to subscribe to the *Militant*. There is simply no other way to get the factual information on the battles and skirmishes taking place to oppose the employers' offensive that spring up around the world. The *Militant* is the only place to get a working-class analysis of the big developments in world politics — from the threatened trade war between the United States and its European economic rivals, to the challenges facing the Cuban revolution.

The international circulation drive provides the best framework for supporters of the *Militant* who are participants in the struggles going on today, to make a special effort to get the paper into the hands of fellow fighters. The beginning of the target week marks the opening of the drive's final two weeks. With the mobilization of every single supporter, we can meet all the goals and win thousands of new readers for the socialist press.

What is the ruling class?

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.

In this week's letters column, James Smith from Erie, Pennsylvania, asks for a definition of the term "ruling class," and raises a series of related questions.

The ruling class of a given nation is that social class that, by virtue of its economic control of the major means of production and hence the overwhelming wealth, exercises control over the government, including the military and the police apparatus, and decisive institutions such as the educational system and the media. In the United States, the ruling class is composed of a small number of extremely wealthy families and individuals who own the major industries — the steel mills, coal mines, auto plants, oil refineries and so on — as well as the banks.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the modern communist movement, wrote in the *Communist*

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Manifesto in 1847, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," that is of the capitalist class. More than one political representative of the ruling class has acknowledged as much. "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States," stated Woodrow Wilson, U.S. president from 1913-1921, when he was campaigning for his first term. (He refrained from making similar statements after being elected).

The U.S.-organized coup against the Guatemalan government in 1954 illustrates this point. The democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz expropriated lands that were owned by the Boston-based United Fruit Company. When the U.S. government directed a coup that overthrew the Arbenz government, it was not by coincidence that a number of cabinet members and other government officials had close ties with the United Fruit Company, including Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, whose law firm represented the company. This is also an example of the tendency for certain individuals who represent the interests of big business to move from high-ranking positions in government to high positions in the corporate world, and vice versa.

It is not necessary for individual government officials to have such close ties with particular corporate interests to act on the behalf of the ruling class, however. The bourgeoisie maintains its power through broader and more fundamental means, including its financial and political control of its two political parties, the Democrats and the Republicans.

Smith requests that the *Militant* "begin tying specific ruling class members to specific decisions." In some cases, as in the example of the Guatemala coup, this is very easy to do; for the most part, though, governmental decisions are not as directly linked to specific corporate interests. On decisive matters affecting the interests of their class as a whole — a decision to go to war, for example — there is agreement among the ruling families. There are, on the other hand, occasions when the perceived interests of specific ruling-class forces diverge.

In periods of severe economic and social crisis, there will be sharper divisions within the ruling class, including on such fundamental questions as what form of government is needed to defend their profits. Daniel Guerin, in his book *Fascism and Big Business*, showed how it was only certain sections of the capitalist ruling classes of Italy and Germany — those tied to heavy industry — that at a certain point supported and brought to power the Mussolini and Hitler dictatorships, over the objections of other sections of the class.

It is important to make a distinction between ruling-class figures, on the one hand, and their representatives, who include not only professional politicians but corporate managers and even executives, on the other. Robert Stempel, for example, is not an owner himself, but one of many well-paid corporate representatives of the ruling class. His bosses at General Motors made a cold-blooded decision that he was not suited to lead the attacks on the work force that they intend to carry out, and thus his services were no longer required.

Unfortunately, we are not able to answer all of Smith's questions in this space. Two good sources for further study are *Who Rules America Now?* by G. William Domhoff and *The Rich and the Super-Rich* by Ferdinand Lundberg. Both of these books are somewhat limited in their analysis of the class structure of capitalist society, however. *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels offers by far the clearest and most accurate description of the dynamics of class society and the road for workers and farmers to do away with the horrors of capitalism. — JOHN COX

Charges filed in Canada Westray mine disaster

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

ing they had lost all confidence in its impartiality. The families also condemned the fact that the provincial government labor department, and Curragh, continue to enjoy unrestricted access to the mine site. The families have received no financial compensation from Curragh.

ON THE PICKET LINE

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.

Curragh Resources Inc. and four of the managers at its Westray Coal mine in Nova Scotia have been charged with 52 criminal offenses in connection with the May 9 explosion at the mine that killed 26 miners.

The charges were laid under the Nova Scotia Occupational Health and Safety Act. They include allowing high levels of coal dust and methane gas in the mine, use of unauthorized equipment, storage of flammable material underground, and tampering with a monitoring device for methane gas.

Speaking on behalf of the families of 25 of the victims, Kenton Teasedale welcomed the decision to press charges. "I would say better late than never, but it should have come a long time ago."

The charges were laid on October 5, five days after Nova Scotia supreme court chief justice Constance Glube ordered a halt to a provincial government inquiry into the disaster. The judge ruled that the inquiry could compromise the rights of Curragh officials if ever they faced criminal charges over the explosion. The inquiry was preparing to hold its first public sessions on October 19.

The Nova Scotia government is under considerable pressure to bring the Curragh officials to justice. The horrendous safety conditions that prevailed in the Westray mine, and the refusal of provincial and federal government bodies to do anything about it, became public knowledge in the weeks following May 9.

The families of the 26 dead miners have become increasingly active in a fight for justice and compensation. On August 26 they held a press conference to condemn the government inquiry, say-

Curragh is at the center of a controversy over its plan to open an open pit coal mine in Pictou County, just a few miles from the Westray site. There is strong opposition to the project in the area based on environmental concerns. The families of the Westray victims have called on the provincial government to revoke all licenses permitting Curragh to operate a mine in Nova Scotia.

The United Steelworkers of America, which won a certification vote at Westray after the explosion, is in favor of the open pit project and has organized several rallies to counter the opposition to it. Union officials are also in favor of the reopening of the Westray mine once an inquiry is held.

Garment workers fight for lost wages

Some 200 people picketed the corporate headquarters of Jessica McClintock Inc. in San Francisco October 13. McClintock is one of the largest manufacturers of luxury women's apparel in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The pickets included a dozen masked garment workers who were hiding their identity to prevent blackballing, as well as members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Service Employees International Union, and other unionists. The overwhelming majority of the participants were Asian-American youth organized to attend by various Asian community organizations.

The pickets demanded that McClintock pay thousands of dollars owed in back wages to 12 garment workers. These workers were employed by Lucky Co., an outfit to which McClintock contracted various operations. Lucky, in the last few weeks of its operations, gave its workers bad checks and finally declared bankruptcy, owing the 12 workers more than \$15,000. The workers turned to the Asian



Militant/Tim Elliot
Hotel and Restaurant Employees members at Korean Consulate in Los Angeles protest firing of workers at Wilshire Plaza Hotel by new Korean owner. The hotel wants lower wages.

Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) for help in fighting McClintock, whom they hold ultimately responsible.

Jessica McClintock, in an open letter to the *San Francisco Examiner*, explained that her company "has demonstrated its commitment and concern that employees of its contractors be treated fairly and paid in accordance with the law..." Yet she refused to pay the back wages.

Helen Wong, a garment worker and board member of AIWA, explained in Chinese to the pickets, "The wages are always very low, often lower than the minimum wage of \$4.25. We are paid by the piece, have long working hours, and no break time. We work eight to ten hours per day, six days a week, with no overtime pay, no vacation, and no health insurance. In the factory it is extremely dusty; there is poor ventilation, and little visibility. As a result of these horrible conditions, the women suffer from pain in the hands, shoulders, and back. Because of the dust they develop strong allergic reactions, and accumulate much dust in their lungs." The garment workers "think it is only fair to ask the manufacturer, Jessica McClintock, to compensate them for their work," Wong said. Through this contractor system the manufacturers are able to drive down their costs and increase their profits while avoiding responsibility for wages and work conditions.

In addition the workers are demanding a union contract from Jessica McClintock.

For two hours the pickets, carrying red flags with the words "solidarity" in various Asian languages, chanted: "Be fair, be true, pay the wages we are due!" "Hey Jess, confess, unpaid workers made this dress!" and "Jessica our fingers bleed, for you!"

In a follow up action October 20, 150 pickets assembled in San Francisco's Union Square and marched to Jessica McClintock's posh boutique. The picket marked the launching of a public boycott of McClintock fashions.

Tennessee miners continue strike

Since October 1, 1990, not a chunk of coal has come out of the hollow at Claiborne County, Tennessee, where Local 3009 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is on strike against Colquest Energy, Inc. and the interrelated companies, Four Leaf Coal Co. and Kopper-Glo Fuel.

The fight for union recognition at the mines broke out in the spring of 1990. Eddie Adkins and Mike Smithers, miners at Colquest, explained that workers at the mine were moved from one job to another without concern for experience or adequate training. The conditions of working on hands and knees in a space 36 inches high, in mud and water, breathing coal dust, were made worse without a union to demand recognition of rights on the job. The company threatened to fire any miner who talked about wages or conditions when off the job.

Alan King, Local 3009 vice-president, said the final blow that brought the miners together was implementation of a company policy that if a worker was injured on the job and could not return to work within 30 days he was fired.

In June, 1990, the Colquest miners voted 39-31 to join the union. The workers at Four Leaf and Kopper-Glo joined in.

Throughout the union organizing drive and after the election was won, the owners and management at all three operations threatened to fire union supporters. In August, 1990, Colquest carried through on this threat and fired 20 miners. In May, 1992 the National Labor Relations Board found Colquest guilty of violating federal labor law and ordered the company to reinstate with back pay those illegally fired.

On October 1, 1990, 110 miners struck. As a District 31 UMWA solidarity flyer explains, "We were left with no choice but to walk off our jobs because of the unlawful and immoral practices of these companies." The company still refuses to negotiate. No coal has moved and only four workers have scabbed.

The picket shack is staffed 24 hours a day. Stanley Lowe, Local 3009 member and truck driver, said that as many as 30 miners gather each day near the mine to discuss, plan, and keep up morale. Other strikers emphasize that the strike is solid.

A rotating team of four strikers travel to Morgantown, West Virginia, each week where they spend several days picketing the home and country club of William Dipple, one of the mine owners. These miners also organize community and labor support for their fight in the area.

This is the only UMWA local in Tennessee. A number of mines that were formerly union have closed. Strikers point to the importance their strike has for the future of the union in the area. They point out that the non-union miners are watching closely what happens.

Messages of support can be sent to UMWA Local 3009 c/o Carl Byrge, Rt. 2, Box 315, LaFollette, TN. 37766.

Roger Annis, member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1990 in Montreal; Georges Mehrabian, laid-off member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in San Francisco; and Elizabeth Lariscy, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 347 in Morgantown, West Virginia, contributed to this column.

LETTERS

Ruling-class decisions

Every week the *Militant* provides an antidote for the worst of big business news I read. It also provides a perspective so I can comprehend the meaning of unstated things that the best reporting provides.

There seems to be an almost stock expression in *Militant* reporting. It takes a form similar to "this or that attack on labor or the poor or this or that foreign policy decision is taken to benefit the interests of the tiny minority of billionaire families who make up the ruling class." I am sure the expression reflects reality. It is a common sense notion that the very rich exercise broad control through investments in everything.

My request is that the *Militant* begin tying specific ruling class members to specific decisions. If there is a very small ruling class, their actions should be traceable. It is not enough to see the results and assumed the cause is the actions of a ruling class. There are a lot of results in the world. For instance,

even visible, major capitalist investors like the Trumps, Maxwells and Reichmans are revealed to be daring, overextended borrowers. But, if they are not ruling class members, who are? The lenders who called their loans? And if these men are making important but not fundamental capitalist decisions, who are making such decisions?

I am writing this as I read an account of the "coup" within General Motors. Robert Stempel is out because John Smale attacked him for not wringing enough concessions from workers? Is this an example of two ruling class members in conflict? Will future worker resistance, ending in victory or defeat, be rooted in these men's battle?

James Smith
Erie, Pennsylvania

European unity

Reading the article by David Sandor, entitled, "Capitalist Europe cannot unite, says DeBates," all I can

say is I wish I could share her optimism.

Unfortunately, I believe the western and central Europeans will form a super-imperialist union of nations that will dominate the world, through their influence over their colonies and semi-colonies.

With Europe united and Africa, Asia, the Americas, neo-colonies of England, Spain, France, etc. (i.e. Europe), a world government (new world order) will be realized and people of color will be treated as inferiors. Unity of third world countries is in dire need!

Gary McIntire
St. Paris, Ohio

Yugoslav war

It is a good idea for you to expose the reactionary Serbs, Croats, and Muslims who want to continue the war and want to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina three ways, which is very wrong. It would be much better for Bosnia and Herzegovina to stay united in one republic, which should

be connected with Yugoslavia.

Serb, Croat, and Muslim should organize in Bosnia and Herzegovina a coalition government made up not only from Serbs, Croats, Muslims but from all nationalities of Yugoslavia who are living there.

In 1946 when a new government took over Yugoslavia, there were many more progressives and socialists than there are now. All people were then united and everyone worked hard to improve their standard of living and build up industry. The country was going toward progress and prosperity until 1948 when Tito and the leadership of the Soviet Union split, which was very bad. That helped anti-communists and imperialists who are working to take over the world.

Tito made some great mistakes when he removed from his government some of his comrades who were for true socialism and communism. He sent them all to various concentration camps where they were tortured and beaten.

I'm urging the *Militant* to write

more articles about the need to organize a united front against imperialists and capitalists who want to start another war on the people of Iraq and are ready to intervene militarily in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is wrong.

Louie Vukman
San Gabriel, 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.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

New York jury's rejection of police evidence upsets ruling circles in city

BY DEREK BRACEY
AND SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK — The October 29 acquittal of a Black youth charged with killing a Hasidic Jew has contributed to a major discussion in New York City on public perception of the police. The heart of the prosecution's case was the testimony of several cops.

Lemrick Nelson Jr., 17 years old, faced four counts of murder and manslaughter in the August 19, 1991 death of Yankel Rosenbaum. Rosenbaum was stabbed in the midst of a social explosion in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn caused by the police handling of a traffic accident. Two Black children were hit by an out-of-control car driven by a Hasidic Jew. One died. The other was severely injured. The neighborhood erupted in rage as a cop directed the first ambulance that arrived to tend to the slightly-injured driver instead of the children, who were badly hurt. While much of the anger was directed at the police, some of it took on an anti-Jewish character.

Rosenbaum was killed in this climate. The police testified that they arrested Nelson shortly after the stabbing, with a bloody knife in his pocket. They said that they brought Nelson to Rosenbaum, who looked at Nelson and said, "Why did you stab me?" They also said that Nelson later confessed to them.

The jurors stated that they reached their verdict because they were not convinced that the police who testified were telling the truth. That basis for the verdict has sent



Many cops at 10,000-strong September demonstration turned action into a riot.

reverberations throughout the city.

Police commissioner Raymond Kelly lashed out at what he called a climate of hostility to cops. "In fact the jury's decision was because it did not believe the testimony of police officers," Kelly said, "it may be a product of police bashing."

The reaction to the verdict comes as debate still continues in New York City over a police riot September 16. That riot and its aftermath continue to be a source of

controversy here.

Dozens of articles appeared in the daily newspapers for weeks after a section of a crowd of 10,000 off-duty cops, several of them armed and many of them openly drinking beer, broke through police barricades, jumped and stomped on cars, blocked the Brooklyn Bridge, and called Mayor David Dinkins a "nigger" and "a washroom attendant."

The cops "disgraced themselves," said

the *New York Times* in a September 18 editorial. "The riot raises the fearsome question of who controls the police."

The *New York Daily News* complained that if the police force "had image problems before, those are nothing compared to what it faces now."

El Diario, a Spanish-language paper, commented that the only thing missing at the riot were cops wearing swastikas.

On October 29, Dinkins reached an agreement with the city council to establish a police review board consisting of 13 people not employed by the police department. Currently, New York has a review board with 12 members, six of whom are cops. Part of the agreement, however, is that three of the appointees will be nominated by the police commissioner, and that the three must be former police officers or state or federal law enforcers. The other ten can not have been cops.

Dinkins, as well as others, including councilperson Una Clarke, maintain that the new board will be a stronger deterrent to police abuses.

Cops want semi-automatic weapons

The cops claim that Dinkins is "pro-crime" because he visited the family of a man killed by cops earlier this year in Washington Heights — a heavily Dominican neighborhood — in an attempt to head off broad protests against police violence.

As part of the police riot, cops protested the proposal by Mayor Dinkins to change the composition of a Civilian Complaint Review Board and his refusal to grant the police permission to carry semi-automatic weapons. The cops were egged on in their actions by Republican mayoral hopeful Rudolf Giuliani, a former U.S. attorney.

The *New York Times* reported September 19 that Dinkins "expressed deep anger that rank-and-file officers... perceived him as 'anticop' after he undertook the largest police-hiring program in the department's history" at the same time that the mayor was making deep cuts in health, education, and welfare programs.

"I still say it's the best Police Department in the world, certainly in this country," Dinkins told the *Times*. "They're real good. But among them there are some racists."

None of the police officers involved in the riot have been arrested or charged under any laws for criminal action. Instead, 42 officers are facing only an internal review by the New York police department itself.

Chicago cops occupy housing project

BY PAT SMITH
AND JOHANNA RYAN

CHICAGO — Mayor Richard M. Daley and other city officials have used the recent shooting of 7-year-old Dantrell Davis as an excuse to launch a massive police occupation of Cabrini-Green, a large public housing development here. Daley's plan, announced at an October 19 press conference at which he brandished a semi-automatic .22-caliber rifle and declared "We have to have a war here," includes shutting down four of the Cabrini-Green high-rises; spending \$500,000 to hire 270 off-duty cops to search all Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) homes; installing one-way turnstiles at exits and metal detectors at entrances; stationing cops and armed guards in lobbies to implement a "resident identification program; and vacating and bricking up all ground floor apartments.

Chicago cops began raiding homes, evicting families, bricking up buildings, and arresting residents immediately. Commander Robert Guthrie, who is organizing the police operation, said that they will also enforce truancy and curfew laws. Guthrie directed similar warrantless raids at the Ida B. Wells Homes earlier this year. Federal agents, including Secret Service agents, will work with Guthrie.

The Chicago Tribune reported that no firearms were found on the first day of the operation, but that there were a number of evictions.

The October 13 murder of Davis has provoked varying responses from the residents of Cabrini-Green. While the local big-business media present a distorted view of this, claiming that the police raids are welcomed by the community as a whole, many working-class people in Chicago, alarmed at the violence that the Davis murder exemplifies, voiced support for an increased police presence immediately following the murder.

The reality of the police crackdown has changed many peoples' minds. On October

24, some 25 Cabrini-Green residents appeared on the nationally syndicated "Jerry Springer Show." They wanted to let the public know about the warrantless searches, early morning evictions, and harassment by armed security guards that has become a part of daily life at Cabrini since the cops moved in.

"They have us locked up like animals in a zoo!" exclaimed Yvonne, a longtime Cabrini resident and mother of four. She explained that several of her neighbors wanted to make the trip to appear on the show but were afraid that their apartments would be searched and the locks changed while they were out. Other residents have reported possessions missing if raids occur when they're not home.

Fred, ten years old, told of being assaulted by CHA security guards. "They said I was

gang-affiliated and I had a gun," he reported. "They threw me against a wall and hurt my face." His mother added that, when she asked the guard why he had abused her son, "do you know what he told me? — 'He had his hands in his pockets!'"

"Buildings are being swept... They are authorized to go in our apartments when we are not there," said Maria McCray. "They're stepping all over the Bill of Rights, and they're not dealing with the real problems. Instead of closing those high-rises down, why not turn them into the Dantrell Davis Job Training Center?" she asked.

Pat Smith is a member of the United Transportation Union Local 577 at Chicago and Northwestern railroad, where she works as a brakeperson.

Belgium: workers fight effects of recession

BY ERIC WILS
AND LUDO DE WITTE

BRUSSELS, Belgium — Workers in some of the key industries in Belgium are beginning to fight back as the economic crisis worsens in this part of Europe. Starting in 1987, the Belgian economy grew steadily. Growth got an additional boost when the German market expanded after "reunification." But today this effect has bottomed out, and the closely linked German and Belgian economies have slid toward a recession.

Today, there are 500,000 people unemployed in Belgium. That means that one out of every eight workers has no job. Layoffs in several big factories — General Motors, Volkswagen, Caterpillar, Alcatel-Bell, and Siemens — have drawn attention to this developing crisis.

At the same time, a new austerity drive by the government is under way. Income taxes will be raised, benefits are being taken away from some categories of unemployed work-

ers, and social security coverage of medical expenses has been lowered. On October 16, a nationwide one-hour labor stoppage was organized by the two major union federations to protest these attacks.

Airline workers resist firings

At Sabena, Belgium's major airline, a labor conflict erupted when management announced a restructuring plan that would lead to the loss of 911 jobs out of 10,000. Some 300 of these losses would be through forced transfers to subcontractors. Following a previous restructuring in February 1991, 2,200 jobs were eliminated.

The airline unions decided to call a one-day strike against the layoffs for October 30. But on October 26, management fired 250 workers without warning. The next morning, several hundred workers participated in spontaneous strikes and protests at the airport. These continued for two days, despite a court injunction forbidding pickets from interfering with the "right to

work and travel."

Then the union leadership agreed to stop all protests, including the planned October 30 strike, and to abide by the injunction. In exchange, the company promised to postpone all further layoffs until November 16 and to allow each of the 250 fired workers to individually appeal their cases to management. Sabena president Pierre Godfroid had threatened to file for bankruptcy if the strikes weren't called off.

Shipyard and steel mill fights

Recent attacks on workers at two giant plants with a tradition of militant labor struggle, the Boel shipyard and the Forges de Clabecq steel mill, sent shock waves through the labor movement and the regions they dominate. The Boel shipyard, in Temse, has filed for bankruptcy. Since September 22, 1,800 workers have occupied the yard, including a newly built ship. On October 10, 3,000 people marched to express solidarity

Continued on Page 12